





JOHN S. STEVENS.

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Nam 14:6-9

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13:30-14:3, 19-24

18-20 Nam 27:12-23

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1-9 Joshua 1

2:11-23

4-5

21:25

2:16-19

4:4-9

5:6-9



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BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

C. F. KEIL, D.D., AND F. DELITZSCH, D.D.,

PROFESSORS OF THEOLOGY.

VOLUME III.

THE PENTATEUCH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY THE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES (NUMBERS).

INTRODUCTION.

Contents and Arrangement of the Book of Numbers,	Page 1
--	-----------

EXPOSITION.

I. Preparations for the Departure of Israel from Sinai (Chap. i. 1-x. 10) :—	
Numbering of the People of Israel at Sinai (Chap. i.-iv.),	4
Spiritual Organization of the Congregation of Israel (Chap. v. and vi.),	28
Closing Events at Sinai (Chap. vii.-ix. 14),	42
Signs and Signals for the March (Chap. ix. 15-x. 10),	52
II. Journey from Sinai to the Steppes of Moab (Chap. x. 11-xxi.), . .	56
From Sinai to Kadesh (Chap. x. 11-xiv. 45) :—	
Removal of the Camp from the Desert of Sinai (Chap. x. 11-36),	56
Occurrences at Taberah and Kibroth-Hattaavah (Chap. xi.), . .	64
Rebellion of Miriam and Aaron against Moses (Chap. xii.), . .	75
Spies sent out. Murmuring of the People, and their Punishment (Chap. xiii. and xiv.),	83
Occurrences during the Thirty-seven Years of Wandering in the Wilderness (Chap. xv.-xix.),	99
Various Laws of Sacrifice. Punishment of a Sabbath-breaker.	
Command to wear Tassels upon the Clothes (Chap. xv.), . .	100
Rebellion of Korah's Company (Chap. xvi.-xvii. 5),	105
Punishment of the murmuring Congregation, and Confirmation of the High-priesthood of Aaron (Chap. xvi. 41-xvii. 13; or, Chap. xvii. 6-28),	111
Service and Revenues of the Priests and Levites (Chap. xviii.),	115
The Law concerning Purification from the Uncleaness of Death (Chap. xix.),	120

	Page
Israel's Last Journey from Kadesh to the Heights of Pisgah in the Fields of Moab (Chap. xx. and xxi.),	126
Death of Miriam. Water out of the Rock. Refusal of a Passage through Edom. Aaron's Death. Conquest over the King of Arad (Chap. xx.-xxi. 3),	127
March round the Land of Edom and Moab. Conquest of Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites (Chap. xxi. 4-35),	138
III. Occurrences in the Steppes of Moab, with Instructions relating to the Conquest and Distribution of the Land of Canaan (Chap. xxii.-xxxvi.),	
Balaam and his Prophecies (Chap. xxii. 2-xxiv. 25),	157
Whoredom of Israel, and Zeal of Phinehas (Chap. xxv.),	203
Mustering of Israel in the Steppes of Moab (Chap. xxvi.),	207
The Daughters of Zelophehad claim to Inherit. The Death of Moses foretold : Consecration of Joshua as his Successor (Chap. xxvii.),	212
Order of the Daily and Festal Offerings of the Congregation (Chap. xxviii. and xxix.),	216
Instructions as to the Force of Vows (Chap. xxx.),	223
War of Revenge against the Midianites (Chap. xxxi.),	225
Division of the Conquered Land beyond the Jordan among the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh (Chap. xxxii.),	231
List of Israel's Encampments (Chap. xxxiii. 1-49),	241
Instructions concerning the Conquest and Distribution of Canaan (Chap. xxxiii. 50-xxxvi. 13),	248
Law concerning the Marriage of Heiresses (Chap. xxxvi.),	267

THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES (DEUTERONOMY).

INTRODUCTION.

Contents, Arrangement, and Character of Deuteronomy,	269
--	-----

EXPOSITION.

Heading and Introduction (Chap. i. 1-5),	277
I. The First Preparatory Address (Chap. i. 6-iv. 40),	282
Review of the Divine Guidance of Israel from Horeb to Kadesh (Chap. i. 6-46),	284

	Page
Review of the Divine Guidance of Israel round Edom and Moab to the Frontier of the Amorites, and of the Gracious Assistance afforded by the Lord in the Conquest of the Kingdoms of Sihon and Og (Chap. ii. and iii.),	291
Exhortation to a Faithful Observance of the Law (Chap. iv. 1-40),	308
II. Second Address, or Exposition of the Law (Chap. iv. 44-xxvi. 19),	318
A. The True Essence of the Law and its Fulfilment :—	
Exposition of the Decalogue, and its Promulgation (Chap. v.),	319
On Loving Jehovah, the One God, with all the Heart (Chap. vi.),	321
Command to destroy the Canaanites and their Idolatry (Chap. vii.),	326
Review of the Guidance of God, and their Humiliation in the Desert, as a Warning against Highmindedness and Forgetfulness of God (Chap. viii.),	330
Warning against Self-righteousness, founded upon the Recital of their previous Sins (Chap. ix.-x. 11),	334
Admonition to fear and love God. The Blessing or Curse consequent upon the Fulfilment or Transgression of the Law (Chap. x. 12-xi. 32),	343
B. Exposition of the Principal Laws (Chap. xii.-xxvi.),	351
The one Place for the Worship of God, and the Right Mode of worshipping Him (Chap. xii.),	352
Punishment of Idolaters, and Tempters to Idolatry (Chap. xiii.),	362
Avoidance of the Mourning Customs of the Heathen, and Unclean Food. Application of the Tithe of Fruits (Chap. xiv.),	366
On the Year of Release, the Emancipation of Hebrew Slaves, and the Sanctification of the First-born of Cattle (Chap. xv.),	369
On the Celebration of the Feasts of Passover, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles (Chap. xvi. 1-17),	374
On the Administration of Justice and the Choice of a King (Chap. xvi. 18-xvii. 20),	378
Rights of the Priests, the Levites, and the Prophets (Chap. xviii.),	387
Laws concerning the Cities of Refuge, the Sacredness of Landmarks, and the Punishment of False Witnesses (Chap. xix.),	397

	Page
Instructions for future Wars (Chap. xx.),	400
Expiation of an uncertain Murder. Treatment of a Wife who had been taken captive. Right of the First-born. Punish- ment of a Refractory Son. Burial of a Man who had been hanged (Chap. xxi.),	404
The Duty to love one's Neighbour; and Warning against a Violation of the Natural Order of Things. Instructions to sanctify the Marriage State (Chap. xxii.),	409
Regulations as to the Right of Citizenship in the Congregation of the Lord (Chap. xxiii.),	413
On Divorce. Warnings against Want of Affection or Injustice (Chap. xxiv.),	416
Laws relating to Corporal Punishment; Levirate Marriages; and Just Weights and Measures (Chap. xxv.),	421
Thanksgiving and Prayer at the Presentation of First-fruits and Tithes (Chap. xxvi.),	425
III. Third Discourse, or Renewal of the Covenant (Chap. xxvii.-xxx.), .	429
On the setting up of the Law in the Land of Canaan (Chap. xxvii.),	429
Blessing and Curse (Chap. xxviii. 1-68),	435
Conclusion of the Covenant in the Land of Moab (Chap. xxix. and xxx.),	446
IV. Moses' Farewell and Death (Chap. xxxi.-xxxiv.),	455
Moses' Final Arrangements. Completion and handing over of the Book of the Law (Chap. xxxi.),	455
Song of Moses, and Announcement of his Death (Chap. xxxii.),	464
Moses' Blessing (Chap. xxxiii.),	492
Death and Burial of Moses (Chap. xxxiv.),	514
—	
Concluding Remarks on the Composition of the Pentateuch,	517

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES.

(NUMBERS.)

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.



THE fourth book of Moses, which the Jews call either *Vayedabber* (וידבר), from the opening word, מספרים (*Ἀριθμοί*, *Numeri*, LXX., Vulg.), or פקודים *recensiones* (= *liber recensionum*), and to which the heading במדבר (*in the wilderness*) is given in the Masoretic texts with a more direct reference to its general contents, narrates the guidance of Israel through the desert, from Mount Sinai to the border of Canaan by the river Jordan, and embraces the whole period from the second month of the second year after the exodus from Egypt to the tenth month of the fortieth year.

As soon as their mode of life in a spiritual point of view had been fully regulated by the laws of Leviticus, the Israelites were to enter upon their journey to Canaan, and take possession of the inheritance promised to their fathers. But just as the way from Goshen to Sinai was a preparation of the chosen people for their reception into the covenant with God, so the way from Sinai to Canaan was also a preparation for the possession of the promised land. On their journey through the wilderness the Israelites were to experience on the one hand the faithful watchfulness and gracious deliverance of their God in every season of distress and danger, as well as the stern severity of the divine judgments upon the despisers of their God, that they might learn thereby to trust entirely in the Lord, and strive after His kingdom alone; and on the other hand they were to receive during their journey the laws and ordinances relating to their civil and political constitution, and thereby to be

placed in a condition to form and maintain themselves as a consolidated nation by the side of and in opposition to the earthly kingdoms formed by the nations of the world, and to fulfil the task assigned them by God in the midst of the nations of the earth. These laws, which were given in part at Sinai, in relation to the external and internal organization of the tribes of Israel as the army and the congregation of Jehovah, and in part on various occasions during the march through the desert, as well as after their arrival in the steppes of Moab, on the other side of the Jordan opposite to Jericho, with especial reference to the conquest of Canaan and their settlement there, are not only attached externally to the history itself in the order in which they were given, but are so incorporated internally into the historical narrative, according to their peculiar character and contents, as to form a complete whole, which divides itself into three distinct parts corresponding to the chronological development of the history itself.

The FIRST part, which extends from chap. i.-x. 10, contains the preparations for departing from Sinai, arranged in four groups:—viz. (1) the outward arrangement and classification of the tribes in the camp and on their march, or the numbering and grouping of the twelve tribes around the sanctuary of their God (chap. i. and ii.), and the appointment of the Levites in the place of the first-born of the nation to act as servants of the priests in the sanctuary (chap. iii. and iv.); (2) the internal or moral and spiritual organization of the nation as the congregation of the Lord, by laws relating to the maintenance of the cleanliness of the camp, restitution for trespasses, conjugal fidelity, the fulfilment of the vow of the Nazarite, and the priestly blessing (chap. v. and vi.); (3) the closing events at Sinai, viz. the presentation of dedicatory offerings on the part of the tribe princes for the transport of the tabernacle and the altar service (chap. vii.), the consecration of the Levites (chap. viii.), and the feast of Passover, with an arrangement for a supplementary Passover (chap. ix. 1-14); (4) the appointment of signs and signals for the march in the desert (chap. ix. 5-x. 10). In the SECOND part (chap. x. 11-xxi.), the history of the journey is given in the three stages of its progress from Sinai to the heights of Pisgah, near to the Jordan, viz. (1) from their departure from the desert of Sinai (chap. x. 11-36) to their arrival at the desert of *Paran*, at Kadesh, including the occurrences at Taberah, at the graves of lust, and at Hazeroth (chap. xi. and xii.), and the events at Kadesh which led God to

condemn the people who had revolted against Him to wander in the wilderness for forty years, until the older generation that came out of Egypt had all died (chap. xiii. and xiv.); (2) all that is related of the execution of this divine judgment, extending from the end of the second year to the reassembling of the congregation at Kadesh at the beginning of the fortieth year, is the history of the rebellion and destruction of Korah (chap. xvi.-xvii. 15), which is preceded by laws relating to the offering of sacrifices after entering Canaan, to the punishment of blasphemers, and to mementos upon the clothes (chap. xv.), and followed by the divine institution of the Aaronic priesthood (chap. xvii. 16-28), with directions as to the duties and rights of the priests and Levites (chap. xviii.), and the law concerning purification from uncleanness arising from contact with the dead (chap. xix.); (3) the journey of Israel in the fortieth year from Kadesh to Mount Hor, round Mount Seir, past Moab, and through the territory of the Amorites to the heights of Pisgah, with the defeat of the kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, and the conquest of their kingdoms in Gilead and Bashan (chap. xx. and xxi.). In the **THIRD** part (chap. xxii.-xxxvi.), the events which occurred in the steppes of Moab, on the eastern side of the plain of Jordan, are gathered into five groups, with the laws that were given there, viz. (1) the attempts of the Moabites and Midianites to destroy the people of Israel, first by the force of Balaam's curse, which was turned against his will into a blessing (chap. xxii.-xxiv.), and then by the seduction of the Israelites to idolatry (chap. xxv.); (2) the fresh numbering of the people according to their families (chap. xxvi.), together with a rule for the inheritance of landed property by daughters (chap. xxvii. 1-11), and the appointment of Joshua as the successor of Moses (chap. xxvii. 12-23); (3) laws relating to the sacrifices to be offered by the congregation on the Sabbath and feast days, and to the binding character of vows made by dependent persons (chap. xxviii.-xxx.); (4) the defeat of the Midianites (chap. xxxi.), the division of the land that had been conquered on the other side of the Jordan among the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh (chap. xxxii.), and the list of the halting-places (chap. xxxiii. 1-49); (5) directions as to the expulsion of the Canaanites, the conquest of Canaan and division of it among the tribes of Israel, the Levites and free cities, and the marriage of heiresses (chap. xxxiii. 50-xxxvi.).

EXPOSITION.

I. PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE OF ISRAEL FROM SINAI.

CHAP. I. 1-x. 10.

NUMBERING OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AT SINAI.—

CHAP. I.-IV.

FOUR weeks after the erection of the tabernacle (cf. chap. i. 1 and Ex. xl. 17), Moses had the number of the whole congregation taken, by the command of God, according to the families and fathers' houses of the twelve tribes, and a list made of all the males above twenty years of age for service in the army of Jehovah (chap. i. 1-3). Nine months before, the numbering of the people had taken place for the purpose of collecting atonement-money from every male of twenty years old and upwards (Ex. xxx. 11 sqq., compared with chap. xxxviii. 25, 26), and the result was 603,550, the same number as is given here as the sum of all that were mustered in the twelve tribes (chap. i. 46). This correspondence in the number of the male population after the lapse of a year is to be explained, as we have already observed at Ex. xxx. 16, simply from the fact that the result of the previous census, which was taken for the purpose of raising head-money from every one who was fit for war, was taken as the basis of the mustering of all who were fit for war, which took place after the erection of the tabernacle; so that, strictly speaking, this mustering merely consisted in the registering of those who had been numbered in the public records, according to their families and fathers' houses. It is most probable, however, that the numbering and registering took place according to the classification adopted at Jethro's suggestion for the administration of justice, viz. in thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (Ex. xviii. 25), and that the number of men in the different tribes was reckoned in this way simply by thousands, hundreds, and tens,—a conclusion which we may draw from the fact, that there are no units given in the case of any of the tribes. On this plan the supernumerary units might be used to balance the changes that had taken place in the actual condition of the families and fathers' houses, between the numbering and the preparation of the muster-rolls, so that the few

changes that had occurred in the course of nine months among those who were fit for war were not taken any further into consideration, on account of their being so inconsiderable in relation to the total result. A fresh census was taken 38 years later in the steppes of Moab (chap. xxvi.), for the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes according to the number of their families (chap. xxxiii. 54). The number which this gave was 601,730 men of twenty years old and upwards, not a single one of whom, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, was included among those that were mustered at Sinai, because the whole of that generation had died in the wilderness (chap. xxvi. 63 sqq.). In the historical account, instead of these exact numbers, the number of adult males is given in a round sum of 600,000 (chap. xi. 21; Ex. xii. 37). To this the Levites had to be added, of whom there were 22,000 males at the first numbering and 23,000 at the second, reckoning the whole from a month old and upwards (chap. iii. 39, xxvi. 62). Accordingly, on the precarious supposition that the results obtained from the official registration of births and deaths in our own day furnish any approximative standard for the people of Israel, who had grown up under essentially different territorial and historical circumstances, the whole number of the Israelites in the time of Moses would have been about two millions.¹

Modern critics have taken offence at these numbers, though without sufficient reason.² When David had the census taken by

¹ Statistics show that, out of 10,000 inhabitants in any country, about 5580 are over twenty years of age (cf. *Chr. Bernoulli, Hdb. der Populationistik*, 1841). This is the case in Belgium, where, out of 1000 inhabitants, 421 are under twenty years of age. According to the Danish census of 1840, out of 1000 inhabitants there were—

In Denmark, under twenty years of age, 432; above twenty, 568				
Schleswig,	„	„	436;	„ 564
Holstein,	„	„	460;	„ 540
Lauenburg,	„	„	458;	„ 542

According to this standard, if there were 600,000 males in Israel above twenty years of age, there would be in all 1,000,000 or 1,100,000 males, and therefore, including the females, more than two millions.

² *Knobel* has raised the following objections to the historical truth or validity of the numbers given above: (1.) So large a number could not possibly have lived for any considerable time in the peninsula of Sinai, as modern travellers estimate the present population at not more than from four to seven thousand, and state that the land could never have been capable of sustaining a population of 50,000. But the books of Moses do not affirm that the Israelites lived for forty years upon the natural produce of the desert, but that they were fed mira-

Joab, in the closing years of his reign, there were 800,000 men capable of bearing arms in Israel, and 500,000 in Judah (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). Now, if we suppose the entire population of a country to be about four times the number of its fighting men, there would be

culously with manna by God (see at Ex. xvi. 31). Moreover, the peninsula of Sinai yielded much more subsistence in ancient times than is to be found there at present, as is generally admitted, and only denied by *Knobel* in the interests of rationalism. The following are *Ritter's* remarks in his *Erdkunde*, 14, pp. 926-7: "We have repeatedly referred above to the earlier state of the country, which must have been vastly different from that of the present time. The abundant vegetation, for example; the larger number of trees, and their superiority in size, the destruction of which would be followed by a decrease in the quantity of smaller shrubs, etc.; also the greater abundance of the various kinds of food of which the children of Israel could avail themselves in their season; the more general cultivation of the land, as seen in the monumental period of the earliest Egyptians, viz. the period of their mines and cities, as well as in Christian times in the wide-spread remains of monasteries, hermitages, walls, gardens, fields, and wells; and, lastly, the possibility of a better employment of the temporary flow of water in the wadys, and of the rain, which falls by no means unfrequently, but which would need to be kept with diligence and by artificial means for the unfruitful periods of the year, as is the case in other districts of the same latitude. These circumstances, which are supported by the numerous inscriptions of Sinai and Serbal, together with those in the Wady Mokatteb and a hundred other valleys, as well as upon rocky and mountainous heights, which are now found scattered in wild solitude and utter neglect throughout the whole of the central group of mountains, prove that at one time a more numerous population both could and did exist there." (2.) "If the Israelites had been a nation of several millions in the Mosaic age, with their bravery at that time, they would have conquered the small land more easily and more rapidly than they seem to have done according to the accounts in the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, which show that they were obliged to tolerate the Canaanites for a long time, that they were frequently oppressed by them, and that it was not till the time of David and Solomon that their supremacy was completely established." This objection of *Knobel's* is founded upon the supposition that the tribes of Canaan were very small and weak. But where has he learned that? As they had no less than 31 kings, according to Josh. xii., and dwelt in many hundreds of towns, they can hardly have been numerically weaker than the Israelites with their 600,000 men, but in all probability were considerably stronger in numbers, and by no means inferior in bravery; to say nothing of the fact that the Israelites neither conquered Canaan under Joshua by the strength of their hands, nor failed to exterminate them afterwards from want of physical strength. (3.) Of the remaining objections, viz. that so large a number could not have gone through the Arabian Gulf in a single night, or crossed the Jordan in a day, that Joshua could not have circumcised the whole of the males, etc., the first has been answered in vol. ii. (pp. 46, 47), by a proof that it was possible for the Red Sea to be crossed in the given time, and the others will be answered when we come to the particular events referred to.

about five millions of inhabitants in Palestine at that time. The area of this land, according to the boundaries given in chap. xxxiv. 2–12, the whole of which was occupied by Israel and Judah in the time of David, with the exception of a small strip of the Phœnician coast, was more than 500 square miles.¹ Accordingly there would be 10,000 inhabitants to each square mile (German); a dense though by no means unparalleled population;² so that it is certainly possible that in the time of Christ it may have been more numerous still, according to the accounts of *Josephus*, which are confirmed by *Dio Cassius* (cf. *C. v. Raumer, Palästina*, p. 93). And if Canaan could contain and support five millions of inhabitants in the flourishing period of the Israelitish kingdom, two millions or more could easily have settled and been sustained in the time of Joshua and the Judges, notwithstanding the fact that there still remained large tracts of land in the possession of the Canaanites and Philistines, and that the Israelites dwelt in the midst of the Canaanitish population which had not yet been entirely eradicated (Judg. iii. 1–5).

If we compare together the results of the two numberings in the second and fortieth years of their march, we shall find a considerable increase in some of the tribes, and a large decrease in others. The number of men of twenty years old and upwards in the different tribes was as follows:—

	First Numbering.	Second Numbering.
Reuben,	46,500	43,730
Simeon,	59,300	22,200
Gad,	45,650	40,500
Judah,	74,600	76,500
Issachar,	54,400	64,300
Zebulon,	57,400	60,500
Ephraim,	40,500	32,500
Manasseh,	32,200	52,700
Benjamin,	35,400	45,600
Dan,	62,700	64,400
Asher,	41,500	53,400
Naphtali,	53,400	45,400
Total,	603,550	601,730

Consequently by the second numbering Dan had increased 1700,

¹ The German mile being equal to about five English miles, this would give 12,500 square miles English.

² In the kingdom of Saxony (according to the census of the year 1855) there are 7501 persons to the square mile; in Belgium (according to the census of

Judah 1900, Zebulon 3100, Issachar 9900, Benjamin 10,200, Asher 11,900, Manasseh 20,900. This increase, which was about 19 per cent. in the case of Issachar, 29 per cent. in that of Benjamin and Asher, and 63 per cent. in that of Manasseh, is very large, no doubt; but even that of Manasseh is not unparalleled. The total population of Prussia increased from 10,349,031 to 17,139,288 between the end of 1816 and the end of 1855, that is to say, more than 65 per cent. in 39 years; whilst in England the population increased 47 per cent. between 1815 and 1849, *i.e.* in 34 years. On the other hand, there was a decrease in Reuben of 2770, in Gad of 5150, in Ephraim of 8000, in Naphtali of 8000, and in Simeon of 37,100. The cause of this diminution of 6 per cent. in the case of Reuben, 12 per cent. in Gad, 15 per cent. in Naphtali, 20 per cent. in Ephraim, and nearly 63 per cent. in Simeon, it is most natural to seek for in the different judgments which fell upon the nation. If it be true, as the earlier commentators conjectured, with great plausibility, on account of the part taken by Zimri, a prince of the tribe (chap. xxv. 6, 14), that the Simeonites were the worst of those who joined in the idolatrous worship of Baal Peor, the plague, in which 24,000 men were destroyed (chap. xxv. 9), would fall upon them with greater severity than upon the other tribes; and this would serve as the principal explanation of the circumstance, that in the census which was taken immediately afterwards, the number of men in that tribe who were capable of bearing arms had melted away to 22,200. But for all that, the total number included in the census had only been reduced by 1820 men during the forty years of their journeying through the wilderness.

The tribe of Levi appears very small in comparison with the rest of the tribes. In the second year of their journey, when the first census was taken, it only numbered 22,000 males of a month old and upwards; and in the fortieth year, when the second was taken, only 23,000 (chap. iii. 39, xxvi. 62). "Reckoning," says

1856) 8462; and in the district of Düsseldorf there are 98·32 square miles and (according to the census of 1855) 1,007,570 inhabitants, so that there must be 10,248 persons to the square mile. Consequently, not only could more than five millions have lived in Palestine, but, if we take into account on the one hand what is confirmed by both biblical and other testimonies, *viz.* the extraordinary fertility of the land in ancient times (*cf. v. Raumer, Pal.* pp. 92 sqq.), and on the other hand the well-known fact that the inhabitants of warm countries require less food than Europeans living in colder climates, they could also have found a sufficient supply of food.

Knobel, "that in Belgium, for example, in the rural districts, out of 10,000 males, 1074 die in the first month after their birth, and 3684 between the first month and the twentieth year, so that only 5242 are then alive, the tribe of Levi would only number about 13,000 men of 20 years old and upwards, and consequently would not be half as numerous as the smallest of the other tribes, whilst it would be hardly a sixth part the size of Judah, which was the strongest of the tribes." But notwithstanding this, the correctness of the numbers given is not to be called in question. It is not only supported by the fact, that the number of the Levites capable of service between the ages of 30 and 50 amounted to 8580 (chap. iv. 48),—a number which bears the most perfect proportion to that of 22,000 of a month old and upwards,—but is also confirmed by the fact, that in the time of David the tribe of Levi only numbered 38,000 of thirty years old and upwards (1 Chron. xxiii. 3); so that in the interval between Moses and David their rate of increase was still below that of the other tribes, which had grown from 600,000 to 1,300,000 in the same time. Now, if we cannot discover any reason for this smaller rate of increase in the tribe of Levi, we see, at any rate, that it was not uniform in the other tribes. If Levi was not half as strong as Manasseh in the first numbering, neither Manasseh nor Benjamin was half as strong as Judah; and in the second numbering, even Ephraim had not half the number of men that Judah had.

A much greater difficulty appears to lie in the fact, that the number of all the male first-born of the twelve tribes, which was only 22,273 according to the census taken for the purpose of their redemption by the Levites (chap. iii. 43), bore no kind of proportion to the total number of men capable of bearing arms in the whole of the male population, as calculated from these. If the 603,550 men of twenty years old and upwards presuppose, according to what has been stated above, a population of more than a million males; then, on the assumption that 22,273 was the sum total of the first-born sons throughout the entire nation, there would be only one first-born to 40 or 45 males, and consequently every father of a family must have begotten, or still have had, from 39 to 44 sons; whereas the ordinary proportion of first-born sons to the whole male population is one to four. But the calculation which yields this enormous disproportion, or rather this inconceivable proportion, is founded upon the supposition that the law, which commanded the sanctification of the male first-born, had a retrospective force, and was to be understood as requiring that not only the first-

born sons, who were born from the time when the law was given, but all the first-born sons throughout the entire nation, should be offered to the Lord and redeemed with five shekels each, even though they were fathers or grandfathers, or even great-grandfathers, at that time. Now if the law is to be interpreted in this sense, as having a retrospective force, and applying to those who were born before it was issued, as it has been from the time of *J. D. Michaelis* down to that of *Knobel*, it is an unwarrantable liberty to restrict its application to the first-born sons, who had not yet become fathers themselves,—a mere subterfuge, in fact, invented for the purpose of getting rid of the disproportion, but without answering the desired end.¹ If we look more closely at the law, we cannot find in the words themselves “all the first-born, whatsoever

¹ This is evident from the different attempts which have been made to get rid of the difficulty, in accordance with this hypothesis. *J. D. Michaelis* thought that he could explain the disproportion from the prevalence of polygamy among the Israelites; but he has overlooked the fact, that polygamy never prevailed among the Israelites, or any other people, with anything like the universality which this would suppose. *Hävernicks* adopted this view, but differed so far from *Michaelis*, that he understood by *first-born* only those who were so on both the father's and mother's side,—a supposition which does not remove the difficulty, but only renders it perfectly incredible. Others imagined, that only those first-born were counted who had been born as the result of marriages contracted within the last six years. *Baumgarten* supports this on the ground that, according to Lev. xxvii. 6, the redemption-fee for boys of this age was five shekels (chap. iii. 47); but this applies to vows, and proves nothing in relation to first-born, who could not have been the object of a vow (Lev. xxvii. 26). *Bunsen* comes to the same conclusion, on the ground that it was at this age that children were generally dedicated to Moloch (*sic!*). Lastly, *Kurtz* endeavours to solve the difficulty, first, by referring to the great fruitfulness of the Israelitish women; secondly, by excluding, (*a*) the first-born of the father, unless at the same time the first-born of the mother; (*b*) all the first-born who were fathers of families themselves; and thirdly, by observing, that in a population of 600,000 males above 20 years of age, we may assume that there would be about 200,000 under the age of fifteen. Now, if we deduct these 200,000 who were not yet fifteen, from the 600,000 who were above twenty, there would remain 400,000 married men. “In that case the total number of 22,273 first-born would yield this proportion, that there would be one first-born to nine male births. And on the ground assigned under No. 2 (*a*), this proportion would have to be reduced one-half. So that for every family we should have, on an average, four or five sons, or nine children,—a result by no means surprising, considering the fruitfulness of Hebrew marriages.” This would be undoubtedly true, and the *facit* of the calculation quite correct, as $9 \times 22,273 = 200,457$, if only the subtraction upon which it is based were reconcilable with the rules of arithmetic, or if the reduction of 600,000 men to 400,000 could in any way be justified.

openeth the womb" (Ex. xiii. 2, cf. Num. iii. 12), or in the *ratio legis*, or in the circumstances under which the law was given, either a necessity or warrant for any such explanation or extension. According to Ex. xiii. 2, after the institution of the Passover and its first commemoration, God gave the command, "Sanctify unto Me all the first-born both of man and of beast;" and added, according to vers. 11 sqq., the further explanation, that when the Israelites came into the land of Canaan, they were to set apart every first-born unto the Lord, but to redeem their first-born sons. This further definition places it beyond all doubt, that what God prescribed to His people was not a supplementary sanctification of all the male first-born who were then to be found in Israel, but simply the sanctification of all that should be born from that time forward. A confirmation of this is to be found in the explanation given in Num. iii. 13 and viii. 17: "All the first-born are Mine; for on the day that I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, I hallowed unto Me all the first-born in Israel, both man and beast." According to this distinct explanation, God had actually sanctified to Himself all the first-born of Israel by the fact, that through the blood of the paschal lamb He granted protection to His people from the stroke of the destroyer (Ex. xii. 22, 23), and had instituted the Passover, in order that He might therein adopt the whole nation of Israel, with all its sons, as the people of *His* possession, or induct the nation which He had chosen as His first-born son (Ex. iv. 22) into the condition of a child of God. This condition of sonship was henceforth to be practically manifested by the Israelites, not only by the yearly repetition of the feast of Passover, but also by the presentation of all the male first-born of their sons and their cattle to the Lord, the first-born of the cattle being sacrificed to Him upon the altar, and the first-born sons being redeemed from the obligation resting upon them to serve at the sanctuary of their God. Of course the reference was only to the first-born of men and cattle that should come into the world from that time forward, and not to those whom God had already sanctified to Himself, by sparing the Israelites and their cattle.¹

¹ *Vitringa* drew the correct conclusion from Ex. xiii. 11, 12, in combination with the fact that this law was not carried out previous to the adoption of the Levites in the place of the first-born for service at the sanctuary—that the law was intended chiefly for the future: "This law," he observes (in his *Obs. ss. L. ii. c. 2, § 13*), "relates to the tabernacle to be afterwards erected, and to the regular priests to be solemnly appointed; when this law, with many others of a

This being established, it follows that the 22,273 first-born, who were exchanged for the Levites (ch. iii. 45 sqq.), consisted only of the first-born sons who had been born between the time of the exodus from Egypt and the numbering of the twelve tribes, which took place thirteen months afterwards. Now, if, in order to form an idea of the proportion which this number would bear to the whole of the male population of the twelve tribes of Israel, we avail ourselves of the results furnished by modern statistics, we may fairly assume, according to these, that in a nation comprising 603,550 males above 20 years of age, there would be 190,000 to 195,100 between the ages of 20 and 30.¹ And, supposing that this was the age at which the Israelites married, there would be from 19,000 to 19,500 marriages contracted upon an average every year; and in a nation which had grown up in a land so celebrated as Egypt was in antiquity for the extraordinary fruitfulness of its inhabitants, almost as many first-born, say at least 19,000, might be expected to come into the world. This average number would be greater if we fixed the age for marrying between 18 and 28, or reduced it to the seven years between 18 and 25.² But even without doing this, we must take into consideration the important fact that such averages, based upon a considerable length of time, only give an approximative idea of the actual state of things in any single year; and that, as a matter of fact, in years of oppression and distress the numbers may sink to half the average, whilst in other similar kind, would have to be observed. The first-born were set apart by God to be consecrated to Him, as servants of the priests and of the sacred things, either in their own persons, or in that of others who were afterwards substituted in the goodness of God. This command therefore presupposed the erection of the tabernacle, the ordination of priests, the building of an altar, and the ceremonial of the sacred service, and showed from the very nature of the case, that there could not be any application of this law of the first-born before that time."

¹ According to the census of the town of Basle, given by *Bernoulli* in his *Populationistik*, p. 42, and classified by age, out of 1000 inhabitants in the year 1837, there were 326 under 20 years of age, 224 between 20 and 30, and 450 of 30 years old and upwards. Now, if we apply this ratio to the people of Israel, out of 603,550 males of 20 years old and upwards, there would be 197,653 between the ages of 20 and 30. The statistics of the city of Vienna and its suburbs, as given by *Brachelli* (*Geographie und Statistik*, 1861), yield very nearly the same results. At the end of the year 1856 there were 88,973 male inhabitants under 20 years of age, 44,000 between 20 and 30, and 97,853 of 30 years old and upwards, not including the military and those who were in hospitals. According to this ratio, out of the 603,550 Israelites above 20 years of age, 187,209 would be between 20 and 30.

² From a comparison with the betrothals which take place every year in

years, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, they may rise again to double the amount.¹ When the Israelites were groaning under the hard lash of the Egyptian taskmasters, and then under the inhuman and cruel edict of Pharaoh, which commanded all the Hebrew boys that were born to be immediately put to death, the number of marriages no doubt diminished from year to year. But the longer this oppression continued, the greater would be the number of marriages concluded at once (especially in a nation rejoicing in the promise of numerous increase which it had received from its God), when Moses had risen up and proved himself, by the mighty signs and wonders with which he smote Egypt and its haughty king, to be the man whom the God of the fathers had sent and endowed with power to redeem His nation out of the bondage of Egypt, and lead it into Canaan, the good land that He had promised to the fathers. At that time, when the spirits of the nation revived, and the hope of a glorious future filled every heart, there might very well have been about 38,000 marriages contracted in a year, say from the time of the seventh plague, three months before the exodus, and about 37,600 children born by the second month of the second year after the exodus, 22,273 of them being boys, as the proportion of male births to female varies very remarkably, and may be shown to have risen even as high as 157 to 100, whilst among the Jews of modern times it has frequently been as high as 6 to 5, and has even risen to 3 to 2 (or more exactly 29 to 20).²

the Prussian state, it is evident that the number given in the text as the average number of marriages contracted every year is not too high, but most assuredly too low. In the year 1858 there were 167,387 betrothals in a population of 17,793,900; in 1816, on the other hand, there were 117,448 in a population of 10,402,600 (*vid. Brachelli, Geog. und Statistik von Preussen*, 1861). The first ratio, if applied to Israel with its two millions, would yield 19,000 marriages annually; the second, 22,580; whilst we have, in addition, to bear in mind how many men there are in the European states who would gladly marry, if they were not prevented from doing so by inability to find the means of supporting a house of their own.

¹ How great the variations are in the number of marriages contracted year by year, even in large states embracing different tribes, and when no unusual circumstances have disturbed the ordinary course of things, is evident from the statistics of the Austrian empire as given by *Brachelli*, from which we may see that in the year 1851, with a total population of 36½ millions, there were 361,249 betrothals, and in the year 1854, when the population had increased by half a million, only 279,802. The variations in particular districts are, as might be supposed, considerably larger.

² According to *Bernoulli* (p. 143), in the city of Geneva, there were 157 boys born to every 100 girls in the year 1832. He also observes, at p. 153: "It is

In this way the problem before us may be solved altogether independently of the question, whether the law relates to all the first-born sons on the father's side, or only to those who were first-born on both father's and mother's side, and without there having been a daughter born before. This latter view we regard as quite unfounded, as a mere subterfuge resorted to for the purpose of removing the supposed disproportion, and in support of which the expression "opening the womb" (*fissura uteri*, i.e. *qui findit uterum*) is pressed in a most unwarrantable manner. On this point, *J. D. Michaelis* has correctly observed, that "the etymology ought not to be too strongly pressed, inasmuch as it is not upon this, but upon usage chiefly, that the force of words depends." It is a fact common to all languages, that in many words the original literal signification falls more and more into the background in the course of years, and at length is gradually lost sight of altogether. Moreover, the expression "openeth the womb" is generally employed in cases in which a common term is required to designate the first-born of both man and beast (Ex. xiii. 2, 12-15, xxxiv. 19, 20; Num. iii. 12, 13, viii. 16, 17, xviii. 15; Ezek. xx. 16); but even then, wherever the two are distinguished, the term פֶּבֶר is applied as a rule to the first-born sons, and פֶּטֶר to the first-born of animals (comp. Ex. xiii. 13*b* with vers. 12 and 13*a*; and chap. xxxiv. 20*b* with vers. 19 and 20*a*). On the other hand, where only first-born sons are referred to, as in Deut. xxi. 15-17, we look in vain for the expression *peter rechem*, "openeth the womb." Again, the Old Testament, like modern law, recognises only first-born *sons*, and does not apply the term first-born to daughters at all; and in relation to the inheritance, even in the case of two wives, both of whom had born sons to their husband, it recognises only *one* first-born son, so that the fact of its being the first birth on the mother's side is not taken into consideration at all (cf. Gen. xvi. 8, xlix. 3; Deut. xxi. 15-17). And the established rule in relation to the birth-right,—namely, that the first son of the father was called the first-born, and possessed all the rights of the first-born, independently

remarkable that, according to a very frequent observation, there are an unusual number of boys born among the Jews;" and as a proof, he cites the fact that, according to *Burdach*, the lists of births in Leghorn show 120 male children born among the Jews to 100 female, whilst, according to *Hufeland*, there were 528 male Jews and 365 female born in Berlin in the course of 16 years, the proportion therefore being 145 to 100. And, according to this same proportion, we have calculated above, that there would be 15,327 girls to 22,273 boys.

altogether of the question whether there had been daughters born before,—would no doubt be equally applicable to the sanctification of the first-born sons. Or are we really to believe, that inasmuch as the child first born is quite as often a girl as a boy, God exempted every father in Israel whose eldest child was a daughter from the obligation to manifest his own sonship by consecrating his first-born son to God, and so demanded the performance of this duty from half the nation only? We cannot for a moment believe that such an interpretation of the law as this would really be in accordance with the spirit of the Old Testament economy.

Chap. i. MUSTER OF THE TWELVE TRIBES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THAT OF LEVI.—Vers. 1-3. Before the departure of Israel from Sinai, God commanded Moses, on the first of the second month in the second year after the exodus from Egypt, to take the number of the whole congregation of the children of Israel, “*according to their families, according to their fathers’ houses* (see Ex. vi. 14), *in (according to) the number of their names,*” i.e. each one counted singly and entered, but only “*every male according to their heads of twenty years old and upwards*” (see Ex. xxx. 14), viz. only פְּלִי-יָצֵא צָבָא “*all who go forth of the army,*” i.e. all the men capable of bearing arms, because by means of this numbering the tribes and their subdivisions were to be organized as hosts of Jehovah, that the whole congregation might fight as an army for the cause of their Lord (see at Ex. vii. 4).

Vers. 4-16. Moses and Aaron, who were commanded to number, or rather to muster, the people, were to have with them “*a man of every tribe, who was head-man of his fathers’ houses,*” i.e. a tribe-prince, viz. to help them to carry out the mustering. Beth aboth (“*fathers’ houses*”), in ver. 2, is a technical expression for the subdivisions in which the *mishpachoth*, or families of the tribes, were arranged, and is applied in ver. 4 according to its original usage, based upon the natural division of the tribes into *mishpachoth* and families, to the fathers’ houses which every tribe possessed in the family of its first-born. In vers. 5-15, these heads of tribes are mentioned by name, as in chap. ii. 3 sqq., vii. 12 sqq., x. 14 sqq. In ver. 16 they are designated as “*called men of the congregation,*” because they were called to diets of the congregation, as representatives of the tribes, to regulate the affairs of the nation; also “*princes of the tribes of their fathers,*” and “*heads of the thousands of Israel:*” “*princes,*” from the nobility of their birth; and

"heads," as chiefs of the *alaphim* composing the tribes. *Alaphim* is equivalent to *mishpachoth* (cf. chap. x. 4; Josh. xxii. 14); because the number of heads of families in the *mishpachoth* of a tribe might easily amount to a *thousand* (see at Ex. xviii. 25). In a similar manner, the term "*hundred*" in the old German came to be used in several different senses (see *Grimm, deutsche Rechts-alterthümer*, p. 532).

Vers. 17-47. This command was carried out by Moses and Aaron. They took for this purpose the twelve heads of tribes who are pointed out (see at Lev. xxiv. 11) by name, and had the whole congregation gathered together by them and enrolled in genealogical tables. הַתְּחִילָה, to *announce themselves as born*, i.e. to have themselves entered in genealogical registers (books of generations). This entry is called a מִקְרָא, *mustering*, in ver. 19, etc. In vers. 20-43 the number is given of those who were mustered of all the different tribes, and in vers. 44-47 the total of the whole nation, with the exception of the tribe of Levi. "*Their generations*" (vers. 20, 22, 24, etc.), i.e. those who were begotten by them, so that "*the sons of Reuben, Simeon,*" etc., are mentioned as the fathers from whom the *mishpachoth* and fathers' houses had sprung. The לְ before בְּנֵי שְׁמֹעֵן in ver. 22, and the following names (in vers. 24, 26, etc.), signifies "*with regard to*" (as in Isa. xxxii. 1; Ps. xvii. 4, etc.).

Vers. 48-54. Moses was not to muster the tribe of Levi along with the children of Israel, i.e. with the other tribes, or take their number, but to appoint the Levites for the service of the dwelling of the testimony (Ex. xxxviii. 21), i.e. of the tabernacle, that they might encamp around it, might take it down when the camp was broken up, and set it up when Israel encamped again, and that no stranger (*zar*, non-Levite, as in Lev. xxii. 10) might come near it and be put to death (see chap. iii.). The rest of the tribes were to encamp every man in his place of encampment, and by his banner (see at chap. ii. 2), in their hosts (see chap. ii.), that wrath might not come upon the congregation, viz. through the approach of a stranger. אַפַּיִם, the wrath of Jehovah, breaking in judgment upon the unholy who approached His sanctuary in opposition to His command (chap. viii. 19, xviii. 5, 22). On the expression "*keep the charge*" (*shamar mishmereth*), see at Gen. xxvi. 5 and Lev. viii. 35.

Chap. ii. ORDER OF THE TWELVE TRIBES IN THE CAMP AND ON THE MARCH.—Vers. 1, 2. The twelve tribes were to encamp each one by his standard, by the signs of their fathers' houses,

opposite to the tabernacle (at some distance) round about, and, according to the more precise directions given afterwards, in such order that on every side of the tabernacle three tribes were encamped side by side and united under one banner, so that the twelve tribes formed four large camps or divisions of an army. Between these camps and the court surrounding the tabernacle, the three leading *mishpachoth* of the Levites were to be encamped on three sides, and Moses and Aaron with the sons of Aaron (*i.e.* the priests) upon the fourth, *i.e.* the front or eastern side, before the entrance (chap. iii. 21–38). דָּגָל, a standard, banner, or flag, denotes primarily the larger *field sign*, possessed by every division composed of three tribes, which was also the banner of the tribe at the head of each division; and secondarily, in a derivative signification, it denotes the *army* united under one standard, like *σημεία*, or *vexillum*. It is used thus, for example, in vers. 17, 31, 34, and in combination with מַחֲנֶה in vers. 3, 10, 18, and 25, where “standard of the camp of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan” signifies the hosts of the tribes arranged under these banners. אֹתוֹת, the *signs* (ensigns), were the smaller flags or banners which were carried at the head of the different tribes and subdivisions of the tribes (the fathers’ houses). Neither the Mosaic law, nor the Old Testament generally, gives us any intimation as to the form or character of the standard (*degel*). According to rabbinical tradition, the standard of Judah bore the figure of a lion, that of Reuben the likeness of a man or of a man’s head, that of Ephraim the figure of an ox, and that of Dan the figure of an eagle; so that the four living creatures united in the cherubic forms described by Ezekiel were represented upon these four standards.¹

¹ Jerome Prado, in his commentary upon Ezekiel (chap. i. p. 44), gives the following minute description according to rabbinical tradition: “The different leaders of the tribes had their own standards, with the crests of their ancestors depicted upon them. On the east, above the tent of *Naasson* the first-born of *Judah*, there shone a standard of a green colour, this colour having been adopted by him because it was in a green stone, *viz.* an emerald, that the name of his forefather *Judah* was engraved on the breastplate of the high priest (Ex. xxv. 15 sqq.), and on this standard there was depicted a lion, the crest and hieroglyphic of his ancestor *Judah*, whom *Jacob* had compared to a lion, saying, ‘*Judah* is a lion’s whelp.’ Towards the south, above the tent of *Elisur* the son of *Reuben*, there floated a red standard, having the colour of the sardus, on which the name of his father, *viz.* *Reuben*, was engraved upon the breastplate of the high priest. The symbol depicted upon this standard was a human head, because *Reuben* was the first-born, and head of the family. On the west, above the tent of *Elishamah* the son of *Ephraim*, there was a golden flag, on which the

Vers. 3–31. *Order of the tribes in the camp and on the march.*—Vers. 3–9. The standard of the tribe of Judah was to encamp in front, namely towards the east, according to its hosts; and by its side the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun, the descendants of Leah, under the command and banner of Judah: an army of 186,400 men, which was to march out first when the camp was broken up (ver. 9), so that Judah led the way as the champion of his brethren (Gen. xlix. 10).—Ver. 4. “*His host, and those that were numbered of them*” (cf. vers. 6, 8, 11, etc.), *i.e.* the army according to its numbered men.—Vers. 10–16. On the south side was the standard of Reuben, with which Simeon and Gad, descendants of Leah and her maid Zilpah, were associated, and to which they were subordinated. In ver. 14, *Reuel* is a mistake for *Deuel* (chap. i. 14, vii. 42, x. 20), which is the reading given here in 118 MSS. cited by *Kennicott* and *De Rossi*, in several of the ancient editions, and in the *Samaritan*, *Vulgate*, and *Jon. Saad.*, whereas the LXX., *Onk.*, *Syr.*, and *Pers.* read *Reuel*. This army of 151,450 men was to break up and march as the second division.—Ver. 17. The tabernacle, the camp of the Levites, was to break up after this in the midst of the camps (*i.e.* of the other tribes). “*As they encamp, so shall they break up,*” that is to say, with Levi in the midst of the tribes, “*every man in his place, according to his banner.*” פָּרָשָׁה, *place*, as in Deut. xxiii. 13, Isa. lvii. 8.—Vers. 18–24. On the west the standard of Ephraim, with the tribes of Manasseh and Benjamin, that is to say, the whole of the descendants of Rachel, 108,100 men, as the third division of the army.—Vers. 25–31. Lastly, towards the north was the standard of Gad, with Asher and Naphtali, the descendants of the maids Bilhah and Zilpah, 157,600 men, who were

head of a calf was depicted, because it was through the vision of the calves or oxen that his ancestor Joseph had predicted and provided for the famine in Egypt (Gen. xli.); and hence Moses, when blessing the tribe of Joseph, *i.e.* Ephraim (Deut. xxxiii. 17), said, ‘his glory is that of the first-born of a bull.’ The golden splendour of the standard of Ephraim resembled that of the chrysolite, in which the name of Ephraim was engraved upon the breastplate. Towards the north, above the tent of *Ahiezer* the son of *Dan*, there floated a motley standard of white and red, like the jaspis (or, as some say, a carbuncle), in which the name of Dan was engraved upon the breastplate. The crest upon this was an eagle, the great foe to serpents, which had been chosen by the leader in the place of a serpent, because his forefather Jacob had compared Dan to a serpent, saying, ‘Dan is a serpent in the way, an adder (*cerastes*, a horned snake) in the path;’ but Ahiezer substituted the eagle, the destroyer of serpents, as he shrank from carrying an adder upon his flag.”

to be the last to break up, and formed the rear on the march.—Ver. 31. לְרִגְלֵהֶם (*according to their standards*) is equivalent to לְצִבְאוֹתָם (*according to their hosts*) in vers. 9, 16, and 24, *i.e.* according to the hosts of which they consisted.

Vers. 32-34. In ver. 32 we have the whole number given, 603,550 men, not including the Levites (ver. 33, see at chap. i. 49); and in ver. 34 the concluding remark as to the subsequent execution of the divine command,—an anticipatory notice, as in Ex. xii. 50, xl. 16, etc.

Chap. iii. MUSTER OF THE TRIBE OF LEVI.—As Jacob had adopted the two sons of Joseph as his own sons, and thus promoted them to the rank of heads of tribes, the tribe of Levi formed, strictly speaking, the thirteenth tribe of the whole nation, and was excepted from the muster of the twelve tribes who were destined to form the army of Jehovah, because God had chosen it for the service of the sanctuary. Out of this tribe God had not only called Moses to be the deliverer, lawgiver, and leader of His people, but Moses' brother Aaron, with the sons of the latter, to be the custodians of the sanctuary. And now, lastly, the whole tribe was chosen, in the place of the first-born of all the tribes, to assist the priests in performing the duties of the sanctuary, and was numbered and mustered for this its special calling.

Vers. 1-4. In order to indicate at the very outset the position which the Levites were to occupy in relation to the priests (*viz.* Aaron and his descendants), the account of their muster commences not only with the enumeration of the sons of Aaron who were chosen as priests (vers. 2-4), but with the heading: "*These are the generations of Aaron and Moses in the day (i.e. at the time) when Jehovah spake with Moses in Mount Sinai* (ver. 1). The *toledoth* (see at Gen. ii. 4) of Moses and Aaron are not only the families which sprang from Aaron and Moses, but the Levitical families generally, which were named after Aaron and Moses, because they were both of them raised into the position of heads or spiritual fathers of the whole tribe, namely, at the time when God spoke to Moses upon Sinai. Understood in this way, the notice as to the time is neither a superfluous repetition, nor introduced with reference to the subsequent numbering of the people in the steppes of Moab (chap. xxvi. 57 sqq.). Aaron is placed before Moses here (see at Ex. vi. 26 sqq.), not merely as being the elder of the two, but because his sons received the priesthood, whilst the sons of

Moses, on the contrary, were classed among the rest of the Levitical families (cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14).—Vers. 2 sqq. Names of the sons of Aaron, the “*anointed priests* (see Lev. viii. 12), *whose hand they filled to be priests*,” i.e. who were appointed to the priesthood (see at Lev. vii. 37). On Nadab and Abihu, see Lev. x. 1, 2. As they had neither of them any children when they were put to death, Eleazar and Ithamar were the only priests “*in the sight of Aaron their father*,” i.e. during his lifetime. “*In the sight of:*” as in Gen. xi. 28.

Vers. 5–10. The Levites are placed before Aaron the priest, to be his servants.—Ver. 6. “*Bring near:*” as in Ex. xxviii. 1. The expression עָמַד לְפָנַי is frequently met with in connection with the position of a servant, as standing before his master to receive his commands.—Ver. 7. They were to keep the charge of Aaron and the whole congregation before the tabernacle, to attend to the service of the dwelling, i.e. to observe what Aaron (the priest) and the whole congregation were bound to perform in relation to the service at the dwelling-place of Jehovah. “*To keep the charge:*” see chap. i. 53 and Gen. xxvi. 5. In ver. 8 this is more fully explained: they were to keep the vessels of the tabernacle, and to attend to all that was binding upon the children of Israel in relation to them, i.e. to take the oversight of the furniture, to keep it safe and clean.—Ver. 9. Moses was also to give the Levites to Aaron and his sons. “*They are wholly given to him out of the children of Israel:*” the repetition of נָתַתִּים here and in chap. viii. 16 is emphatic, and expressive of complete surrender (Ewald, § 313). The Levites, however, as *nethunim*, must be distinguished from the *nethinim* of non-Israelitish descent, who were given to the Levites at a later period as temple slaves, to perform the lowest duties connected with the sanctuary (see at Josh. ix. 27).—Ver. 10. Aaron and his sons were to be appointed by Moses to take charge of the priesthood; as no stranger, no one who was not a son of Aaron, could approach the sanctuary without being put to death (cf. chap. i. 53 and Lev. xxii. 10).

Vers. 11–13. God appointed the Levites for this service, because He had decided to adopt them as His own in the place of all the first-born of Egypt. When He slew the first-born of Egypt, He sanctified to Himself all the first-born of Israel, of man and beast, for His own possession (see Ex. xiii. 1, 2). By virtue of this sanctification, which was founded upon the adoption of the whole nation as His first-born son (see vol. ii. p. 33), the nation was required to dedicate to Him its first-born sons for service at the sanc-

tuary, and sacrifice all the first-born of its cattle to Him. But now the Levites and their cattle were to be adopted in their place, and the first-born sons of Israel to be released in return (vers. 40 sqq.). By this arrangement, through which the care of the service at the sanctuary was transferred to one tribe, which would and should henceforth devote itself with undivided interest to this vocation, not only was a more orderly performance of this service secured, than could have been effected through the first-born of all the tribes; but so far as the whole nation was concerned, the fulfilment of its obligations in relation to this service was undoubtedly facilitated. Moreover, the Levites had proved themselves to be the most suitable of all the tribes for this post, through their firm and faithful defence of the honour of the Lord at the worship of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii. 26 sqq.). It is in this spirit, which distinguished the tribe of Levi, that we may undoubtedly discover the reason why they were chosen by God for the service of the sanctuary, and not in the fact that Moses and Aaron belonged to the tribe, and desired to form a hierarchical caste of the members of their own tribe, such as was to be found among other nations: the magi, for example, among the Medes, the Chaldeans among the Persians, and the Brahmins among the Indians. לִי אֲנִי יְהוָה, “*to Me, to Me, Jehovah*” (vers. 13, 41, and 45; cf. Ges. § 121, 3).

Vers. 14-20. The muster of the Levites included all the males from a month old and upwards, because they were to be sanctified to Jehovah in the place of the first-born; and it was at the age of a month that the latter were either to be given up or redeemed (comp. vers. 40 and 43 with chap. xviii. 16). In vers. 17-20 the sons of Levi and their sons are enumerated, who were the founders of the *mishpachoth* among the Levites, as in Ex. vi. 16-19.

Vers. 21-26. The Gershonites were divided into two families, containing 7500 males. They were to encamp under their chief Eliasaph, behind the tabernacle, *i.e.* on the western side (vers. 23, 24), and were to take charge of the dwelling-place and the tent, the covering, the curtain at the entrance, the hangings round the court with the curtains at the door, and the cords of the tent, “*in relation to all the service thereof*” (vers. 25 sqq.); that is to say, according to the more precise injunctions in chap. iv. 25-27, they were to carry the tapestry of the dwelling (the inner covering, Ex. xxvi. 1 sqq.), and of the tent (*i.e.* the covering made of goats’ hair, Ex. xxvi. 7 sqq.), the covering thereof (*i.e.* the covering of rams’ skins dyed red, and the covering of sea-cow skin upon the top of

it, Ex. xxvii. 16), the hangings of the court and the curtain at the entrance (Ex. xxvii. 9, 16), which surrounded the altar (of burnt-offering) and the dwelling round about, and their cords, *i.e.* the cords of the tapestry, coverings, and curtains (Ex. xxvii. 14), and all the instruments of their service, *i.e.* the things used in connection with their service (Ex. xxvii. 19), and were to attend to everything that had to be done to them; in other words, to perform whatever was usually done with those portions of the sanctuary that are mentioned here, especially in setting up the tabernacle or taking it down. The suffix in מִיתָרָיו (ver. 26) does not refer to the court mentioned immediately before; for, according to ver. 37, the Merarites were to carry the cords of the hangings of the court, but to the "dwelling and tent," which stand farther off. In the same way the words, "*for all the service thereof*," refer to all those portions of the sanctuary that are mentioned, and mean "everything that had to be done or attended to in connection with these things."

Vers. 27–32. The *Kohathites*, who were divided into four families, and numbered 8600, were to encamp on the south side of the tabernacle, and more especially to keep the charge of the sanctuary (ver. 28), viz. to take care of the ark of the covenant, the table (of shew-bread), the candlestick, the altars (of incense and burnt-offering), with the holy things required for the service performed in connection therewith, and the curtain (the veil before the most holy place), and to perform whatever had to be done ("all the service thereof," see at ver. 26), *i.e.* to carry the said holy things after they had been rolled up in covers by the priests (see chap. iv. 5 sq.).—Ver. 32. As the priests also formed part of the Kohathites, their chief is mentioned as well, viz. *Eleazar* the eldest son of Aaron the high priest, who was placed over the chiefs of the three Levitical families, and called פִּקְדָּה, *oversight of the keepers of the charge of the sanctuary*, *i.e.* authority, superior, of the servants of the sanctuary.

Vers. 33–37. The *Merarites*, who formed two families, comprising 6200 males, were to encamp on the north side of the tabernacle, under their prince *Zuriel*, and to observe the boards, bolts, pillars, and sockets of the dwelling-place (Ex. xxvi. 15, 26, 32, 37), together with all the vessels thereof (the plugs and tools), and all that had to be done in connection therewith, also the pillars of the court with their sockets, the plugs and the cords (Ex. xxvii. 10, 19, xxxv. 18); that is to say, they were to take charge of these when the tabernacle was taken down, to carry them on the march, and to fix them when the tabernacle was set up again (chap. iv. 31, 32).

Vers. 38, 39. Moses and Aaron, with the sons of the latter (the priests), were to encamp in front, before the tabernacle, viz. on the eastern side, "*as keepers of the charge of the sanctuary for the charge of the children of Israel*," i.e. to attend to everything that was binding upon the children of Israel in relation to the care of the sanctuary, as no stranger was allowed to approach it on pain of death (see chap. i. 51).—Ver. 39. The number of the Levites mustered, 22,000, does not agree with the numbers assigned to the three families, as $7500 + 8600 + 6200 = 22,300$. But the total is correct; for, according to ver. 46, the number of the first-born, 22,273, exceeded the total number of the Levites by 273. The attempt made by the Rabbins and others to reconcile the two, by supposing the 300 Levites in excess to be themselves first-born, who were omitted in the general muster, because they were not qualified to represent the first-born of the other tribes, is evidently forced and unsatisfactory. The whole account is so circumstantial, that such a fact as this would never have been omitted. We must rather assume that there is a copyist's error in the number of one of the Levitical families; possibly in ver. 28 we should read שלש for שש (8300 for 8600). The *puncta extraordinaria* above וְאַהֲרֹן are intended to indicate that this word is either suspicious or spurious (see at Gen. xxxiii. 5); and it is actually omitted in *Sam.*, *Syr.*, and 12 MSS., but without sufficient reason: for although the divine command to muster the Levites (vers. 5 and 14) was addressed to Moses alone, yet if we compare chap. iv. 1, 34, 37, 41, 45, where the Levites qualified for service are said to have been mustered by Moses and Aaron, and still more chap. iv. 46, where the elders of Israel are said to have taken part in the numbering of the Levites as well as in that of the twelve tribes (chap. i. 3, 4), there can be no reason to doubt that Aaron also took part in the mustering of the whole of the Levites, for the purpose of adoption in the place of the first-born of Israel; and no suspicion attaches to this introduction of his name in ver. 39, although it is not mentioned in vers. 5, 11, 14, 40, and 44.

Vers. 40-51. After this, Moses numbered the first-born of the children of Israel, to exchange them for the Levites according to the command of God, which is repeated in vers. 41 and 44-45 from vers. 11-13, and to adopt the latter in their stead for the service at the sanctuary (on vers. 41 and 45, cf. vers. 11-13). The number of the first-born of the twelve tribes amounted to 22,273 of a month old and upwards (ver. 43). Of this number 22,000 were exchanged

for the 22,000 Levites, and the cattle of the Levites were also set against the first-born of the cattle of the tribes of Israel, though without their being numbered and exchanged head for head. In vers. 44 and 45 the command of God concerning the adoption of the Levites is repeated, for the purpose of adding the further instructions with regard to the 273, the number by which the first-born of the tribes exceeded those of the Levites. "*And as for the redemption of the 273 (lit. the 273 to be redeemed) of the first-born of the children of Israel which are more than the Levites, thou shalt take five shekels a head,*" etc. This was the general price established by the law for the redemption of the first-born of men (see chap. xviii. 16). On the sacred shekel, see at Ex. xxx. 13. The redemption money for 273 first-born, in all 1365 shekels, was to be paid to Aaron and his sons as compensation for the persons who properly belonged to Jehovah, and had been appointed as first-born for the service of the priests.—Ver. 49. "*The redeemed of the Levites*" are the 22,000 who were redeemed by means of the Levites. In ver. 50, the *Chethibh* הַפְּדִים is the correct reading, and the *Keri* הַפְּדִים an unnecessary emendation. The number of the first-born and that of the Levites has already been noticed at pp. 8, 9.

Chap. iv. RULES OF SERVICE, AND NUMBERING OF THE LEVITES QUALIFIED FOR SERVICE.—After the adoption of the Levites for service at the sanctuary, in the place of the first-born of Israel, Moses and Aaron mustered the three families of the Levites by the command of God for the service to be performed by those who were between the ages of 30 and 50. The particulars of the service are first of all described in detail (vers. 4–33); and then the men in each family are taken, of the specified age for service (vers. 34–49). The three families are not arranged according to the relative ages of their founders, but according to the importance or sacredness of their service. The Kohathites take the lead, because the holiest parts of the tabernacle were to be carried and kept by this family, which included the priests, Aaron and his sons. The service to be performed by each of the three Levitical families is introduced in every case by a command from God to take the sum of the men from 30 years old to 50 (see vers. 1–3, 21–23, 29 and 30).

Vers. 2–20. *Service of the Kohathites, and the number qualified for service.*—Vers. 2, 3. "*Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi:*" i.e. by raising them out of the sum total

of the Levites, by numbering them first and specially, viz. the men from 30 to 50 years of age, "*every one who comes to the service,*" i.e. who has to enter upon service "*to do work at the tabernacle.*" מִלִּיטָרִי (Angl. '*host*') signifies military service, and is used here with special reference to the service of the Levites as the *militia sacra* of Jehovah.—Ver. 4. The service of the Kohathites at the tabernacle is (relates to) "*the most holy*" (see at Ex. xxx. 10). This term includes, as is afterwards explained, the most holy things in the tabernacle, viz. the ark of the covenant, the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the altar of incense and altar of burnt-offering, together with all the other things belonging to these. When the camp was broken up, the priests were to roll them up in wrappers, and hand them over in this state to the Kohathites, for them to carry (vers. 5-15). First of all (vers. 5, 6), Aaron and his sons were to take down the curtain between the holy place and the most holy (see Ex. xxvi. 31), and to cover the ark of testimony with it (Ex. xxv. 10). Over this they were to place a wrapper of sea-cow skin (*tachash*, see Ex. xxv. 5), and over this again another covering of cloth made entirely of hyacinth-coloured purple (as in Ex. xxviii. 31). The sea-cow skin was to protect the inner curtain, which was covered over the ark, from storm and rain; the hyacinth purple, to distinguish the ark of the covenant as the throne of the glory of Jehovah. Lastly, they were to place the staves into the rings again, that is to say, the bearing poles, which were always left in their places on the ark (Ex. xxv. 15), but had necessarily to be taken out while it was being covered and wrapped up.—Vers. 7, 8. Over the table of shew-bread (Ex. xxv. 23) they were to spread a hyacinth cloth, to place the plates, bowls, wine-pitchers, and drink-offering bowls (Ex. xxv. 29) upon the top of this, and to lay shew-bread thereon; and then to spread a crimson cloth over these vessels and the shew-bread, and cover this with a sea-cow skin, and lastly to put the bearing poles in their places.—Vers. 9, 10. The candlestick, with its lamps, snuffers, extinguishers (Ex. xxv. 31-37), and all its oil-vessels (oil-cans), "*wherewith they serve it,*" i.e. prepare it for the holy service, were to be covered with a hyacinth cloth, and then with a wrapper of sea-cow skin, and laid upon the carriage. מִיָּמָה (vers. 10 and 12), bearing frame, in chap. xiii. 23 bearing poles.—Vers. 11, 12. So again they were to wrap up the altar of incense (Ex. xxx. 1), to adjust its bearing poles; and having wrapped it up in such coverings, along with the vessels belonging to it, to lay it upon the frame.—Vers. 13, 14. The altar of burnt-offering was first of

all to be cleansed from the ashes; a crimson cloth was then to be covered over it, and the whole of the furniture belonging to it to be placed upon the top; and lastly, the whole was to be covered with a sea-cow skin. The only thing not mentioned is the copper laver (Ex. xxx. 18), probably because it was carried without any cover at all. The statement in the Septuagint and the Samaritan text, which follows ver. 14, respecting its covering and conveyance upon a frame, is no doubt a spurious interpolation.—Ver. 15. After the priests had completed the wrapping up of all these things, the Kohathites were to come up to carry them; but they were not to touch “the holy” (the holy things), lest they should die (see chap. i. 53, xviii. 3, and comp. 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7).—Ver. 16. The oversight of the oil for the candlestick (Ex. xxvii. 20), the incense (Ex. xxx. 34), the continual meat-offering (Ex. xxix. 40), and the anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23), belonged to Eleazar as the head of all the Levites (chap. iii. 32). He had also the oversight of the dwelling and all the holy things and furniture belonging to it; and, as a comparison of vers. 28 and 33 clearly shows, of the services of the Kohathites also.—Vers. 17–20. In order to prevent as far as possible any calamity from befalling the Levites while carrying the most holy things, the priests are again urged by the command of God to do what has already been described in detail in vers. 5–15, lest through any carelessness on their part they should cut off the tribe of the families of the Kohathites, *i.e.* should cause their destruction; viz. if they should approach the holy things before they had been wrapped up by Aaron and his sons in the manner prescribed and handed over to them to carry. If the Kohathites should come for only a single moment to look at the holy things, they would die. אֶת־תַּבְּרִיתוֹ, “cut ye not off,” *i.e.* “take care that the Kohathites are not cut off through your mistake and negligence” (Ros.). “The tribe of the families of the Kohathites:” *shebet*, the tribe, is not used here, as it frequently is, in its derivative sense of tribe (*tribus*), but in the original literal sense of *stirps*.—Ver. 19. “This do to them:” *sc.* what is prescribed in vers. 5–15 with reference to their service.—Ver. 20. כַּלְקַל, “like a swallow, a gulp,” is probably a proverbial expression, according to the analogy of Job vii. 19, for “a single instant,” of which the Arabic also furnishes examples (see *A. Schultens* on Job vii. 19). The *Sept.* rendering, ἐξάπινα, conveys the actual sense. A historical illustration of ver. 20 is furnished by 1 Sam. vi. 19.¹

¹ According to *Knobel*, vers. 17–20 have been interpolated by the Jehovist into the Elohist text. But the reasons for this assumption are weak through-

Vers. 21-28. *The service of the Gershonites* is introduced in vers. 21-23 in the same manner as that of the Kohathites in vers. 1-3; and in vers. 24-26 it is described in accordance with the brief notice and explanation already given in chap. iii. 24-26.—Ver. 27. Their service was to be performed “according to the mouth (*i.e.* according to the appointment) of Aaron and his sons, with regard to all their carrying (all that they were to carry), and all their doing.”—“And ye (the priests) shall appoint to them for attendance (in charge) all their carrying,” *i.e.* all the things they were to carry. פָּקַד בְּמִשְׁמֶרֶת, to give into keeping. The combination of פָּקַד with בְּ and the accusative of the object is analogous to נָתַן בְּ, to give into a person’s hand, in Gen. xxvii. 17; and there is no satisfactory reason for any such emendations of the text as *Knobel* proposes.—Ver. 28. “*Their charge (mishmereth) is in the hand of Ithamar,*” *i.e.* is to be carried out under his superintendence (cf. Ex. xxxviii. 21).

Vers. 29-33. *Service of the Merarites*.—Vers. 29 and 30, like vers. 22 and 23. פָּקַד, to muster, *i.e.* to number, equivalent to נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ, to take the number.—Vers. 31 and 32, like chap. iii. 36 and 37. “*The charge of their burden*” (their carrying), *i.e.* the things which it was their duty to carry.—Ver. 32. לְכָל-בְּלִיָּהֶם: with regard to all their instruments, *i.e.* all the things used for setting up, fastening, or undoing the beams, bolts, etc.; see chap. iii. 36, and Ex. xxvii. 19.

Vers. 34-49. Completion of the prescribed mustering, and statement of the number of men qualified for service in the three Levitical families: viz. 2750 Kohathites, 2630 Gershonites, and 3200 Merarites—in all, 8580 Levites fit for service: a number which bears a just proportion to the total number of male Levites of a month old and upwards, viz. 22,000 (see above, p. 9).—Ver. 49. “*According to the commandment of Jehovah, they appointed them through the hand of Moses (i.e. under his direction), each one*

out. Neither the peculiar use of the word *shebet*, to which there is no corresponding parallel in the whole of the Old Testament, nor the construction of נָשָׂא with אֵת, which is only met with in 1 Sam. ix. 18 and xxx. 21, nor the *Hiphil* הִכְרִית, can be regarded as criteria of a Jehovistic usage. And the assertion, that the Elohist lays the emphasis upon approaching and touching the holy things (ver. 15, chap. viii. 19, xviii. 3, 22), and not upon seeing or looking at them, rests upon an antithesis which is arbitrarily forced upon the text, since not only seeing (ver. 20), but touching also (ver. 19), is described as causing death; so that seeing and touching form no antithesis at all.

to his service, and his burden, and his mustered things (פִּקְדוֹי), i.e. the things assigned to him at the time of the mustering as his special charge (see Ex. xxxviii. 21).

SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGREGATION OF ISRAEL.—
CHAP. V. AND VI.

From the outward organization of the tribes of Israel as the army of Jehovah, the law proceeds to their internal moral and spiritual order, for the purpose of giving an inward support, both moral and religious, to their outward or social and political unity. This is the object of the directions concerning the removal of unclean persons from the camp (chap. v. 1-4), the restitution of anything unjustly appropriated (vers. 5-10), the course to be pursued with a wife suspected of adultery (vers. 11-31), and also of the laws relating to the Nazarite (chap. vi. 1-21), and to the priestly blessing (vers. 22-27).

Chap. v. 1-4. REMOVAL OF UNCLEAN PERSONS OUT OF THE CAMP.—As Jehovah, the Holy One, dwelt in the midst of the camp of His people, those who were affected with the uncleanness of leprosy (Lev. xiii.), of a diseased flux, or of menstruation (Lev. xv. 2 sqq., 19 sqq.), and those who had become unclean through touching a corpse (chap. xix. 11 sqq., cf. Lev. xxi. 1, xxii. 4), whether male or female, were to be removed out of the camp, that they might not defile it by their uncleanness. The command of God, to remove these persons out of the camp, was carried out at once by the nation; and even in Canaan it was so far observed, that lepers at any rate were placed in special pest-houses outside the cities (see at Lev. xiii. 45, 46).

Vers. 5-10. RESTITUTION IN CASE OF A TRESPASS.—No crime against the property of a neighbour was to remain without expiation in the congregation of Israel, which was encamped or dwelt around the sanctuary of Jehovah; and the wrong committed was not to remain without restitution, because such crimes involved unfaithfulness (זִמָּה, see Lev. v. 15) towards Jehovah. “*If a man or a woman do one of the sins of men, to commit unfaithfulness against Jehovah, and the same soul has incurred guilt, they shall confess their sin which they have done, and (the doer) shall recom-*

pense his debt according to its sum" (בְּרֹאשׁוֹ, as in Lev. v. 24), etc. מִכֶּל־חַטָּאת הָאָדָם, one of the sins occurring among men, not "a sin against a man" (*Luther, Ros.*, etc). The meaning is a sin, with which a מַעַל was committed against Jehovah, *i.e.* one of the acts described in Lev. v. 21, 22, by which injury was done to the property of a neighbour, whereby a man brought a debt upon himself, for the wiping out of which a material restitution of the other's property was prescribed, together with the addition of a fifth of its value, and also the presentation of a sin-offering (Lev. v. 23-26). To guard against that disturbance of fellowship and peace in the congregation, which would arise from such trespasses as these, the law already given in Lev. v. 20 is here renewed and supplemented by the additional stipulation, that if the man who had been unjustly deprived of some of his property had no *Goël*, to whom restitution could be made for the debt, the compensation should be paid to Jehovah for the priests. The *Goël* was the nearest relative, upon whom the obligation rested to redeem a person who had fallen into slavery through poverty (Lev. xxv. 25). The allusion to the *Goël* in this connection presupposes that the injured person was no longer alive. To this there are appended, in vers. 9 and 10, the directions which are substantially connected with this, *viz.* that every heave-offering (*terumah*, see at Lev. ii. 9) in the holy gifts of the children of Israel, which they presented to the priest, was to belong to him (the priest), and also all the holy gifts which were brought by different individuals. The reference is not to literal sacrifices, *i.e.* gifts intended for the altar, but to dedicatory offerings, first-fruits, and such like. אִישׁ אֶת־קָדְשׁוֹ, "with regard to every man's, his holy gifts . . . to him (the priest) shall they be; what any man gives to the priest shall belong to him." The second clause serves to explain and confirm the first. אֲנִי: as far, with regard to, quoad (see *Ewald*, § 277, *d*; *Ges.* § 117, 2, note).

Vers. 11-31. SENTENCE OF GOD UPON WIVES SUSPECTED OF ADULTERY.—As any suspicion cherished by a man against his wife, that she either is or has been guilty of adultery, whether well-founded or not, is sufficient to shake the marriage connection to its very roots, and to undermine, along with marriage, the foundation of the civil commonwealth, it was of the greatest importance to guard against this moral evil, which was so utterly irreconcilable with the holiness of the people of God, by appointing a process in harmony with the spirit of the theocratical law, and adapted

to bring to light the guilt or innocence of any wife who had fallen into such suspicion, and at the same time to warn fickle wives against unfaithfulness. This serves to explain not only the introduction of the law respecting the *jealousy-offering* in this place, but also the general importance of the subject, and the reason for its being so elaborately described.

Vers. 12-15. If a man's wife went aside, and was guilty of unfaithfulness towards him (ver. 13 is an explanatory clause), through a (another) man having lain with her with *emissio seminis*, and it was hidden from the eyes of her husband, on account of her having defiled herself secretly, and there being no witness against her, and her not having been taken (in the act); but if, for all that, a spirit of jealousy came upon him, and he was jealous of his wife, and she was defiled, . . . or she was not defiled: the man was to take his wife to the priest, and bring as her sacrificial gift, on her account, the tenth of an ephah of barley meal, without putting oil or incense, "*for it is a meat-offering of jealousy, a meat-offering of memory, to bring iniquity to remembrance.*" As the woman's crime, of which her husband accused her, was naturally denied by herself, and was neither to be supported by witnesses nor proved by her being taken in the very act, the only way left to determine whether there was any foundation or not for the spirit of jealousy excited in her husband, and to prevent an unrighteous severance of the divinely appointed marriage, was to let the thing be decided by the verdict of God Himself. To this end the man was to bring his wife to the priest with a sacrificial gift, which is expressly called קִרְבָּנָהּ, *her offering*, brought עָלֶיהָ "on *her* account," that is to say, with a meat-offering, the symbol of the fruit of her walk and conduct before God. Being the sacrificial gift of a wife who had gone aside and was suspected of adultery, this meat-offering could not possess the character of the ordinary meat-offerings, which shadowed forth the fruit of the sanctification of life in good works (vol. ii. p. 207); could not consist, that is to say, of fine wheaten flour, but only of barley meal. Barley was worth only half as much as wheat (2 Kings vii. 1, 16, 18), so that only the poorer classes, or the people generally in times of great distress, used barley meal as their daily food (Judg. vii. 13; 2 Kings iv. 42; Ezek. iv. 12; John vi. 9, 13), whilst those who were better off used it for fodder (1 Kings v. 8). Barley meal was prescribed for this sacrifice, neither as a sign that the adulteress had conducted herself like an irrational animal (*Philo, Jonathan, Talm.*, the *Rabb.*, etc.), nor "because the persons presenting the

offering were invoking the punishment of a crime, and not the favour of God" (*Cler., Ros.*): for the guilt of the woman was not yet established; nor even, taking a milder view of the matter, to indicate that the offerer might be innocent, and in that case no offering at all was required (*Knobel*), but to represent the questionable repute in which the woman stood, or the ambiguous, suspicious character of her conduct. Because such conduct as hers did not proceed from the Spirit of God, and was not carried out in prayer: oil and incense, the symbols of the Spirit of God and prayer (see vol. ii. pp. 174 and 209), were not to be added to her offering. It was an offering of jealousy (חַמְדָּה, an intensive plural), and the object was to bring the ground of that jealousy to light; and in this respect it is called the "*meat-offering of remembrance*," *sc.* of the woman, before Jehovah (cf. chap. x. 10, xxxi. 54; Ex. xxviii. 12, 29, xxx. 16; Lev. xxiii. 24), namely, "*the remembrance of iniquity*," bringing her crime to remembrance before the Lord, that it might be judged by Him.

Vers. 16-22. The priest was to bring her near to the altar at which he stood, and place her before Jehovah, who had declared Himself to be present at the altar, and then to take holy water, probably water out of the basin before the sanctuary, which served for holy purposes (Ex. xxx. 18), in an earthen vessel, and put dust in it from the floor of the dwelling. He was then to loosen the hair of the woman who was standing before Jehovah, and place the jealousy-offering in her hands, and holding the water in his own hand, to pronounce a solemn oath of purification before her, which she had to appropriate to herself by a confirmatory Amen, Amen. The water, which the priest had prepared for the woman to drink, was taken from the sanctuary, and the dust to be put into it from the floor of the dwelling, to impregnate this drink with the power of the Holy Spirit that dwelt in the sanctuary. The dust was strewed upon the water, not to indicate that man was formed from dust and must return to dust again, but as an allusion to the fact, that dust was eaten by the serpent (Gen. iii. 14) as the curse of sin, and therefore as the symbol of a state deserving a curse, a state of the deepest humiliation and disgrace (Micah vii. 17; Isa. xlix. 23; Ps. lxxii. 9). On the very same ground, an earthen vessel was chosen; that is to say, one quite worthless in comparison with the copper one. The loosening of the hair of the head (see Lev. xiii. 45), in other cases a sign of mourning, is to be regarded here as a removal or loosening of the female head-dress, and a symbol of the

loss of the proper ornament of female morality and conjugal fidelity. During the administration of the oath, the offering was placed in her hands, that she might bring the fruit of her own conduct before God, and give it up to His holy judgment. The priest, as the representative of God, held the vessel in his hand, with the water in it, which was called the "*water of bitterness, the curse-bringing*," inasmuch as, if the crime imputed to her was well-founded, it would bring upon the woman bitter suffering as the curse of God.—Ver. 19. The oath which the priest required her to take is called, in ver. 21, שְׁבַעַת הָאָלָה, "*oath of cursing*" (see Gen. xxvi. 28); but it first of all presupposes the possibility of the woman being innocent, and contains the assurance, that in that case the curse-water would do her no harm. "*If no (other) man has lain with thee, and thou hast not gone aside to union (מִתְאָה, accus. of more precise definition, as in Lev. xv. 2, 18), under thy husband,*" i.e. as a wife subject to thy husband (Ezek. xxiii. 5; Hos. iv. 12), "*then remain free from the water of bitterness, this curse-bringing,*" i.e. from the effects of this curse-water. The imperative is a sign of certain assurance (see Gen. xii. 2, xx. 7; cf. Ges. § 130, 1). "*But if thou hast gone aside under thy husband, if thou hast defiled thyself, and a man has given thee his seed beside thy husband,*" . . . (the priest shall proceed to say; this is the meaning of the repetition of לְאִשָּׁה . . . וְהִשְׁבַּעַת, ver. 21), "*Jehovah shall make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, by making thy hip to fall and thy belly to swell; and this curse-bringing water shall come into thy bowels, to make the belly to vanish and the hip to fall.*" To this oath that was spoken before her the woman was to reply, "*true, true,*" or "*truly, truly,*" and thus confirm it as taken by herself (cf. Deut. xxvii. 15 sqq.; Neh. v. 13). It cannot be determined with any certainty what was the nature of the disease threatened in this curse. *Michaelis* supposes it to be dropsy of the ovary (*hydrops ovarii*), in which a tumour is formed in the place of the *ovarium*, which may even swell so as to contain 100 lbs. of fluid, and with which the patient becomes dreadfully emaciated. *Josephus* says it is ordinary dropsy (*hydrops ascites*: *Ant.* iii. 11, 6). At any rate, the idea of the curse is this: *Δι' ὧν γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τούτων ἡ τιμωρία* ("the punishment shall come from the same source as the sin," *Theodoret*). The punishment was to answer exactly to the crime, and to fall upon those bodily organs which had been the instruments of the woman's sin, viz. the organs of child-bearing.

Vers. 23–28. After the woman's *Amen*, the priest was to write

"*these curses*," those contained in the oath, in a book-roll, and wash them in the bitter water, *i.e.* wash the writing in the vessel with water, so that the words of the curse should pass into the water, and be imparted to it; a symbolical act, to set forth the truth, that God imparted to the water the power to act injuriously upon a guilty body, though it would do no harm to an innocent one. The remark in ver. 24, that the priest was to give her this water to drink, is anticipatory; for according to ver. 26 this did not take place till after the presentation of the sacrifice and the burning of the memorial of it upon the altar. The woman's offering, however, was not presented to God till after the oath of purification, because it was by the oath that she first of all purified herself from the suspicion of adultery, so that the fruit of her conduct could be given up to the fire of the holiness of God. As a known adulteress, she could not have offered a meat-offering at all. But as the suspicion which rested upon her was not entirely removed by her oath, since she might have taken a false oath, the priest was to give her the curse-water to drink after the offering, that her guilt or innocence might be brought to light in the effects produced by the drink. This is given in ver. 27 as the design of the course prescribed: "*When he hath made her to drink the water, then it shall come to pass, that if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, the water that causeth the curse shall come (enter) into her as bitterness (i.e. producing bitter sufferings), namely, her belly shall swell and her hip vanish: and so the woman shall become a curse in the midst of her people.*"—Ver. 28. "*But if she have not defiled herself, and is clean (from the crime of which she was suspected), she will remain free (from the threatened punishment of God), and will conceive seed,*" *i.e.* be blessed with the capacity and power to conceive and bring forth children.

Vers. 29-31 bring the law of jealousy to a formal close, with the additional remark, that the man who adopted this course with a wife suspected of adultery was free from sin, but the woman would bear her guilt (see Lev. v. 1), *i.e.* in case she were guilty, would bear the punishment threatened by God. Nothing is said about what was to be done in case the woman refused to take the oath prescribed, because that would amount to a confession of her guilt, when she would have to be put to death as an adulteress, according to the law in Lev. xx. 10; and not she alone, but the adulterer also. In the law just mentioned the man is placed on an equality with the woman with reference to the sin of adultery; and thus the apparent

partiality, that a man could sue his wife for adultery, but not the wife her husband, is removed. But the law before us applied to the woman only, because the man was at liberty to marry more than one wife, or to take concubines to his own wife; so that he only violated the marriage tie, and was guilty of adultery, when he formed an illicit connection with another man's wife. In that case, the man whose marriage had been violated could proceed against his adulterous wife, and in most instances convict the adulterer also, in order that he might receive his punishment too. For a really guilty wife would not have made up her mind so easily to take the required oath of purification, as the curse of God under which she came was no easier to bear than the punishment of death. For this law prescribed no ordeal whose effects were uncertain, like the ordeals of other nations, but a judgment of God, from which the guilty could not escape, because it had been appointed by the living God.

Chap. vi. 1-21. THE NAZARITE.—The legal regulations concerning the vow of the Nazarite are appended quite appropriately to the laws intended to promote the spiritual order of the congregation of Israel. For the Nazarite brought to light the priestly character of the covenant nation in a peculiar form, which had necessarily to be incorporated into the spiritual organization of the community, so that it might become a means of furthering the sanctification of the people in covenant with the Lord.¹

Vers. 1 and 2. The words, "*if a man or woman make a separate vow, a Nazarite vow, to live consecrated to the Lord,*" with which the law is introduced, show not only that the vow of the Nazarite was a matter of free choice, but that it was a mode of practising godliness and piety already customary among the people. *Nazir*, from נזר to separate, *lit.* the separated, is applied to the man who vowed that he would make a separation to (for) Jehovah, *i.e.* lead a separate life for the Lord and His service. The origin of this custom is involved in obscurity. There is no certain clue to indicate that it was derived from Egypt, for the so-called hair-offering vows are met with among several ancient tribes (see the proofs in *Spencer, de legg. Hebr. rit.* iv. 16, and *Knobel in loc.*), and have no special rela-

¹ The rules of the Talmud are found in the *tract. Nasir* in the *Mishnah*. See also *Lundius, jüd. Heiligthümer*, B. iii. p. 53. *Bähr, Symbolik*, ii. pp. 430 sqq.; *Hengstenberg, Egypt and the Books of Moses*, pp. 190 sqq. *My Archæologie*, i. § 67; and *Herzog's Cyclopædia*.

tionship to the Nazarite, whilst vows of abstinence were common to all the religions of antiquity. The Nazarite vow was taken at first for a particular time, at the close of which the separation terminated with release from the vow. This is the only form in which it is taken into consideration, or rules are laid down for it in the law before us. In after times, however, we find life-long Nazarites among the Israelites, *e.g.* Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist, who were vowed or dedicated to the Lord by their parents even before they were born (Judg. xiii. 5, 14; 1 Sam. i. 11; Luke i. 15).¹

Vers. 3-8. The vow consisted of the three following points, vers. 1-4: In the *first* place, he was to abstain from wine and intoxicating drink (*shecar*, see Lev. x. 9); and neither to drink vinegar of wine, strong drink, nor any juice of the grape (*lit.* dissolving of grapes, *i.e.* fresh must pressed out), nor to eat fresh grapes, or dried (raisins). In fact, during the whole period of his vow, he was not to eat of anything prepared from the vine, "*from the kernels even to the husk*," *i.e.* not the smallest quantity of the fruit of the vine. The design of this prohibition can hardly have been, merely that, by abstaining from intoxicating drink, the Nazarite might preserve perfect clearness and temperance of mind, like the priests when engaged in their duties, and so conduct himself as one sanctified to the Lord (*Bähr*); but it goes much further, and embraces entire abstinence from all the *deliciæ carnis* by which holiness could be impaired. Vinegar, fresh and dried grapes, and food prepared from grapes and raisins, *e.g.* raisin-cakes, are not intoxicating; but grape-cakes, as being the dainties sought after by epicures and debauchees, are cited in Hos. iii. 1 as a symbol of the sensual attractions of idolatry, a luxurious kind of food, that was not in harmony with the solemnity of the worship of Jehovah. The Nazarite was to avoid everything that proceeded from the vine, because its fruit was regarded as the sum and substance of all sensual enjoyments.—Ver. 5. *Secondly*, during the whole term of his vow of consecration, no razor was to come upon his head. Till the days were fulfilled which he had consecrated to the Lord, he was to be holy, "*to make great the free growth* (see Lev. x. 6) *of the hair of his head*." The free growth of the hair is called, in

¹ This is also related by *Hegesippus* (in *Euseb. hist. eccl.* ii. 23) of James the Just, the first bishop of Jerusalem. On other cases of this kind in the Talmud, and particularly on the later form of the Nazarite vow,—for example, that of the Apostle Paul (Acts xviii. 18),—see *Winer, bibl. R. W.* ii. pp. 138-9, and *Oehler* in *Herzog's Cycl.*

ver. 7, “the diadem of his God upon his head,” like the golden diadem upon the turban of the high priest (Ex. xxix. 6), and the anointing oil upon the high priest’s head (Lev. xxi. 12). By this he sanctified his head (ver. 11) to the Lord, so that the consecration of the Nazarite culminated in his uncut hair, and expressed in the most perfect way the meaning of his vow (*Oehler*). Letting the hair grow, therefore, was not a sign of separation, because it was the Israelitish custom to go about with the hair cut; nor a practical profession of a renunciation of the world, and separation from human society (*Hengstenberg*, pp. 190–1); nor a sign of abstinence from every appearance of self-gratification (*Baur* on Amos ii. 11); nor even a kind of humiliation and self-denial (*Lightfoot*, *Carpzov. appar.* p. 154); still less a “sign of dependence upon some other present power” (*M. Baumgarten*), or “the symbol of a state of perfect liberty” (*Vitringa*, *obss. ss.* 1, c. 6, § 9; cf. vi. 22, 8). The free growth of the hair, unhindered by the hand of man, was rather “the symbol of strength and abundant vitality” (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 25, 26). It was not regarded by the Hebrews as a sign of sanctity, as *Bähr* supposes, but simply as an ornament, in which the whole strength and fulness of vitality were exhibited, and which the Nazarite wore in honour of the Lord, as a sign that he “belonged to the Lord, and dedicated himself to His service,” with all his vital powers.¹—Vers. 6–8. Because the Nazarite wore the diadem of his God upon his head in the growth of his hair, and was holy to the Lord during the whole period of his consecration, he was to approach no dead person during that time, not even to defile himself for his parents, or his brothers and sisters, when they died, according to the law laid down for the high priest in Lev. xxi. 11. Consequently, as a matter of course, he was to guard most scrupulously against other defilements, not only like ordinary Israelites, but also like the priests. Samson’s mother, too, was not allowed to eat anything unclean during the period of her pregnancy (Judg. xiii. 4, 7, 14).

Vers. 9–12. But if any one died suddenly in a moment “by him” (רָאָה, in his neighbourhood), and he therefore involuntarily

¹ In support of this explanation, *Oehler* calls to mind those heathen hair-offerings of the Athenian youths, for example (*Plut. Thes.* c. 5), which were founded upon the idea, that the hair in general was a symbol of vital power, and the hair of the beard a sign of virility; and also more especially the example of Samson, whose hair was not only the symbol, but the vehicle, of the power which fitted him to be the deliverer of his people

defiled his consecrated head, he was to shave his head on the day of his purification, *i.e.* on the seventh day (see chap. xix. 11, 14, 16, and 19), not “because such uncleanness was more especially caught and retained by the hair,” as *Knobel* fancies, but because it was the diadem of his God (ver. 7), the ornament of his condition, which was sanctified to God. On the eighth day, that is to say, on the day after the legal purification, he was to bring to the priest at the tabernacle two turtle-doves or young pigeons, that he might make atonement for him (see at Lev. xv. 14, 15, 29 sqq., xiv. 30, 31, and xii. 8), on account of his having been defiled by a corpse, by preparing the one as a sin-offering, and the other as a burnt-offering; he was also “*to sanctify his head that same day,*” *i.e.* to consecrate it to God afresh, by the unimpeded growth of his hair.—Ver. 12. He was then “*to consecrate to Jehovah the days of his consecration,*” *i.e.* to commence afresh the time of dedication that he had vowed, and “*to bring a yearling sheep as a trespass-offering;*” and the days that were before were “*to fall,*” *i.e.* the days of consecration that had already elapsed were not to be reckoned on account of their having fallen, “*because his consecration had become unclean.*” He was therefore to commence the whole time of his consecration entirely afresh, and to observe it as required by the vow. To this end he was to bring a trespass-offering, as a payment or recompense for being reinstated in the former state of consecration, from which he had fallen through his defilement, but not as compensation “for having prolonged the days of separation through his carelessness with regard to the defilement; that is to say, for having extended the time during which he led a separate, retired, and inactive life, and suspended his duties to his own family and the congregation, thus doing an injury to them, and incurring a debt in relation to them through his neglect” (*Knobel*). For the time that the Nazarete vow lasted was not a lazy life, involving a withdrawal from the duties of citizenship, by which the congregation might be injured, but was perfectly reconcilable with the performance of all domestic and social duties, the burial of the dead alone excepted; and no harm could result from this, either to his own relations or the community generally, of sufficient importance to require that the omission should be repaired by a trespass-offering, from which neither his relatives nor the congregation derived any actual advantage. Nor was it a species of fine, for having deprived Jehovah of the time dedicated to Him through the breach of the vow, or for withholding the payment of his vow for so much longer a time

(*Oehler* in *Herzog*). For the position of a Nazarite was only assumed for a definite period, according to the vow; and after this had been interrupted, it had to be commenced again from the very beginning: so that the time dedicated to God was not shortened in any way by the interruption of the period of dedication, and nothing whatever was withheld from God of what had been vowed to Him, so as to need the presentation of a trespass-offering as a compensation or fine. And there is no more reason for saying that the payment of the vow was withheld, inasmuch as the vow was fulfilled or paid by the punctual observance of the three things of which it was composed; and the sacrifices to be presented after the time of consecration was over, had not in the least the character of a payment, but simply constituted a solemn conclusion, corresponding to the idea of the consecration itself, and were the means by which the Nazarite came out of his state of consecration, without involving the least allusion to satisfaction, or reparation for any wrong that had been done.

The position of the Nazarite, therefore, as *Philo*, *Maimonides*, and others clearly saw, was a condition of life consecrated to the Lord, resembling the sanctified relation in which the priests stood to Jehovah, and differing from the priesthood solely in the fact that it involved no official service at the sanctuary, and was not based upon a divine calling and institution, but was undertaken spontaneously for a certain time and through a special vow. The object was simply the realization of the idea of a priestly life, with its purity and freedom from all contamination from everything connected with death and corruption, a self-surrender to God stretching beyond the deepest earthly ties, "a spontaneous appropriation of what was imposed upon the priest by virtue of the calling connected with his descent, namely, the obligation to conduct himself as a person betrothed to God, and therefore to avoid everything that would be opposed to such surrender" (*Oehler*). In this respect the Nazarite's sanctification of life was a step towards the realization of the priestly character, which had been set before the whole nation as its goal at the time of its first calling (Ex. xix. 5); and although it was simply the performance of a vow, and therefore a work of perfect spontaneity, it was also a work of the Spirit of God which dwelt in the congregation of Israel, so that Amos could describe the raising up of Nazarites along with prophets as a special manifestation of divine grace. The offerings, with which the vow was brought to a close after the time of consecration had expired, and the Nazarite

was released from his consecration, also corresponded to the character we have described.

Vers. 13-21. The directions as to the release from consecration are called "*the law of the Nazarite*" (ver. 13), because the idea of the Nazarite's vows culminated in the sacrificial festival which terminated the consecration, and it was in this that it attained to its fullest manifestation. "*On the day of the completion of the days of his consecration,*" i.e. on the day when the time of consecration expired, the Nazarite was to bring to the tabernacle, or offer as his gifts to the Lord, a sheep of a year old as a burnt-offering, and an ewe of a year old as a sin-offering; the latter as an expiation for the sins committed involuntarily during the period of consecration, the former as an embodiment of that surrender of himself, body and soul, to the Lord, upon which every act of worship should rest. In addition to this he was to bring a ram without blemish as a peace-offering, together with a basket of unleavened cakes and wafers baked, which were required, according to Lev. vii. 12, for every praise-offering, "*and their meat and drink-offerings,*" i.e. the gifts of meal, oil, and wine, which belonged, according to chap. xv. 3 sqq., to the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings.—Ver. 16. The sin-offering and burnt-offering were carried out according to the general instructions.—Ver. 17. The completion of the consecration vow was concentrated in the preparation of the ram and the basket of unleavened bread for the peace-offering, along with the appropriate meat-offering and drink-offering.—Ver. 18. The Nazarite had also to shave his consecrated head, and put the hair into the altar-fire under the peace-offering that was burning, and thus hand over and sacrifice to the Lord the hair of his head which had been worn in honour of Him.—Vers. 19, 20. When this had been done, the priest took the boiled shoulder of the ram, with an unleavened cake and wafer out of the basket, and placed these pieces in the hands of the Nazarite, and waved them before Jehovah. They then became the portion of the priest, in addition to the wave-breast and heave-leg which fell to the priest in the case of every peace-offering (Lev. vii. 32-34), to set forth the participation of the Lord in the sacrificial meal (see vol. ii. pp. 329, 330). But the fact that, in addition to these, the boiled shoulder was given up symbolically to the Lord through the process of waving, together with a cake and wafer, was intended to indicate that the table-fellowship with the Lord, shadowed forth in the sacrificial meal of the peace-offering, took place here in a higher degree; inasmuch as the Lord directed a portion of the Nazarite's meal to

be handed over to His representatives and servants for them to eat, that he might thus enjoy the blessedness of having fellowship with his God, in accordance with that condition of priestly sanctity into which the Nazarite had entered through the vow that he had made.—Ver. 20. “*After that the Nazarite may drink wine*” (again), probably at the sacrificial meal, after the Lord had received His share of the sacrifice, and his release from consecration had thus been completed.—Ver. 21. “*This is the law of the Nazarite, who vowed his sacrificial gifts to the Lord on the ground of his consecration,*” i.e. who offered his sacrifice in accordance with the state of a Nazarite into which he had entered. For the sacrifices mentioned in vers. 14 sqq. were not the object of a special vow, but contained in the vow of the Nazarite, and therefore already vowed (*Knobel*). “*Beside what his hand grasps,*” i.e. what he is otherwise able to perform (Lev. v. 11), “*according to the measure of his vow, which he vowed, so must he do according to the law of his consecration,*” i.e. he had to offer the sacrifices previously mentioned on the ground of his consecration vow. Beyond that he was free to vow anything else according to his ability, to present other sacrificial gifts to the Lord for His sanctuary and His servants, which did not necessarily belong to the vow of the Nazarite, but were frequently added. From this the custom afterwards grew up, that when poor persons took the Nazarite’s vow upon them, those who were better off defrayed the expenses of the sacrifices (Acts xxi. 24; *Josephus, Ant.* xix. 6, 1; *Mishnah Nasir*, ii. 5 sqq.).

Vers. 22–27. THE PRIESTLY OR AARONIC BLESSING.—The spiritual character of the congregation of Israel culminated in the blessing with which the priests were to bless the people. The directions as to this blessing, therefore, impressed the seal of perfection upon the whole order and organization of the people of God, inasmuch as Israel was first truly formed into a congregation of Jehovah by the fact that God not only bestowed His blessing upon it, but placed the communication of this blessing in the hands of the priests, the chosen and constant mediators of the blessings of His grace, and imposed it upon them as one portion of their official duty. The blessing which the priests were to impart to the people, consisted of a triple blessing of two members each, which stood related to each other thus: The second in each case contained a special application of the first to the people, and the three gradations unfolded the substance of the blessing step by step with ever

increasing emphasis.—The *first* (ver. 24), “*Jehovah bless thee and keep thee*,” conveyed the blessing in the most general form, merely describing it as coming from Jehovah, and setting forth preservation from the evil of the world as His work. “The blessing of God is the goodness of God in action, by which a supply of all good pours down to us from His good favour as from their only fountain; then follows, secondly, the prayer that He would keep the people, which signifies that He alone is the defender of the Church, and that it is He who preserves it with His guardian care” (*Calvin*).—The *second* (ver. 25), “*Jehovah make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee*,” defined the blessing more closely as the manifestation of the favour and grace of God. The face of God is the personality of God as turned towards man. Fire goes out from Jehovah’s face, and consumes the enemy and the rebellious (Lev. x. 2, cf. xvii. 10, xx. 3; Ex. xiv. 24; Ps. xxxiv. 17), and also a sunlight shining with love and full of life and good (Deut. xxx. 30; Ps. xxvii. 1, xliii. 3, xlv. 4). If “the light of the sun is sweet, and pleasant for the eyes to behold” (Eccl. xi. 7), “the light of the divine countenance, the everlasting light (Ps. xxxvi. 10), is the sum of all delight” (*Baumg.*). This light sends rays of mercy into a heart in need of salvation, and makes it the recipient of grace.—The *third* (ver. 26), “*Jehovah lift up His face to thee, and set (or give) thee peace*” (good, salvation), set forth the blessing of God as a manifestation of power, or a work of power upon man, the end of which is peace (*shalom*), the sum of all the good which God sets, prepares, or establishes for His people. נָשָׂא פָּנָיו אֵל, to lift up the face to any one, is equivalent to looking at him, and does not differ from נָשָׂא עֵינָיו or שָׂם (Gen. xliii. 29, xlv. 21). When affirmed of God, it denotes His providential work upon man. When God looks at a man, He saves him out of his distresses (Ps. iv. 7, xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 16).—In these three blessings most of the fathers and earlier theologians saw an allusion to the mystery of the Trinity, and rested their conclusion, (a) upon the triple repetition of the name *Jehovah*; (b) upon the *ratio prædicati*, that Jehovah, by whom the blessing is desired and imparted, is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and (c) upon the *distinctorum benedictionis membrorum consideratio*, according to which *bis trina beneficia* are mentioned (cf. *Calovii Bibl. illustr. ad h. l.*). There is truth in this, though the grounds assigned seem faulty. As the threefold repetition of a word or sentence serves to express the thought as strongly as possible (cf. Jer. vii. 4, xxii. 29), the triple blessing expressed in

the most unconditional manner the thought, that God would bestow upon His congregation the whole fulness of the blessing enfolded in His Divine Being which was manifested as Jehovah. But not only does the name Jehovah denote God as the absolute Being, who revealed Himself as Father, Son, and Spirit in the historical development of His purpose of salvation for the redemption of fallen man; but the substance of this blessing, which He caused to be pronounced upon His congregation, unfolded the grace of God in the threefold way in which it is communicated to us through the Father, Son, and Spirit.¹—Ver. 27. This blessing was not to remain merely a pious wish, however, but to be manifested in the people with all the power of a blessing from God. This assurance closes the divine command: “*They shall put My name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.*”

CLOSING EVENTS AT SINAI.—CHAP. VII.—IX. 14.

Chap. vii. PRESENTATION OF DEDICATORY GIFTS BY THE PRINCES OF THE TRIBES.—Ver. 1. This presentation took place at the time (דִּי) when Moses, after having completed the erection of the tabernacle, anointed and sanctified the dwelling and the altar, together with their furniture (Lev. viii. 10, 11). Chronologically considered, this ought to have been noticed after Lev. viii. 10. But in order to avoid interrupting the connection of the Sinaitic laws, it is introduced for the first time at this point, and placed at the

¹ See the admirable elaboration of these points in *Luther's* exposition of the blessing. *Luther* refers the first blessing to “bodily life and good.” The blessing, he says, desired for the people “that God would give them prosperity and every good, and also guard and preserve them.” This is carried out still further, in a manner corresponding to his exposition of the first article. The second blessing he refers to “the spiritual nature and the soul,” and observes, “Just as the sun, when it rises and diffuses its rich glory and soft light over all the world, merely lifts up its face upon all the world; . . . so when God gives His word, He causes His face to shine clearly and joyously upon all minds, and makes them joyful and light, and as it were new hearts and new men. For it brings forgiveness of sins, and shows God as a gracious and merciful Father, who pities and sympathizes with our grief and sorrow. The third also relates to the spiritual nature and the soul, and is a desire for consolation and final victory over the cross, death, the devil, and all the gates of hell, together with the world and the evil desires of the flesh. The desire of this blessing is, that the Lord God will lift up the light of His word upon us, and so keep it over us, that it may shine in our hearts with strength enough to overcome all the opposition of the devil, death, and sin, and all adversity, terror, or despair.”

head of the events which immediately preceded the departure of the people from Sinai, because these gifts consisted in part of materials that were indispensably necessary for the transport of the tabernacle during the march through the desert. Moreover, there was only an interval of at the most forty days between the anointing of the tabernacle, which commenced after the first day of the first month (cf. Ex. xl. 16 and Lev. viii. 10), and lasted eight days, and the departure from Sinai, on the twentieth day of the second month (chap. x. 11), and from this we have to deduct six days for the Passover, which took place before their departure (chap. ix. 1 sqq.); and it was within this period that the laws and ordinances from Lev. xi. to Num. vi. had to be published, and the dedicatory offerings to be presented. Now, as the presentation itself was distributed, according to vers. 11 sqq., over twelve or thirteen days, we may very well assume that it did not entirely precede the publication of the laws referred to, but was carried on in part contemporaneously with it. The presentation of the dedicatory gifts of one tribe-prince might possibly occupy only a few hours of the day appointed for the purpose; and the rest of the day, therefore, might very conveniently be made use of by Moses for publishing the laws. In this case the short space of a month and a few days would be amply sufficient for everything that took place.

Vers. 2-9. *The presentation of six waggons and twelve oxen* for the carriage of the materials of the tabernacle is mentioned first, and was no doubt the first thing that took place. The princes of Israel, viz. the heads of the tribe-houses (fathers' houses), or princes of the tribes (see chap. i. 4 sqq.), "*those who stood over those that were numbered,*" i.e. who were their leaders or rulers, offered as their sacrificial gift six covered waggons and twelve oxen, one ox for each prince, and a waggon for every two. שְׁשֵׁי תַלְוָיִם, ἁμάξας λαμπηνίκας (LXX.), i.e. according to *Euseb. Emis.*, two-wheeled vehicles, though the Greek scholiasts explain λαμπήνην as signifying ἅμαξα περιφανής, βασιλική and ῥέδιον περιφανές ὁ ἐστὶν ἄρμα σκεπαστόν (cf. *Schleussner, Lex. in LXX. s. v.*), and *Aquila*, ἅμαξαι σκεπασταί, i.e. *plaustra tecta* (*Vulg. and Rabb.*). The meaning "litters," which *Gesenius* and *De Wette* support, can neither be defended etymologically, nor based upon מִבָּיִת in Isa. lxvi. 20.—Vers. 4-6. At the command of God, Moses received them to apply them to the purposes of the tabernacle, and handed them over to the Levites, "*to every one according to the measure of his service,*" i.e. to the different classes of Levites, according to the requirements of their respective

duties.—Vers. 7–9. He gave two waggons and four oxen to the Gershonites, and four waggons and eight oxen to the Merarites, as the former had less weight to carry, in the coverings and curtains of the dwelling and the hangings of the court, than the latter, who had to take charge of the beams and pillars (chap. iv. 24 sqq., 31 sqq.). “*Under the hand of Ithamar*” (ver. 8); as in chap. iv. 28, 33. The Kohathites received no waggon, because it was their place to attend to “the sanctuary” (the holy), *i.e.* the holy things, which had to be conveyed upon their shoulders, and were provided with poles for the purpose (chap. iv. 4 sqq.).

Vers. 10–88. *Presentation of dedicatory gifts for the altar.*—Ver. 10. Every prince offered “*the dedication of the altar*,” *i.e.* what served for the dedication of the altar, equivalent to his sacrificial gift for the consecration of the altar, “*on the day*,” *i.e.* at the time, “*that they anointed it*.” “*Day*,” as in Gen. ii. 4. Moses was directed by God to receive the gifts from the princes on separate days, one after another; so that the presentation extended over twelve days. The reason for this regulation was not to make a greater display, as *Knobel* supposes, or to avoid cutting short the important ceremony of consecration, but was involved in the very nature of the gifts presented. Each prince, for example, offered, (1) a *silver dish* (*kearah*, Ex. xxv. 29) of 130 sacred shekels weight, *i.e.* about $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.; (2) a *silver bowl* (*mizrak*, a sacrificial bowl, not a sacrificial can, or wine-can, as in Ex. xxvii. 3) of 70 shekels weight, both filled with fine flour mixed with oil for a meat-offering; (3) a *golden spoon* (*caph*, as in Ex. xxv. 29) filled with incense for an incense-offering; (4) a *bullock*, a *ram*, and a *sheep* of a year old for a burnt-offering; (5) a *shaggy goat* for a sin-offering; (6) *two oxen*, *five rams*, *five he-goats*, and *five sheep* of a year old for a peace-offering. Out of these gifts the fine flour, the incense, and the sacrificial animals were intended for sacrificing upon the altar, and that not as a provision for a lengthened period, but for immediate use in the way prescribed. This could not have been carried out if more than one prince had presented his gifts, and brought them to be sacrificed on any one day. For the limited space in the court of the tabernacle would not have allowed of 252 animals being received, slaughtered, and prepared for sacrificing all at once, or on the same day; and it would have been also impossible to burn 36 whole animals (oxen, rams, and sheep), and the fat portions of 216 animals, upon the altar.—Vers. 12–83. All the princes brought the same gifts. The order in which the twelve princes, whose names

have already been given at chap. i. 5-15, made their presentation, corresponded to the order of the tribes in the camp (chap. ii.), the tribe-prince of Judah taking the lead, and the prince of Naphtali coming last. In the statements as to the weight of the silver *kearoth* and the golden *cappoth*, the word *shekel* is invariably omitted, as in Gen. xx. 16, etc.—In vers. 84-86, the dedication gifts are summed up, and the total weight given, viz. twelve silver dishes and twelve silver bowls, weighing together 2400 shekels, and twelve golden spoons, weighing 120 shekels in all. On the sacred shekel, see at Ex. xxx. 13; and on the probable value of the shekel of gold, at Ex. xxxviii. 24, 25. The sacrificial animals are added together in the same way in vers. 87, 88.

Ver. 89. Whilst the tribe-princes had thus given to the altar the consecration of a sanctuary of their God, through their sacrificial gifts, Jehovah acknowledged it as His sanctuary, by causing Moses, when he went into the tabernacle to speak to Him, and to present his own entreaties and those of the people, to hear the voice of Him that spake to him from between the two cherubim upon the ark of the covenant. The suffix in *אֵלַי* points back to the name *Jehovah*, which, though not expressly mentioned before, is contained *implicite* in *ohel moëd*, “the tent of meeting.” For the holy tent became an *ohel moëd* first of all, from the fact that it was there that Jehovah appeared to Moses, or met with him (*נִוְעַד*, Ex. xxv. 22). *מִדְבָּר*, *part. Hithpaël*, to hold conversation. On the fact itself, see the explanation in Ex. xxv. 20, 22. “This voice from the inmost sanctuary to Moses, the representative of Israel, was Jehovah’s reply to the joyfulness and readiness with which the princes of Israel responded to Him, and made the tent, so far as they were concerned, a place of holy meeting” (*Baumg.*). This was the reason for connecting the remark in ver. 89 with the account of the dedicatory gifts.

Chap. viii. CONSECRATION OF THE LEVITES.—The command of God to consecrate the Levites for their service, is introduced in vers. 1-4 by directions issued to Aaron with regard to the *lighting of the candlestick* in the dwelling of the tabernacle. Aaron was to place the seven lamps upon the candlestick in such a manner that they would shine *אֶל-מִזְבֵּחַ*. These directions are not a mere repetition, but also a more precise definition, of the general instructions given in Ex. xxv. 37, when the candlestick was made, to place the seven lamps upon the candlestick in such a manner that each should give light over against its front, *i.e.* should throw its

light upon the side opposite to the front of the candlestick (see vol. ii. p. 173). In itself, therefore, there is nothing at all striking in the renewal and explanation of those directions, which committed the task of lighting the lamps to Aaron; for this had not been done before, as Ex. xxvii. 21 merely assigns the daily preparation of the candlestick to Aaron and his sons; and their being placed in the connection in which we find them may be explained from the signification of the seven lamps in relation to the dwelling of God, viz. as indicating that Israel was thereby to be represented perpetually before the Lord as a people causing its light to shine in the darkness of this world (vol. ii. p. 174). And when Aaron is commanded to attend to the lighting of the candlestick, so that it may light up the dwelling, in these special instructions the entire fulfilment of his service in the dwelling is enforced upon him as a duty. In this respect the instructions themselves, coupled with the statement of the fact that Aaron had fulfilled them, stand quite appropriately between the account of what the tribe-princes had done for the consecration of the altar service as representatives of the congregation, and the account of the solemn inauguration of the Levites in their service in the sanctuary. The repetition on this occasion (ver. 4) of an allusion to the artistic character of the candlestick, which had been made according to the pattern seen by Moses in the mount (Ex. xxv. 31 sqq.), is quite in keeping with the antiquated style of narrative adopted in these books.

Vers. 5-22. *Consecration of the Levites* for their service in the sanctuary.—The choice of the Levites for service in the sanctuary, in the place of the first-born of the people generally, has been already noticed in chap. iii. 5 sqq., and the duties binding upon them in chap. iv. 4 sqq. But before entering upon their duties they were to be consecrated to the work, and then formally handed over to the priests. This consecration is commanded in vers. 7 sqq., and is not called קִדָּשׁ, like the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 1; Lev. viii. 11), but טָהַר, *to cleanse*. It consisted in sprinkling them with sin-water, shaving off the whole of the hair from their bodies, and washing their clothes, accompanied by a sacrificial ceremony, by which they were presented symbolically to the Lord as a sacrifice for His service. The first part of this ceremony had reference to outward purification, and represented cleansing from the defilement of sin; hence the performance of it is called הִתְחַטַּט (to cleanse from sin) in ver. 21. “*Sprinkle sin-water upon them.*” The words are addressed to Moses,

who had to officiate at the inauguration of the Levites, as he had already done at that of the priests. "*Water of sin*" is water having reference to sin, designed to remove it, just as the sacrifice offered for the expiation of sin is called *חַטָּאת* (sin) in Lev. iv. 14, etc.; whilst the "*water of uncleanness*" in chap. xix. 9, 13, signifies water by which uncleanness was removed or wiped away. The nature of this purifying water is not explained, and cannot be determined with any certainty. We find directions for preparing sprinkling water in a peculiar manner, for the purpose of cleansing persons who were cured of leprosy, in Lev. xiv. 5 sqq., 50 sqq.; and also for cleansing both persons and houses that had been defiled by a corpse, in chap. xix. 9 sqq. Neither of these, however, was applicable to the cleansing of the Levites, as they were both of them composed of significant ingredients, which stood in the closest relation to the special cleansing to be effected by them, and had evidently no adaptation to the purification of the Levites. At the same time, the expression "*sin-water*" precludes our understanding it to mean simply clean water. So that nothing remains but to regard it as referring to the water in the laver of the sanctuary, which was provided for the purpose of cleansing the priests for the performance of their duties (Ex. xxx. 18 sqq.), and might therefore be regarded by virtue of this as cleansing from sin, and be called "*sin-water*" in consequence. "*And they shall cause the razor to pass over their whole body,*" i.e. shave off all the hair upon their body, "*and wash their clothes, and so cleanse themselves.*" *הַעֲבִיר חֶרֶץ* is to be distinguished from *גָּלַח*. The latter signifies to make bald or shave the hair entirely off, which was required of the leper when he was cleansed (Lev. xiv. 8, 9); the former signifies merely cutting the hair, which was part of the regular mode of adorning the body. The Levites also were not required to bathe their bodies, as lepers were (Lev. xiv. 8, 9), and also the priests at their consecration (Lev. viii. 6), because they were not affected with any special uncleanness, and their duties did not require them to touch the most holy instruments of worship. The washing of the clothes, on the other hand, was a thing generally required as a preparation for acts of worship (Gen. xxxv. 2; Ex. xix. 10), and was omitted in the case of the consecration of the priests, simply because they received a holy official dress. *הַטְּהָרוּ* for *הַטְּהָרוּ*, as in 2 Chron. xxx. 18.

—Ver. 8. After this purification the Levites were to bring two young bullocks, one with the corresponding meat-offering for a burnt-sacrifice, the other for a sin-offering.—Ver. 9. Moses was

then to cause them to draw near before the tabernacle, *i.e.* to enter the court, and to gather together the whole congregation of Israel, *viz.* in the persons of their heads and representatives.—Ver. 10. After this the Levites were to come before Jehovah, *i.e.* in front of the altar; and the children of Israel, *i.e.* the tribe-princes in the name of the Israelites, were to lay their hands upon them, not merely “as a sign that they released them from the possession of the nation, and assigned them and handed them over to Jehovah” (*Knobel*), but in order that by this symbolical act they might transfer to the Levites the obligation resting upon the whole nation to serve the Lord in the persons of its first-born sons, and might present them to the Lord as representatives of the first-born of Israel, to serve Him as living sacrifices.—Ver. 11. This transfer was to be completed by Aaron’s waving the Levites as a wave-offering before Jehovah on behalf of the children of Israel, *i.e.* by his offering them symbolically to the Lord as a sacrifice presented on the part of the Israelites. The ceremony of waving consisted no doubt in his conducting the Levites solemnly up to the altar, and then back again. On the signification of the verb, see at Lev. vii. 30. The design of the waving is given in ver. 11, *viz.* “*that they might be to perform the service of Jehovah*” (vers. 24–26 compared with chap. iv. 4–33).—Ver. 12. The Levites were then to close this transfer of themselves to the Lord with a sin-offering and burnt-offering, in which they laid their hands upon the sacrificial animals. By this imposition of hands they made the sacrificial animals their representatives, in which they presented their own bodies to the Lord as a living sacrifice well-pleasing to Him (see vol. ii. pp. 279, 280). The signification of the dedication of the Levites, as here enjoined, is still further explained in vers. 13–19. The meaning of vers. 13 sqq. is this: According to the command already given (in vers. 6–12), thou shalt place the Levites before Aaron and his sons, and wave them as a wave-offering before the Lord, and so separate them from the midst of the children of Israel, that they may be Mine. They shall then come to serve the tabernacle. So shalt thou cleanse them and wave them. The same reason is assigned for this in vers. 16, 17, as in chap. iii. 11–13 (פָּל־בְּבוֹר for בְּבוֹר לָל, cf. chap. iii. 13); and in vers. 18 and 19, what was commanded in chap. iii. 6–9 is described as having been carried out. On ver. 19b see chap. i. 53.—Vers. 20–22 contain an account of the execution of the divine command.

Vers. 23–26. *The Levitical period of service* is fixed here at

twenty-five years of age and upwards to the fiftieth year. “*This is what concerns the Levites,*” *i.e.* what follows applies to the Levites. “*From the age of twenty-five years shall he (the Levite) come to do service at the work of the tabernacle; and at fifty years of age shall he return from the service of the work, and not work any further, but only serve his brethren at the tabernacle in keeping charge,*” *i.e.* help them to look after the furniture of the tabernacle. “Charge” (*mishmereth*), as distinguished from “work,” signified the oversight of all the furniture of the tabernacle (see chap. iii. 8); “work” (service) applied to laborious service, *e.g.* the taking down and setting up of the tabernacle and cleaning it, carrying wood and water for the sacrificial worship, slaying the animals for the daily and festal sacrifices of the congregation, etc.—Ver. 26b. “*So shalt thou do to the Levites (i.e. proceed with them) in their services.*” מִשְׁמֶרֶת from מִשְׁמָרָה, attendance upon an official post. Both the heading and final clause, by which this law relating to the Levites’ period of service is bounded, and its position immediately after the induction of the Levites into their office, show unmistakeably that this law was binding for all time, and was intended to apply to the standing service of the Levites at the sanctuary; and consequently that it was not at variance with the instructions in chap. iv., to muster the Levites between thirty and fifty years of age, and organize them for the transport of the tabernacle on the journey through the wilderness (chap. iv. 3-49). The transport of the tabernacle required the strength of a full-grown man, and therefore the more advanced age of thirty years; whereas the duties connected with the tabernacle when standing were of a lighter description, and could easily be performed from the twenty-fifth year (see *Hengstenberg’s* Dissertations, vol. ii. pp. 321 sqq.). At a later period, when the sanctuary was permanently established on Mount Zion, David employed the Levites from their twentieth year (1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 25), and expressly stated that he did so because the Levites had no longer to carry the dwelling and its furniture; and this regulation continued in force from that time forward (cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17; Ezra iii. 8). But if the supposed discrepancy between the verses before us and chap. iv. 3, 47, is removed by this distinction, which is gathered in the most simple manner from the context, there is no ground whatever for critics to deny that the regulation before us could have proceeded from the pen of the Elohist.

FOR A SUPPLEMENTARY PASSOVER.—Vers. 1–5. On the first institution of the Passover, before the exodus from Egypt, God had appointed the observance of this feast as an everlasting statute for all future generations (Ex. xii. 14, 24, 25). In the first month of the second year after the exodus, that is to say, immediately after the erection of the tabernacle (Ex. xl. 2, 17), this command was renewed, and the people were commanded “to keep the Passover in its appointed season, according to all its statutes and rights;” not to postpone it, that is, according to an interpretation that might possibly have been put upon Ex. xii. 24, 25, until they came to Canaan, but to keep it there at Sinai. And Israel kept it in the wilderness of Sinai, in exact accordance with the commands which God had given before (Ex. xii.). There is no express command, it is true, that the blood of the paschal lambs, instead of being smeared upon the lintel and posts of the house-doors (or the entrances to the tents), was to be sprinkled upon the altar of burnt-offering; nor is it recorded that this was actually done; but it followed of itself from the altered circumstances, inasmuch as there was no destroying angel to pass through the camp at Sinai and smite the enemies of Israel, whilst there was an altar in existence now upon which all the sacrificial blood was to be poured out, and therefore the blood of the paschal sacrifice also.¹

¹ If we take into consideration still further, the fact that the law had already been issued that the blood of all the animals slain for food, whether inside or outside the camp, was to be sprinkled upon the altar (Lev. xvii. 3–6), there can be no doubt that the blood of the paschal lambs would also have to be sprinkled upon the altar, notwithstanding the difficulties referred to by *Kurtz*, arising from the small number of priests to perform the task, viz. Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar, as Nadab and Abihu were now dead. But (1) *Kurtz* estimates the number of paschal lambs much too high, viz. at 100,000 to 140,000; for when he reckons the whole number of the people at about two millions, and gives one lamb upon an average to every fifteen or twenty persons, he includes infants and sucklings among those who partook of the Passover. But as there were only 603,550 males of twenty years old and upwards in the twelve tribes, we cannot reckon more than about 700,000 males as participants in the paschal meal, since the children under ten or twelve years of age would not come into the calculation, even if those who were between eight and twelve partook of the meal, since there would be many adults who could not eat the Passover, because they were unclean. Now if, as *Josephus* affirms (*de bell. jud.* vi. 9, 3), there were never less than ten, and often as many as twenty, who joined together in the time of Christ (οὐκ ἔλασσον ἀνδρῶν δέκα . . . πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ σὺν εἰκοσιν ἀθροίζονται), we need not assume that there were more than 50,000 lambs required for the feast of Passover at Sinai; because even if all the women who were clean took part in the feast, they would confine them-

Vers. 6-14. There were certain men who were defiled by human corpses (see Lev. xix. 28), and could not eat the Passover on the day appointed. These men came to Moses, and asked, "*Why are we diminished (prevented) from offering the sacrificial gift of Jehovah at its season in the midst of the children of Israel (i.e. in common with the rest of the Israelites)?*" The exclusion of persons defiled from offering the Passover followed from the law, that only clean persons were to participate in a sacrificial meal (Lev. vii. 21), and that no one could offer any sacrifice in an unclean state.—Ver. 8. Moses told them to wait (stand), and he would hear what the Lord, of whom he would inquire, would command.—Vers. 9 sqq. Jehovah gave these general instructions: "*Every one who is defiled by a corpse or upon a distant¹ journey, of you and your future families, shall keep the Passover in the second month on the fourteenth, between the two evenings,*" and that in all respects according to the statute of this feast, the three leading points of which—viz. eating the lamb with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, leaving nothing till the next day, and not breaking a bone (Ex. xii. 8, 10, 46)—are repeated

selves as much as possible to the quantity actually needed, and one whole sheep of a year old would furnish flesh enough for one supper for fifteen males and fifteen females. (2) The slaughtering of all these lambs need not have taken place in the narrow space afforded by the court, even if it was afterwards performed in the more roomy courts of the later temple, as has been inferred from 2 Chron. xxx. 16 and xxxv. 11. Lastly, the sprinkling of the blood was no doubt the business of the priests. But the Levites assisted them, so that they sprinkled the blood upon the altar "out of the hand of the Levites" (2 Chron. xxx. 16). Moreover, we are by no means in a condition to pronounce positively whether three priests were sufficient or not at Sinai, because we have no precise information respecting the course pursued. The altar, no doubt, would appear too small for the performance of the whole within the short time of hardly three hours (from the ninth hour of the day to the eleventh). But if it was possible, in the time of the Emperor Nero, to sprinkle the blood of 256,500 paschal lambs (for that number was actually counted under *Cestius*; see *Josephus*, *l. c.*) upon the altar of the temple of that time, which was six, or eight, or even ten times larger, it must have been also possible, in Moses' time, for the blood of 50,000 lambs to be sprinkled upon the altar of the tabernacle, which was five cubits in length, and the same in breadth.

¹ The רחוקה is marked as suspicious by *puncta extraordinaria*, probably first of all simply on the ground that the more exact definition is not found in ver. 13. The Rabbins suppose the marks to indicate that *rechokah* is not to be taken here in its literal sense, but denotes merely distance from Jerusalem, or from the threshold of the outer court of the temple. See *Mishnah Pesach* ix. 2, with the commentaries of *Bartenora* and *Maimonides*, and the conjectures of the *Pesikta* on the ten passages in the Pentateuch with *punctis extraordinariis*, in *Drusii notæ uberiores ad h. v.*

here. But lest any one should pervert this permission, to celebrate the Passover a month later in case of insuperable difficulties, which had only been given for the purpose of enforcing the obligation to keep the covenant meal upon every member of the nation, into an excuse for postponing it without any necessity and merely from indifference, on the ground that he could make it up afterwards, the threat is held out in ver. 13, that whoever should omit to keep the feast at the legal time, if he was neither unclean nor upon a journey, should be cut off; and in ver. 14 the command is repeated with reference to foreigners, that they were also to keep the law and ordinance with the greatest minuteness when they observed the Passover: cf. Ex. xii. 48, 49, according to which the stranger was required first of all to let himself be circumcised. In ver. 14*b*, יְהִיָּה stands for תִּהְיֶה, as in Ex. xii. 49; cf. *Ewald*, § 295, *d*. וְ . . . ! *et . . . et*, both . . . and.

SIGNS AND SIGNALS FOR THE MARCH.—CHAP. IX. 15—X. 10.

With the mustering of the people and the internal organization of the congregation, the preparations for the march from the desert of Sinai to the promised land of Canaan were completed; and when the feast of the Passover was ended, the time for leaving Sinai had arrived. Nothing now remained to be noticed except the required instructions respecting the guidance of the people in their journey through the wilderness, to which the account of the actual departure and march is appended. The account before us describes first of all the manner in which God Himself conducted the march (chap. ix. 15–23); and secondly, instructions are given respecting the signals to be used for regulating the order of the march (chap. x. 1–10).

Chap. ix. 15–23. SIGNS FOR REMOVING AND ENCAMPING.—On their way through the desert from the border of Egypt to Sinai, Jehovah Himself had undertaken to guide His people by a cloud, as the visible sign and vehicle of His gracious presence (Ex. xiii. 21, 22). This cloud had come down upon the dwelling when the tabernacle was erected, whilst the glory of the Lord filled the holy of holies (Ex. xl. 34–38). In ver. 15 the historian refers to this fact, and then describes more fully what had been already briefly alluded to in Ex. xl. 36, 37, namely, that when the cloud rose up from the dwelling of the tabernacle it was a sign for removing, and

when it came down upon the dwelling, a sign for encamping. In ver. 15*a*, “*on the day of the setting up of the dwelling*,” Ex. xl. 34, 35, is resumed; and in ver. 15*b* the appearance of the cloud during the night, from evening till morning, is described in accordance with Ex. xl. 38. (On the fact itself, see the exposition of Ex. xiii. 21, 22.) מִשְׁכַּן לְאֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת, “*the dwelling of the tent of witness*” (ל used for the genitive to avoid a double construct state: *Ewald*, § 292, *a*). In the place of *ohel moëd*, “*tent of the meeting of Jehovah with His people*,” we have here “*tent of witness*” (or “*testimony*”), *i.e.* of the tables with the decalogue which were laid up in the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 16), because the decalogue formed the basis of the covenant of Jehovah with Israel, and the pledge of the gracious presence of the Lord in the tabernacle. In the place of “*dwelling of the tent of witness*,” we have “*dwelling of witness*” (testimony) in chap. x. 11, and “*tent of witness*” in chap. xviii. 2, xvii. 22, to denote the whole dwelling, as divided into the holy place and the holy of holies, and not the holy of holies alone. This is unmistakeably evident from a comparison of the verse before us with Ex. xl. 34, according to which the cloud covered not merely one portion of the tabernacle, but the whole of the tent of meeting (*ohel moëd*). The rendering, “*the cloud covered the dwelling at the tent of witness*,” *i.e.* at that part of it in which the witness (or “*testimony*”) was kept, *viz.* the holy of holies, which *Rosenmüller* and *Knobel* adopt, cannot be sustained, inasmuch as ל has no such meaning, but simply conveys the idea of motion and passage into a place or condition (*cf. Ewald*, § 217, *d*); and the dwelling or tabernacle was not first made into the tent of witness through the cloud which covered it.—Ver. 16. The covering of the dwelling, with the cloud which shone by night as a fiery look, was constant, and not merely a phenomenon which appeared when the tabernacle was first erected, and then vanished away again.—Ver. 17. “*In accordance with the rising of the cloud from the tent, then afterwards the children of Israel broke up*,” *i.e.* whenever the cloud ascended up from the tent, they always broke up immediately afterwards; “*and at the place where the cloud came down, there they encamped*.” The שָׁכַן, or settling down of the cloud, *sc.* upon the tabernacle, we can only understand in the following manner, as the tabernacle was all taken to pieces during the march: *viz.* that the cloud visibly descended from the height at which it ordinarily soared above the ark of the covenant, as it was carried in front of the army, for a signal that the tabernacle was to be set up there; and when this

had been done, it settled down upon it.—Ver. 18. As Jehovah was with His people in the cloud, the rising and falling of the cloud was “the command of the Lord” to the Israelites to break up or to pitch the camp. As long, therefore, as the cloud rested upon the dwelling, *i.e.* remained stationary, they continued their encampment.—Vers. 19 sqq. Whether it might rest many days long (הָאֶרֶץ, to lengthen out the resting), or only a few days (Gen. xxxiv. 30), or only from evening till morning, and then rise up again in the morning, or for a day and a night, or for two days, or for a month, or for days (*yamim*), *i.e.* a space of time not precisely determined (cf. Gen. iv. 3, xl. 4), they encamped without departing. “*Kept the charge of the Lord*” (vers. 19 and 23), *i.e.* observed what was to be observed towards Jehovah (see Lev. viii. 35). With וַיִּשְׁאֶל, “was it that,” or “did it happen that,” two other possible cases are introduced. After ver. 20a, the apodosis, “*they kept the charge of the Lord*,” is to be repeated in thought from ver. 19. The elaboration of the account (vers. 15–23), which abounds with repetitions, is intended to bring out the importance of the fact, and to awaken the consciousness not only of the absolute dependence of Israel upon the guidance of Jehovah, but also of the gracious care of their God, which was thereby displayed to the Israelites throughout all their journeyings.

Chap. x. 1–10. THE SILVER SIGNAL-TRUMPETS.—Although God Himself appointed the time for removal and encampment by the movement of the cloud of His presence, signals were also requisite for ordering and conducting the march of so numerous a body, by means of which Moses, as commander-in-chief, might make known his commands to the different divisions of the camp. To this end God directed him to prepare two silver trumpets of beaten work (*mikshah*, see Ex. xxv. 18), which should serve “for the calling of the assembly, and for the breaking up of the camps,” *i.e.* which were to be used for this purpose. The form of these trumpets is not further described. No doubt they were straight, not curved, as we may infer both from the representation of these trumpets on the triumphal arch of Titus at Rome, and also from the fact, that none but straight trumpets occur on the old Egyptian monuments (see my *Arch.* ii. p. 187). With regard to the use of them for calling the congregation, the following directions are given in vers. 3, 4: “*When they shall blow with them (i.e. with both), the whole congregation (in all its representatives) shall assemble at the*

door of the tabernacle; if they blow with only one, the princes or heads of the families of Israel shall assemble together.”—Vers. 5, 6. To give the signal for breaking up the camp, they were to blow תְּרִיעָה, *i.e.* a noise or alarm. At the first blast the tribes on the east, *i.e.* those who were encamped in the front of the tabernacle, were to break up; at the second, those who were encamped on the south; and so on in the order prescribed in chap. ii., though this is not expressly mentioned here. The alarm was to be blown לְמַסְעֵיהֶם, with regard to their breaking up or marching.—Ver. 7. But to call the congregation together they were to *blow*, not to sound an alarm. תִּקַּע signifies blowing in short, sharp tones. תִּקַּע תְּרִיעָה = הִרְיעַ, blowing in a continued peal.—Vers. 8-10. These trumpets were to be used for the holy purposes of the congregation generally, and therefore not only the making, but the manner of using them was prescribed by God Himself. They were to be blown by the priests alone, and “to be for an eternal ordinance to the families of Israel,” *i.e.* to be preserved and used by them in all future times, according to the appointment of God. The blast of these trumpets was to call Israel to remembrance before Jehovah in time of war and on their feast-days.—Ver. 9. “If ye go to war in your land against the enemy who oppresses you, and ye blow the trumpets, ye shall bring yourselves to remembrance before Jehovah, and shall be saved (by Him) from your enemies.” בּוֹא מִלְחָמָה, to come into war, or go to war, is to be distinguished from בּוֹא לְמִלְחָמָה, to make ready for war, go out to battle (chap. xxxi. 21, xxxii. 6).—Ver. 10. “And on your joyous day, and your feasts and new moons, ye shall blow the trumpets over your burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, that they may be to you for a memorial (remembrance) before your God.”—יּוֹם הַשְּׂמִחָה is any day on which a practical expression was given to their joy, in the form of a sacrifice. The מוֹעֲדִים are the feasts enumerated in chaps. xxviii. and xxix. and Lev. xxiii. The “beginnings of the months,” or new-moon days, were not, strictly speaking, feast-days, with the exception of the seventh new moon of the year (see at chap. xxviii. 11). On the object, viz. “for a memorial,” see Ex. xxviii. 29, and the explanation, vol. ii. p. 199. In accordance with this divine appointment, so full of promise, we find that in after times the trumpets were blown by the priests in war (chap. xxxi. 6; 2 Chron. xiii. 12, 14, xx. 21, 22, 28) as well as on joyful occasions, such as at the removal of the ark (1 Chron. xv. 24, xvi. 6), at the consecration of Solomon’s temple (2 Chron. v. 12, vii. 6), the laying of the foundation of the second temple

(Ezra iii. 10), the consecration of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 35, 41), and other festivities (2 Chron. xxix. 27).

II.—JOURNEY FROM SINAI TO THE STEPPES OF MOAB.

CHAP. X. 11–XXI.

THE straight and shortest way from Sinai to Kadesh, on the southern border of Canaan, was only a journey of eleven days (Deut. i. 2). By this road God led His people, whom He had received into the covenant of His grace at Sinai, and placed under the discipline of the law, to the ultimate object of their journey through the desert; so that, a few months after leaving Horeb or Sinai, the Israelites had already arrived at Kadesh, in the desert of Zin, on the southern border of the promised land, and were able to send out men as spies, to survey the inheritance of which they were to take possession. The way from Sinai to the desert of Zin forms the *first* stage in the history of the guidance of Israel through the wilderness to Canaan.

FROM SINAI TO KADESH.—CHAP. X. 11–XIV. 45.

Removal of the Camp from the Desert of Sinai.—Chap. x. 11–36.

Vers. 11, 12. After all the preparations were completed for the journey of the Israelites from Sinai to Canaan, on the 20th day of the second month, in the second year, the cloud rose up from the tent of witness, and the children of Israel broke up out of the desert of Sinai, לִסְעֵיהֶם, “according to their journeys” (*lit.* breakings up; see at Gen. xiii. 3 and Ex. 37), *i.e.* in the order prescribed in chap. ii. 9, 16, 24, 31, and described in vers. 14 sqq. of this chapter. “*And the cloud rested in the desert of Paran.*” In these words, the whole journey from the desert of Sinai to the desert of Paran is given summarily, or as a heading; and the more minute description follows from ver. 14 to chap. xii. 16. The “*desert of Paran*” was not the first station, but the third; and the Israelites did not arrive at it till after they had left Hazeroth (chap. xii. 16). The desert of Sinai is mentioned as the starting-point of the journey through the desert, in contrast with the desert of Paran, in the neighbourhood

of Kadesh, whence the spies were sent out to Canaan (chap. xiii. 2, 21), the goal and termination of their journey through the desert. That the words, "the cloud rested in the desert of Paran" (ver. 12*b*), contain a preliminary statement (like Gen. xxvii. 23, xxxvii. 5, as compared with ver. 8, and 1 Kings vi. 9 as compared with ver. 14, etc.), is unmistakeably apparent, from the fact that Moses' negotiations with Hobab, respecting his accompanying the Israelites to Canaan, as a guide who knew the road, are noticed for the first time in vers. 29 sqq., although they took place before the departure from Sinai, and that after this the account of the breaking-up is resumed in ver. 33, and the journey itself described. Hence, although *Kurtz* (iii. 220) rejects this explanation of ver. 12*b* as "forced," and regards the desert of Paran as a place of encampment between Tabeerah and Kibroth-hattaavah, even he cannot help identifying the breaking-up described in ver. 33 with that mentioned in ver. 12; that is to say, regarding ver. 12 as a summary of the events which are afterwards more fully described.

The desert of Paran is the large desert plateau which is bounded on the east by the Arabah, the deep valley running from the southern point of the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf, and stretches westwards to the desert of Shur (*Jifar*; see Gen. xvi. 7; Ex. xv. 22), that separates Egypt from Philistia: it reaches southwards to Jebel et Tih, the foremost spur of the Horeb mountains, and northwards to the mountains of the Amorites, the southern border of Canaan. The origin and etymology of the name are obscure. The opinion that it was derived from פער, to open wide, and originally denoted the broad valley of Wady Murreh, between the Hebrew Negeb and the desert of Tih, and was then transferred to the whole district, has very little probability in it (*Knobel*). All that can be regarded as certain is, that the *El-Paran* of Gen. xiv. 6 is a proof that in the very earliest times the name was applied to the whole of the desert of Tih down to the Elanitic Gulf, and that the *Paran* of the Bible had no historical connection either with the κώμη Παράν and tribe of Παρανῖται mentioned by *Ptol.* (v. 17, i. 3), or with the town of Παράν, of which the remains are still to be seen in the Wady *Feiran* at Serbal, or with the tower of *Faran Ahrun* of *Edrisi*, the modern *Hammán Faraun*, on the Red Sea, to the south of the Wady Gharandel. By the Arabian geographers, *Isztachri*, *Kazwini*, and others, and also by the Bedouins, it is called *et Tih*, i.e. the wandering of the children of Israel, as being the ground upon which the children of Israel wandered about in the

wilderness for forty years (or more accurately, thirty-eight). This desert plateau, which is thirty German miles (150 English) long from south to north, and almost as broad, consists, according to Arabian geographers, partly of sand and partly of firm soil, and is intersected through almost its entire length by the *Wady el Arish*, which commences at a short distance from the northern extremity of the southern border mountains of *et Tih*, and runs in nearly a straight line from south to north, only turning in a north-westerly direction towards the Mediterranean Sea, on the north-east of the *Jebel el Helal*. This wady divides the desert of Paran into a western and an eastern half. The western half lies lower than the eastern, and slopes off gradually, without any perceptible natural boundary, into the flat desert of Shur (*Jifar*), on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The eastern half (between the Arabah and the *Wady el Arish*) consists throughout of a lofty mountainous country, intersected by larger and smaller wadys, and with extensive table-land between the loftier ranges, which slopes off somewhat in a northerly direction, its southern edge being formed by the eastern spurs of the *Jebel et Tih*. It is intersected by the *Wady el Jerafeh*, which commences at the foot of the northern slope of the mountains of *Tih*, and after proceeding at first in a northerly direction, turns higher up in a north-easterly direction towards the Arabah, but rises in its northern portion to a strong mountain fortress, which is called, from its present inhabitants, the highlands of the *Azazimeh*, and is bounded on both south and north by steep and lofty mountain ranges. The southern boundary is formed by the range which connects the *Araif en Nakba* with the *Jebel el Mukrah* on the east; the northern boundary, by the mountain barrier which stretches along the *Wady Murreh* from west to east, and rises precipitously from it, and of which the following description has been given by *Rowland and Williams*, the first of modern travellers to visit this district, who entered the *terra incognita* by proceeding directly south from Hebron, past *Arara* or *Aroër*, and surveyed it from the border of the *Rachmah* plateau, *i.e.* of the mountains of the Amorites (Deut. i. 7, 20, 44), or the southernmost plateau of the mountains of Judah (see at chap. xiv. 45):—"A gigantic mountain towered above us in savage grandeur, with masses of naked rock, resembling the bastions of some Cyclopean architecture, the end of which it was impossible for the eye to reach, towards either the west or the east. It extended also a long way towards the south; and with its rugged, broken, and dazzling masses of

chalk, which reflected the burning rays of the sun, it looked like an unapproachable furnace, a most fearful desert, without the slightest trace of vegetation. A broad defile, called *Wady Murreh*, ran at the foot of this bulwark, towards the east; and after a course of several miles, on reaching the strangely formed mountain of Moddera (Madurah), it is divided into two parts, the southern branch still retaining the same name, and running eastwards to the Arabah, whilst the other was called *Wady Fikreh*, and ran in a north-easterly direction to the Dead Sea. This mountain barrier proved to us beyond a doubt that we were now standing on the southern boundary of the promised land; and we were confirmed in this opinion by the statement of the guide, that *Kadesh* was only a few hours distant from the point where we were standing" (*Ritter*, xiv. p. 1084). The place of encampment in the desert of Paran is to be sought for at the north-west corner of this lofty mountain range (see at chap. xii. 16).

In vers. 13-28 the removal of the different camps is more fully described, according to the order of march established in chap. ii., the order in which the different sections of the Levites drew out and marched being particularly described in this place alone (cf. vers. 17 and 21 with chap. ii. 17). First of all (*lit.* "at the beginning") the banner of Judah drew out, with Issachar and Zebulun (vers. 14-16; cf. chap. ii. 3-9). The tabernacle was then taken down, and the Gershonites and Merarites broke up, carrying those portions of it which were assigned to them (ver. 17; cf. chap. iv. 24 sqq., and 31 sqq.), that they might set up the dwelling at the place to be chosen for the next encampment, before the Kohathites arrived with the sacred things (ver. 21). The banner of Reuben followed next with Simeon and Gad (vers. 18-21; cf. chap. ii. 10-16), and the Kohathites joined them bearing the sacred things (ver. 21). *הַמִּקְדָּשׁ* (= *הַקֹּדֶשׁ*, chap. vii. 9, and *קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדָשִׁים*, chap. iv. 4) signifies the sacred things mentioned in chap. iii. 31. In ver. 21*b* the subject is the Gershonites and Merarites, who had broken up before with the component parts of the dwelling, and set up the dwelling, *עַד-בָּאֵם*, against their (the Kohathites') arrival, so that they might place the holy things at once within it.—Vers. 22-28. Behind the sacred things came the banners of Ephraim, with Manasseh and Benjamin (see chap. ii. 18-24), and Dan with Asher and Naphtali (chap. ii. 25-31); so that the camp of Dan was the "collector of all the camps according to their hosts," *i.e.* formed that division of the army which kept the hosts together.

Vers. 29–32. The conversation in which Moses persuaded *Hobab* the Midianite, the son of Reguel (see at Ex. ii. 16), and his brother-in-law, to go with the Israelites, and being well acquainted with the desert to act as their leader, preceded the departure in order of time; but it is placed between the setting out and the march itself, as being subordinate to the main events. When and why Hobab came into the camp of the Israelites,—whether he came with his father Reguel (or Jethro) when Israel first arrived at Horeb, and so remained behind when Jethro left (Ex. xviii. 27), or whether he did not come till afterwards,—was left uncertain, because it was a matter of no consequence in relation to what is narrated here.¹ The request addressed to Hobab, that he would go with them to the place which Jehovah had promised to give them, *i.e.* to Canaan, was supported by the promise that he would do good to them (Hobab and his company), as Jehovah had spoken good concerning Israel, *i.e.* had promised it prosperity in Canaan. And when Hobab declined the request, and said that he should return into his own land, *i.e.* to Midian at the south-east of Sinai (see at Ex. ii. 15 and iii. 1), and to his kindred, Moses repeated the request, “*Leave us not, forasmuch as thou knowest our encamping in the desert,*” *i.e.* knowest where we can pitch our tents; “*therefore be to us as eyes,*” *i.e.* be our leader and guide,—and promised at the same time to do him the good that Jehovah would do to them. Although Jehovah led the march of the Israelites in the pillar of cloud, not only giving the sign for them to break up and to encamp, but showing generally the direction they were to take; yet Hobab, who was well acquainted with the desert, would be able to render very important service to the Israelites, if he only pointed out, in those places where the sign to encamp was given by the cloud, the

¹ The grounds upon which *Knobel* affirms that the “Elohists” is not the author of the account in vers. 29–36, and pronounces it a Jehovistic interpolation, are perfectly futile. The assertion that the Elohist had already given a full description of the departure in vers. 11–28, rests upon an oversight of the peculiarities of the Semitic historians. The expression “they set forward” in ver. 28 is an anticipatory remark, as *Knobel* himself admits in other places (*e.g.* Gen. vii. 12, viii. 3; Ex. vii. 6, xii. 50, xvi. 34). The other argument, that Moses’ brother-in-law is not mentioned anywhere else, involves a *petitio principii*, and is just as powerless a proof, as such peculiarities of style as “mount of the Lord,” “ark of the covenant of the Lord,” הֵיטִיב to do good (ver. 29), and others of a similar kind, of which the critics have not even attempted to prove that they are at variance with the style of the Elohist, to say nothing of their having actually done so.

springs, oases, and plots of pasture which are often buried quite out of sight in the mountains and valleys that overspread the desert. What Hobab ultimately decided to do, we are not told; but "as no further refusal is mentioned, and the departure of Israel is related immediately afterwards, he probably consented" (*Knobel*). This is raised to a certainty by the fact that, at the commencement of the period of the Judges, the sons of the brother-in-law of Moses went into the desert of Judah to the south of Arad along with the sons of Judah (*Judg.* i. 16), and therefore had entered Canaan with the Israelites, and that they were still living in that neighbourhood in the time of Saul (*1 Sam.* xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29).

Vers. 33-36. "*And they (the Israelites) departed from the mount of Jehovah (Ex. iii. 1) three days' journey; the ark of the covenant of Jehovah going before them, to search out a resting-place for them. And the cloud of Jehovah was over them by day, when they broke up from the camp.*" Jehovah still did as He had already done on the way to Sinai (*Ex.* xiii. 21, 22): He went before them in the pillar of cloud, according to His promise (*Ex.* xxxiii. 13), on their journey from Sinai to Canaan; with this simple difference, however, that henceforth the cloud that embodied the presence of Jehovah was connected with the ark of the covenant, as the visible throne of His gracious presence which had been appointed by Jehovah Himself. To this end the ark of the covenant was carried separately from the rest of the sacred things, in front of the whole army; so that the cloud which went before them floated above the ark, leading the procession, and regulating its movements and the direction it took in such a manner that the permanent connection between the cloud and the sanctuary might be visibly manifested even during their march. It is true that, in the order observed in the camp and on the march, no mention is made of the ark of the covenant going in front of the whole army; but this omission is no more a proof of any discrepancy between this verse and chap. ii. 17, or of a difference of authorship, than the separation of the different divisions of the Levites upon the march, which is also not mentioned in chap. ii. 17, although the Gershonites and Merarites actually marched between the banners of Judah and Reuben, and the Kohathites with the holy things between the banners of Reuben and Ephraim (vers. 17 and 21).¹ The words, "the cloud was above them" (the Israelites), and so forth, can be reconciled with this supposition

¹ As the critics do not deny that vers. 11-28 are written by the "Elohist" notwithstanding this difference, they have no right to bring forward the account

without any difficulty, whether we understand them as signifying that the cloud, which appeared as a guiding column floating above the ark and moved forward along with it, also extended itself along the whole procession, and spread out as a protecting shade over the whole army (as *O. v. Gerlach* and *Baumgarten* suppose), or that "above them" (upon them) is to be regarded as expressive of the fact that it accompanied them as a protection and shade. Nor is Ps. cv. 39, which seems, so far as the words are concerned, rather to favour the first explanation, really at variance with this view; for the Psalmist's intention is not so much to give a physical description of the phenomenon, as to describe the sheltering protection of God in poetical words as a spreading out of the cloud above the wandering people of God, in the form of a protection against both heat and rain (cf. Isa. iv. 5, 6). Moreover, vers. 33*b* and 34 have a poetical character, answering to the elevated nature of their subject, and are to be interpreted as follows according to the laws of a poetical *parallelism*: The one thought that the ark of the covenant, with the cloud soaring above it, led the way and sheltered those who were marching, is divided into two clauses; in ver. 33*b* only the ark of the covenant is mentioned as going in front of the Israelites, and in ver. 34 only the cloud as a shelter over them: whereas the carrying of the ark in front of the army could only accomplish the end proposed, viz. to search out a resting-place for them, by Jehovah going above them in the cloud, and showing the bearers of the ark both the way they were to take, and the place where they were to rest. The ark with the tables of the law is not called "the ark of testimony" here, according to its contents, as in Ex. xxv. 22, xxvi. 33, 34, xxx. 6, etc., but the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, according to its design and signification for Israel, which was the only point, or at any rate the principal point, in consideration here. The resting-place which the ark of the covenant found at the end of three days, is not mentioned in ver. 34; it was not Taberah, however (chap. xi. 3), but Kibroth-hattaavah (chap. xi. 34, 35; cf. chap. xxxiii. 16).

In vers. 35 and 36, the words which Moses was in the habit of uttering, both when the ark removed and when it came to rest again, are given not only as a proof of the joyous confidence of Moses, but as an encouragement to the congregation to cherish the same believing confidence. When breaking up, he said, "*Rise up*, of the ark going first as a contradiction to chap. ii., and therefore a proof that vers. 33 sqq. are not of Elohistie origin.

Jehovah! that Thine enemies may be scattered, and they that hate Thee may flee before Thy face;" and when it rested, "*Return, Jehovah, to the ten thousand thousands of Israel!*" Moses could speak in this way, because he knew that Jehovah and the ark of the covenant were inseparably connected, and saw in the ark of the covenant, as the throne of Jehovah, a material pledge of the gracious presence of the Almighty God. He said this, however, not merely with reference to enemies who might encounter the Israelites in the desert, but with a confident anticipation of the calling of Israel, to strive for the cause of the Lord in this hostile world, and rear His kingdom upon earth. Human power was not sufficient for this; but to accomplish this end, it was necessary that the Almighty God should go before His people, and scatter their foes. The prayer addressed to God to do this, is an expression of bold believing confidence,—a prayer sure of its answer; and to Israel it was the word with which the congregation of God was to carry on the conflict at all times against the powers and authorities of a whole hostile world. It is in this sense that in Ps. lxxviii. 2, the words are held up by David before himself and his generation as a banner of victory, "to arm the Church with confidence, and fortify it against the violent attacks of its foes" (*Calvin*). שׁוּבָה is construed with an accusative: return to the ten thousands of the hosts of Israel, *i.e.* after having scattered Thine enemies, turn back again to Thy people to dwell among them. The "thousands of Israel," as in chap. i. 16.¹

¹ The inverted *nuns*, נ, at the beginning and close of vers. 35, 36, which are found, according to *R. Menachen's de Lonzano Or Torah* (f. 17), in all the Spanish and German MSS., and are sanctioned by the Masorah, are said by the Talmud (*tract de sabbatho*) to be merely *signa parentheseos*, *quæ monerent præter historiæ seriem versum 35 et 36 ad capitis finem inseri* (cf. *Matt. Hilleri de Arcano Kethib et Keri libri duo*, pp. 158, 159). The Cabbalists, on the other hand, according to *R. Menach. l. c.*, find an allusion in it to the *Shechinah*, "*quæ velut obversa ad tergum facie sequentes Israelitas ex impenso amore respiceret*" (see the note in *J. H. Michaelis' Bibl. hebr.*). In other MSS., however, which are supported by the *Masora Erfurt*, the inverted *nun* is found in the words בָּסָע (ver. 35) and יוֹדֵי הָעַם בְּמִתְאֲזָנִים (chap. xi. 1): the first, *ad innuendum ut sic retrorsum agantur omnes hostes Israelitarum*; the second, *ut esset symbolum perpetuum perversitatis populi, inter tot illustria signa liberationis et maximorum beneficiorum Dei acerbæ quiritantium, ad declarandam ingratitude et contumaciam suam* (cf. *J. Buxtorf, Tiberias*, p. 169).

OCCURRENCES AT TABEERAH AND KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH.—

CHAP. XI.

Vers. 1-3. After a three days' march the Israelites arrived at a resting-place; but the people began at once to be discontented with their situation.¹ *The people were like those who complain in the ears of Jehovah of something bad; i.e. they behaved like persons who groan and murmur because of some misfortune that has happened to them.* No special occasion is mentioned for the complaint. The words are expressive, no doubt, of the general dissatisfaction and discontent of the people at the difficulties and privations connected with the journey through the wilderness, to which they gave utterance so loudly, that their complaining reached the ears of Jehovah. At this His wrath burned, inasmuch as the complaint was directed against Him and His guidance, "so that fire of Jehovah burned against them, and ate at the end of the camp." *בָּעַר* signifies here, not to burn a person (Job i. 16), but to burn against. "*Fire of Jehovah:*" a fire sent by Jehovah, but not proceeding directly from Him, or bursting forth from the cloud, as in Lev. x. 2. Whether it was kindled through a flash of lightning, or in some other such way, cannot be more exactly determined. There is not sufficient ground for the supposition that the fire merely seized upon the bushes about the camp and the tents of the people, but not upon human beings (*Ros., Knobel*). All that is plainly taught in the words is, that the fire did not extend over the whole camp, but merely broke out at one end of it, and sank down again, *i.e.* was extinguished very quickly, at the intercession of Moses; so that in this judgment the Lord merely manifested His power to destroy the murmurers, that He might infuse into the whole nation a wholesome dread of His holy majesty.—Ver. 3. From this judgment the place where the fire had burned received the name of "*Taberah,*" *i.e.* burning, or place of burning. Now, as this spot is distinctly described as the end or outermost edge of the camp, this "place

¹ The arguments by which *Knobel* undertakes to prove, that in chaps. xi. and xii. of the original work different foreign accounts respecting the first encampments after leaving Sinai have been woven together by the "Jehovist," are founded upon misinterpretations and arbitrary assumptions and conclusions, such as the assertion that the tabernacle stood outside the camp (chaps. xi. 25. xii. 5); that Miriam entered the tabernacle (chap. xii. 4, 5); that the original work had already reported the arrival of Israel in *Paran* in chap. x. 12; and that no reference is ever made to a camping-place called *Taberah*, and others of the same kind. For the proof, see the explanation of the verses referred to.

of burning" must not be regarded, as it is by *Knobel* and others, as a different station from the "graves of lust." *Taberah* was simply the local name given to a distant part of the whole camp, which received soon after the name of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, on account of the greater judgment which the people brought upon themselves through their rebellion. This explains not only the omission of the name *Taberah* from the list of encampments in chap. xxxiii. 16, but also the circumstance, that nothing is said about any removal from *Taberah* to *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, and that the account of the murmuring of the people, because of the want of those supplies of food to which they had been accustomed in Egypt, is attached, without anything further, to the preceding narrative. There is nothing very surprising either, in the fact that the people should have given utterance to their wish for the luxuries of Egypt, which they had been deprived of so long, immediately after this judgment of God, if we only understand the whole affair as taking place in exact accordance with the words of the texts, viz. that the unbelieving and discontented mass did not discern the chastising hand of God at all in the conflagration which broke out at the end of the camp, because it was not declared to be a punishment from God, and was not preceded by a previous announcement; and therefore that they gave utterance in loud murmurings to the discontent of their hearts respecting the want of flesh, without any regard to what had just befallen them.

Vers. 4-9. The first impulse to this came from the mob that had come out of Egypt along with the Israelites. "*The mixed multitude*:" see at Ex. xii. 38. They felt and expressed a longing for the better food which they had enjoyed in Egypt, and which was not to be had in the desert, and urged on the Israelites to cry out for flesh again, especially for the flesh and the savoury vegetables in which Egypt abounded. The words "*they wept again*" (שָׁבַע used adverbially, as in Gen. xxvi. 18, etc.) point back to the former complaints of the people respecting the absence of flesh in the desert of Sin (Ex. xvi. 2 sqq.), although there is nothing said about their weeping there. By the flesh which they missed, we are not to understand either the fish which they expressly mention in the following verse (as in Lev. xi. 11), or merely oxen, sheep, and goats; but the word בָּשָׂר signifies flesh generally, as being a better kind of food than the bread-like manna. It is true they possessed herds of cattle, but these would not have been sufficient to supply their wants, as cattle could not be bought for slaughtering, and it

was necessary to spare what they had. The greedy people also longed for other flesh, and said, “*We remember the fish which we ate in Egypt for nothing.*” Even if fish could not be had for nothing in Egypt, according to the extravagant assertions of the murmurers, it is certain that it could be procured for such nominal prices that even the poorest of the people could eat it. The abundance of the fish in the Nile and the neighbouring waters is attested unanimously by both classical writers (e.g. *Diod. Sic.* i. 36, 52; *Herod.* ii. 93: *Strabo*, xvii. p. 829) and modern travellers (cf. *Hengstenberg*, *Egypt*, etc., p. 211 Eng. tr.). This also applies to the vegetables for which the Israelites longed in the desert. The קשאים, or cucumbers, which are still called *katteh* or *chate* in the present day, are a species differing from the ordinary cucumbers in size and colour, and distinguished for softness and sweet flavour, and are described by *Forskal* (*Flor. Aeg.* p. 168), as *fructus in Ægypto omnium vulgatissimus, totis plantatus agris*. אבטחים: water-melons, which are still called *battieh* in modern Egypt, and are both cultivated in immense quantities and sold so cheaply in the market, that the poor as well as the rich can enjoy their refreshing flesh and cooling juice (see *Sonnini* in *Hengstenberg*, *ut sup.* p. 212). קציר does not signify grass here, but, according to the ancient versions, *chives*, from their grass-like appearance; *laudatissimus porrus in Ægypto* (Plin. h. n. 19, 33). בצלים: onions, which flourish better in Egypt than elsewhere, and have a mild and pleasant taste. According to *Herod.* ii. 125, they were the ordinary food of the workmen at the pyramids; and, according to *Hasselquist*, *Sonnini*, and others, they still form almost the only food of the poor, and are also a favourite dish with all classes, either roasted, or boiled as a vegetable, and eaten with animal food. שומים: garlic, which is still called *tum*, *tom* in the East (*Seetzen*, iii. p. 234), and is mentioned by *Herodotus* in connection with onions, as forming a leading article of food with the Egyptian workmen. Of all these things, which had been cheap as well as refreshing, not one was to be had in the desert. Hence the people complained still further, “*and now our soul is dried away,*” i.e. faint for want of strong and refreshing food, and wanting in fresh vital power (cf. Ps. xxii. 16, cii. 5): “*we have nothing* (אין כל), *there is nothing in existence, equivalent to nothing to be had) except that our eye* (falls) *upon this manna,*” i.e. we see nothing else before us but the manna, sc. which has no juice, and supplies no vital force. Greediness longs for juicy and savoury food, and in fact, as a rule, for change of food and stimulating flavour. “This is the perverted

nature of man, which cannot continue in the quiet enjoyment of what is clean and unmixed, but, from its own inward discord, desires a stimulating admixture of what is sharp and sour" (*Baumgarten*). To point out this inward perversion on the part of the murmuring people, Moses once more described the nature, form, and taste of the manna, and its mode of preparation, as a pleasant food which God sent down to His people with the dew of heaven (see at Ex. xvi. 14, 15, and 31). But this sweet bread of heaven wanted "the sharp and sour, which are required to give a stimulating flavour to the food of man, on account of his sinful, restless desires, and the incessant changes of his earthly life." In this respect the manna resembled the spiritual food supplied by the word of God, of which the sinful heart of man may also speedily become weary, and turn to the more piquant productions of the spirit of the world.

Vers. 10-15. When Moses heard the people weep, "*according to their families, every one before the door of his tent,*" i.e. heard complaining in all the families in front of every tent, so that the weeping had become universal throughout the whole nation (cf. Zech. xii. 12 sqq.), and the wrath of the Lord burned on account of it, and the thing displeased Moses also, he brought his complaint to the Lord. The words "*Moses also was displeased,*" are introduced as a circumstantial clause, to explain the matter more clearly, and show the reason for the complaint which Moses poured out before the Lord, and do not refer exclusively either to the murmuring of the people or to the wrath of Jehovah, but to both together. This follows evidently from the position in which the clause stands between the two antecedent clauses in ver. 10 and the apodosis in ver. 11, and still more evidently from the complaint of Moses which follows. For "the whole attitude of Moses shows that his displeasure was excited not merely by the unrestrained rebellion of the people against Jehovah, but also by the unrestrained wrath of Jehovah against the nation" (*Kurtz*). But in what was the wrath of Jehovah manifested? It broke out against the people first of all when they had been satiated with flesh (ver. 33). There is no mention of any earlier manifestation. Hence Moses can only have discovered a sign of the burning wrath of Jehovah in the fact that, although the discontent of the people burst forth in loud cries, God did not help, but withdrew with His help, and let the whole storm of the infuriated people burst upon him.—Vers. 11 sqq. In Moses' complaint there is an unmistakeable discontent arising from the excessive burden of his office. "*Why hast Thou done evil to Thy*

servant? and why have I not found favour in Thy sight, to lay upon me the burden of all this people?" The "burden of all this people" is the expression which he uses to denote "the care of governing the people, and providing everything for it" (*C. a. Lap.*). This burden, which God imposed upon him in connection with his office, appeared to him a bad and ungracious treatment on the part of God. This is the language of the discontent of despair, which differs from the murmuring of unbelief, in the fact that it is addressed to God, for the purpose of entreating help and deliverance from Him; whereas unbelief complains of the ways of God, but while complaining of its troubles, does not pray to the Lord its God. "*Have I conceived all this people,"* Moses continues, "*or have I brought it forth, that Thou requirest me to carry it in my bosom, as a nursing father carries the suckling, into the promised land?"* He does not intend by these words to throw off entirely all care for the people, but simply to plead with God that the duty of carrying and providing for Israel rests with Him, the Creator and Father of Israel (Ex. iv. 22; Isa. lxiii. 16). Moses, a weak man, was wanting in the omnipotent power which alone could satisfy the crying of the people for flesh. יִבְכוּ עָלַי, "*they weep unto me,"* i.e. they come weeping to ask me to relieve their distress. "*I am not able to carry this burden alone; it is too heavy for me.*"—Ver. 15. "*If Thou deal thus with me, then kill me quite* (הָרַג *inf. abs.*, expressive of the uninterrupted process of killing; see *Ewald*, § 280, b.), *if I have found favour in Thine eyes* (i.e. if Thou wilt show me favour), *and let me not see my misfortune.*" "*My misfortune:*" i.e. the calamity to which I must eventually succumb.

Vers. 16-23. There was good ground for his complaint. The burden of the office laid upon the shoulders of Moses was really too heavy for one man; and even the discontent which broke out in the complaint was nothing more than an outpouring of zeal for the office assigned him by God, under the burden of which his strength would eventually break down, unless he received some support. He was not tired of the office, but would stake his life for it if God did not relieve him in some way, as office and life were really one in him. Jehovah therefore relieved him in the distress of which he complained, without blaming the words of His servant, which bordered on despair. "*Gather unto Me,"* He said to Moses (vers. 16, 17), "*seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest as elders and officers* (*shoterim*, see Ex. v. 6) *of the people, and bring them unto the tabernacle, that they may place themselves there with*

thee. I will come down (see at ver. 25) *and speak with thee there, and will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them, that they may bear the burden of the people with thee.*—Vers. 18 sqq. Jehovah would also relieve the complaining of the people, and that in such a way that the murmurers should experience at the same time the holiness of His judgments. The people were to sanctify themselves for the next day, and were then to eat flesh (receive flesh to eat). הִתְקַדְּשׁ (as in Ex. xix. 10), to prepare themselves by purifications for the revelation of the glory of God in the miraculous gift of flesh. Jehovah would give them flesh, so that they should eat it not one day, or two, or five, or ten, or twenty, but a whole month long (of “days,” as in Gen. xxix. 14, xli. 1), “*till it come out of your nostrils, and become loathsome unto you,*” as a punishment for having despised Jehovah in the midst of them, in their contempt of the manna given by God, and for having shown their regret at leaving the land of Egypt in their longing for the provisions of that land.—Vers. 21 sqq. When Moses thereupon expressed his amazement at the promise of God to provide flesh for 600,000 men for a whole month long even to satiety, and said, “*Shall flocks and herds be slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?*” he was answered by the words, “*Is the arm of Jehovah too short (i.e. does it not reach far enough; is it too weak and powerless)? Thou shalt see now whether My word shall come to pass unto thee or not.*”

Vers. 24-30. After receiving from the Lord this reply to his complaint, Moses went out (*sc.* “of the tabernacle,” where he had laid his complaint before the Lord) into the camp; and having made known to the people the will of God, gathered together seventy men of the elders of the people, and directed them to station themselves around the tabernacle. “*Around the tabernacle,*” does not signify in this passage on all four sides, but in a semicircle around the front of the tabernacle; the verb is used in this sense in chap. xxi. 4, when it is applied to the march round Edom.—Ver. 25. Jehovah then came down in the cloud, which soared on high above the tabernacle, and now came down to the door of it (chap. xii. 5; Ex. xxxiii. 9; Deut. xxxi. 15). The statement in chap. ix. 18 sqq., and Ex. xl. 37, 38, that the cloud dwelt (יָשָׁב) above the dwelling of the tabernacle during the time of encampment, can be reconciled with this without any difficulty; since the only idea that we can form of this “dwelling upon it” is, that the cloud stood still, soaring in quietness above the tabernacle, without

moving to and fro like a cloud driven by the wind. There is no such discrepancy, therefore, as *Knobel* finds in these statements. When Jehovah had come down, He spoke to Moses, *sc.* to explain to him and to the elders what was about to be done, and then laid upon the seventy elders of the Spirit which was upon him. We are not to understand this as implying, that the fulness of the Spirit possessed by Moses was diminished in consequence; still less to regard it, with *Calvin*, as *signum indignationis*, or *nota ignominie*, which God intended to stamp upon him. For the Spirit of God is not something material, which is diminished by being divided, but resembles a flame of fire, which does not decrease in intensity, but increases rather by extension. As *Theodore*t observed, "Just as a person who kindles a thousand flames from one, does not lessen the first, whilst he communicates light to the others, so God did not diminish the grace imparted to Moses by the fact that He communicated of it to the seventy." God did this to show to Moses, as well as to the whole nation, that the Spirit which Moses had received was perfectly sufficient for the performance of the duties of his office, and that no supernatural increase of that Spirit was needed, but simply a strengthening of the natural powers of Moses by the support of men who, when endowed with the power of the Spirit that was taken from him, would help him to bear the burden of his office. We have no description of the way in which this transference took place; it is therefore impossible to determine whether it was effected by a sign which would strike the outward senses, or passed altogether within the sphere of the Spirit's life, in a manner which corresponded to the nature of the Spirit itself. In any case, however, it must have been effected in such a way, that Moses and the elders received a convincing proof of the reality of the affair. When the Spirit descended upon the elders, "*they prophesied, and did not add*," *i.e.* they did not repeat the prophesyings any further. וְלֹא יָסִיפוּ is rendered correctly by the LXX., καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσέθεντο; the rendering supported by the *Vulgate* and *Onkelos*, nec ultro cessaverunt ("and ceased not"), is incorrect. הִתְנַבְּא, "*to prophesy*," is to be understood generally, and especially here, not as the foretelling of future things, but as speaking in an ecstatic and elevated state of mind, under the impulse and inspiration of the Spirit of God, just like the "speaking with tongues," which frequently followed the gift of the Holy Ghost in the days of the apostles. But we are not to infer from the fact, that the prophesying was not repeated, that the Spirit therefore departed

from them after this one extraordinary manifestation. This miraculous manifestation of the Spirit was intended simply to give to the whole nation the visible proof that God had endowed them with His Spirit, as helpers of Moses, and had given them the authority required for the exercise of their calling.—Ver. 26. But in order to prove to the whole congregation that the Spirit of the Lord was working there, the Spirit came not only upon the elders assembled round Moses, and in front of the tabernacle, but also upon two of the persons who had been chosen, viz. Eldad and Medad, who had remained behind in the camp, for some reason that is not reported, so that they also prophesied. “*Them that were written,*” *conscripti*, for “called,” because the calling of the elders generally took place in writing, from which we may see how thoroughly the Israelites had acquired the art of writing in Egypt.—Vers. 27, 28. This phenomenon in the camp itself produced such excitement, that a boy (הַנֶּעֶר, with the article like הַפֶּלִיט in Gen. xiv. 13) reported the thing to Moses, whereupon Joshua requested Moses to prohibit the two from prophesying. Joshua felt himself warranted in doing this, because he had been Moses’ servant from his youth up (see at Ex. xvii. 9), and in this capacity he regarded the prophesying of these men in the camp as detracting from the authority of his lord, since they had not received this gift from Moses, at least not through his mediation. Joshua was jealous for the honour of Moses, just as the disciples of Jesus, in Mark ix. 38, 39, were for the honour of their Lord; and he was reproved by Moses, as the latter afterwards were by Christ.—Ver. 29. Moses replied, “*Art thou jealous for me? Would that all the Lord’s people were prophets, that Jehovah would put His Spirit upon them!*” As a true servant of God, who sought not his own glory, but the glory of his God, and the spread of His kingdom, Moses rejoiced in this manifestation of the Spirit of God in the midst of the nation, and desired that all might become partakers of this grace.—Ver. 30. Moses returned with the elders into the camp, *sc.* from the tabernacle, which stood upon an open space in the midst of the camp, at some distance from the tents of the Levites and the rest of the tribes of Israel, which were pitched around it, so that whoever wished to go to it, had first of all to go out of his tent.¹

¹ For the purpose of overthrowing the historical character of this marvellous event, the critics, from *Vater* to *Knobel*, have identified the appointment of the seventy elders to support Moses with the judicial institute established at Sinai by the advice of Jethro (Ex. xviii.), and adduce the obvious differences

No account has been handed down of the further action of this committee of elders. It is impossible to determine, therefore, in what way they assisted Moses in bearing the burden of governing the people. All that can be regarded as following unquestionably from the purpose given here is, that they did not form a permanent body, which continued from the time of Moses to the Captivity, and after the Captivity was revived again in the Sanhedrim, as Talmudists, Rabbins, and many of the earlier theologians suppose (see *Selden de Synedriis*, l. i. c. 14, ii. c. 4; *Jo. Marckii sylloge dissertation. phil. theol. ad V. T. exercit.* 12, pp. 343 sqq.). On the opposite side *vid. Relandi Antiquitates*, ss. ii. 7, 3; *Carpz. apparat.* pp. 573 sq., etc.

Vers. 31–34. As soon as Moses had returned with the elders into the camp, God fulfilled His second promise. “*A wind arose from Jehovah, and brought quails (salvim, see Ex. xvi. 13) over from the sea, and threw them over the camp about a day’s journey wide from here and there (i.e. on both sides), in the neighbourhood of the camp, and about two cubits above the surface.*” The wind was a south-east wind (Ps. lxxviii. 26), which blew from the Arabian Gulf and brought the quails—which fly northwards in the spring from the interior of Africa in very great numbers (see vol. ii. p. 67)—from the sea to the Israelites. נָפַח, which only occurs here and in the Psalm of Moses (Ps. xc. 10), signifies to drive over, in

between these two entirely different institutions as arguments for the supposed diversity of documents and legends. But what ground is there for identifying things so totally different from one another? The assertion of *Knobel*, that in Deut. i. 9–18, Moses “evidently” refers to both events (Ex. xviii. and Num. xi.), is unfounded and untrue. Or are the same official duties and rank assigned to the elders who were chosen as judges in Ex. xviii., as to the seventy elders who were called by God, and endowed with His Spirit, that they might help Moses to govern the people who had rebelled against him and against Jehovah on account of the want of flesh, and to restore and uphold the authority of Moses as the divinely chosen leader of Israel, which had been shaken thereby? Can the judges of a land be identified without reserve with the executive of the land? The mere fact, that this executive court was chosen, like the judges, from the whole body of elders, does not warrant us in identifying the two institutions. Nor does it follow from the fact, that at Sinai seventy of the elders of Israel ascended the mountain with Moses, Aaron, and his sons, and there saw God (Ex. xxiv. 9 sqq.), that the seventy persons chosen here were the same as the seventy mentioned there. The sameness of the numbers does not prove that the persons were the same, but simply that the number seventy was the most suitable, on account of its historical and symbolical significance, to form a representation of the whole body of the people. For a further refutation of this futile objection, see *Ranke, Unterss. üb. d. Pent. II.* pp. 183 sqq.

Arabic and Syriac to pass over, not “to cut off,” as the Rabbins suppose: the wind cut off the quails from the sea. נָטַשׁ, to throw them scattered about (Ex. xxix. 5, xxxi. 12, xxxii. 4). The idea is not that the wind caused the flock of quails to spread itself out as much as two days’ journey over the camp, and to fly about two cubits above the surface of the ground; so that, being exhausted with their flight across the sea, they fell partly into the hands of the Israelites and partly upon the ground, as *Knobel* follows the *Vulgate* (*volabant in aëre duobus cubitis altitudine super terram*) and many of the Rabbins in supposing: for נָטַשׁ עַל הַמַּחֲנֶה does not mean to cause to fly or spread out over the camp, but to throw over or upon the camp. The words cannot therefore be understood in any other way than they are in Ps. lxxviii. 27, 28, viz. that the wind threw them about over the camp, so that they fell upon the ground a day’s journey on either side of it, and that in such numbers that they lay, of course not for the whole distance mentioned, but in places about the camp, as much as two cubits deep. It is only in this sense of the words, that the people could possibly gather quails the whole of that day, the whole night, and the whole of the next day, in such quantities that he who had gathered but little had collected ten homers. A *homer*, the largest measure of capacity among the Hebrews, which contained ten ephahs, held, according to the lower reckoning of *Thenius*, 10,143 Parisian inches, or about two bushels Dresden measure. By this enormous quantity, which so immensely surpassed the natural size of the flocks of quails, God purposed to show the people His power, to give them flesh not for one day or several days, but for a whole month, both to put to shame their unbelief, and also to punish their greediness. As they could not eat this quantity all at once, they spread them round the camp to dry in the sun, in the same manner in which the Egyptians are in the habit of drying fish (*Herod.* ii. 77).—Ver. 33. But while the flesh was still between their teeth, and before it was ground, *i.e.* masticated, the wrath of the Lord burned against them, and produced among the people a very great destruction. This catastrophe is not to be regarded as “the effect of the excessive quantity of quails that they had eaten, on account of the quails feeding upon things which are injurious to man, so that eating the flesh of quails produces convulsions and giddiness (for proofs, see *Bochart, Hieroz.* ii. pp. 657 sqq.),” as *Knobel* supposes, but as an extraordinary judgment inflicted by God upon the greedy people, by which a great multitude of people were suddenly swept away.

—Ver. 34. From this judgment the place of encampment received the name *Kibroth-hattaavah*, i.e. graves of greediness, because there the people found their graves while giving vent to their greedy desires.

Ver. 35. From the graves of greediness the people removed to *Hazeroth*, and there they remained (הֲרֹת as in Ex. xxiv. 12). The situation of these two places of encampment is altogether unknown. *Hazeroth*, it is true, has been regarded by many since *Burckhardt* (Syr. p. 808) as identical with the modern *Hadhra* (in *Robinson's Pal. Ain el Hudhera*), eighteen hours to the north-east of Sinai, partly because of the resemblance in the name, and partly because there are not only low palm-trees and bushes there, but also a spring, of which *Robinson* says (Pal. i. p. 223) that it is the only spring in the neighbourhood, and yields tolerably good water, though somewhat brackish, the whole year round. But *Hadhra* does not answer to the Hebrew הֲצִר, to shut in, from which *Hazeroth* (enclosures) is derived; and there are springs in many other places in the desert of *et Tih* with both drinkable and brackish water. Moreover, the situation of this well does not point to *Hadhra*, which is only two days' journey from Sinai, so that the Israelites might at any rate have pitched their tents by this well after their first journey of three days (chap. x. 33), whereas they took three days to reach the graves of lust, and then marched from thence to *Hazeroth*. Consequently they would only have come to *Hadhra* on the supposition that they had been about to take the road to the sea, and intended to march along the coast to the Arabah, and so on through the Arabah to the Dead Sea (*Robinson*, p. 223); in which case, however, they would not have arrived at *Kadesh*. The conjecture that *Kibroth-hattaavah* is the same as *Di-Sahab* (Deut. i. 1), the modern *Dahab* (*Mersa Dahab*, *Minna el Dahab*), to the east of Sinai, on the Elanitic Gulf, is still more untenable. For what end could be answered by such a circuitous route, which, instead of bringing the Israelites nearer to the end of their journey, would have taken them to Mecca rather than to Canaan? As the Israelites proceeded from *Hazeroth* to *Kadesh* in the desert of *Paran* (chap. xiii. 3 and 26), they must have marched from Sinai to Canaan by the most direct route, through the midst of the great desert of *et Tih*, most probably by the desert road which leads from the *Wady es Sheikh* into the *Wady ez-Zuranuk*, which breaks through the southern border mountains of *et Tih*, and passes on through the *Wady ez-Zalakah* over *el Ain* to *Bir-et-*

Themmed, and then due north past *Jebel Araif* to the Hebron road. By this route they could go from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea in eleven days (Deut. i. 2), and it is here that we are to seek for the two stations in question. *Hazereth* is probably to be found, as *Fries* and *Kurtz* suppose, in *Bir-et-Themmed*, and *Kibroth-hattaavah* in the neighbourhood of the southern border mountains of *et Tih*.

REBELLION OF MIRIAM AND AARON AGAINST MOSES.—CHAP. XII.

Vers. 1-3. All the rebellions of the people hitherto had arisen from dissatisfaction with the privations of the desert march, and had been directed against Jehovah rather than against Moses. And if, in the case of the last one, at Kibroth-hattaavah, even Moses was about to lose heart under the heavy burden of his office; the faithful covenant God had given the whole nation a practical proof, in the manner in which He provided him support in the seventy elders, that He had not only laid the burden of the whole nation upon His servant Moses, but had also communicated to him the power of His Spirit, which was requisite to enable him to carry this burden. Thus not only was his heart filled with new courage when about to despair, but his official position in relation to all the Israelites was greatly exalted. This elevation of Moses excited envy on the part of his brother and sister, whom God had also richly endowed and placed so high, that Miriam was distinguished as a prophetess above all the women of Israel, whilst Aaron had been raised by his investiture with the high-priesthood into the spiritual head of the whole nation. But the pride of the natural heart was not satisfied with this. They would dispute with their brother Moses the pre-eminence of his special calling and his exclusive position, which they might possibly regard themselves as entitled to contest with him not only as his brother and sister, but also as the nearest supporters of his vocation. Miriam was the instigator of the open rebellion, as we may see both from the fact that her name stands before that of Aaron, and also from the use of the feminine verb *תִּדְבֹּר* in ver. 1. Aaron followed her, being no more able to resist the suggestions of his sister, than he had formerly been to resist the desire of the people for a golden idol (Ex. xxxii.). Miriam found an occasion for the manifestation of her discontent in the Cushite wife whom Moses had taken. This wife cannot have been Zipporah the Midianite: for even though Miriam might possibly

have called her a Cushite, whether because the Cushite tribes dwelt in Arabia, or in a contemptuous sense as a Moor or Hamite, the author would certainly not have confirmed this at all events inaccurate, if not contemptuous epithet, by adding, "*for he had taken a Cushite wife;*" to say nothing of the improbability of Miriam having made the marriage which her brother had contracted when he was a fugitive in a foreign land, long before he was called by God, the occasion of reproach so many years afterwards. It would be quite different if, a short time before, probably after the death of Zipporah, he had contracted a second marriage with a Cushite woman, who either sprang from the Cushites dwelling in Arabia, or from the foreigners who had come out of Egypt along with the Israelites. This marriage would not have been wrong in itself, as God had merely forbidden the Israelites to marry the daughters of Canaan (Ex. xxxiv. 16), even if Moses had not contracted it "with the deliberate intention of setting forth through this marriage with a Hamite woman the fellowship between Israel and the heathen, so far as it could exist under the law; and thus practically exemplifying in his own person that equality between the foreigners and Israel which the law demanded in various ways" (*Baumgarten*), or of "prefiguring by this example the future union of Israel with the most remote of the heathen," as *O. v. Gerlach* and many of the fathers suppose. In the taunt of the brother and sister, however, we meet with that carnal exaggeration of the Israelitish nationality which forms so all-pervading a characteristic of this nation, and is the more reprehensible the more it rests upon the ground of nature rather than upon the spiritual calling of Israel (*Kurtz*).—Ver. 2. Miriam and Aaron said, "*Hath Jehovah then spoken only by Moses, and not also by us?*" Are not we—the high priest Aaron, who brings the rights of the congregation before Jehovah in the Urim and Thummim (Ex. xxviii. 30), and the prophetess Miriam (Ex. xv. 20)—also organs and mediators of divine revelation? "They are proud of the prophetic gift, which ought rather to have fostered modesty in them. But such is the depravity of human nature, that they not only abuse the gifts of God towards the brother whom they despise, but by an ungodly and sacrilegious glorification extol the gifts themselves in such a manner as to hide the Author of the gifts" (*Calvin*).—"And Jehovah heard." This is stated for the purpose of preparing the way for the judicial interposition of God. When God hears what is wrong, He must proceed to stop it by punishment. Moses might

also have heard what they said, but "*the man Moses was very meek* (*πραῦς*, LXX., *mitis*, Vulg.; not 'plagued,' *geplagt*, as *Luther* renders it), *more than all men upon the earth.*" No one approached Moses in meekness, because no one was raised so high by God as he was. The higher the position which a man occupies among his fellow-men, the harder is it for the natural man to bear attacks upon himself with meekness, especially if they are directed against his official rank and honour. This remark as to the character of Moses serves to bring out to view the position of the person attacked, and points out the reason why Moses not only abstained from all self-defence, but did not even cry to God for vengeance on account of the injury that had been done to him. Because he was the meekest of all men, he could calmly leave this attack upon himself to the all-wise and righteous Judge, who had both called and qualified him for his office. "For this is the idea of the eulogium of his meekness. It is as if Moses had said that he had swallowed the injury in silence, inasmuch as he had imposed a law of patience upon himself because of his meekness" (*Calvin*).

The self-praise on the part of Moses, which many have discovered in this description of his character, and on account of which some even of the earlier expositors regarded this verse as a later gloss, whilst more recent critics have used it as an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, is not an expression of vain self-display, or a glorification of his own gifts and excellences, which he prided himself upon possessing above all others. It is simply a statement, which was indispensable to a full and correct interpretation of all the circumstances, and which was made quite objectively, with reference to the character which Moses had not given to himself but had acquired through the grace of God, and which he never falsified from the very time of his calling until the day of his death, either at the rebellion of the people at Kibroth-hattaavah (chap. xi.), or at the water of strife at Kadesh (chap. xx.). His despondency under the heavy burden of his office in the former case (chap. xi.) speaks rather for than against the meekness of his character; and the sin at Kadesh (chap. xx.) consisted simply in the fact, that he suffered himself to be brought to doubt either the omnipotence of God, or the possibility of divine help, on account of the unbelief of the people.¹

¹ There is not a word in Num. xx. 10 or Ps. cvi. 32 to the effect, that "his dissatisfaction broke out into evident passion" (*Kurtz*). And it is quite a mistake to observe, that in the case before us there was nothing at all to pro-

No doubt it was only such a man as Moses who could speak of himself in such a way,—a man who had so entirely sacrificed his own personality to the office assigned him by the Lord, that he was ready at any moment to stake his life for the cause and glory of the Lord (cf. chap. xi. 15, and Ex. xxxii. 32), and of whom *Calmet* observes with as much truth as force, “As he praises himself here without pride, so he will blame himself elsewhere with humility,”—a man of God whose character is not to be measured by the standard of ordinary men (cf. *Hengstenberg, Dissertations*, vol. ii. pp. 141 sqq.).

Vers. 4–10. Jehovah summoned the opponents of His servant to come at once before His judgment-seat. He commanded Moses, Aaron, and Miriam suddenly to come out of the camp (see at chap. xi. 30) to the tabernacle. Then He Himself came down in a pillar of cloud to the door of the tabernacle, *i.e.* to the entrance to the court, not to the dwelling itself, and called Aaron and Miriam out, *i.e.* commanded them to come out of the court,¹ and said to them (vers. 6 sqq.): “*If there is a prophet of Jehovah to you (i.e. if you have one), I make Myself known to him in a vision; I speak to him in a dream (בַּחֲלוֹם, lit. “in him,” inasmuch as a revelation in a dream fell within the inner sphere of the soul-life). Not so My servant Moses: he is approved in My whole house; mouth to mouth I speak to him, and as an appearance, and that not in enigmas; and he sees the form of Jehovah. Why are ye not afraid to speak against My servant, against Moses?*” נִבִּיאָה לָכֶם = נְבִיאָה, the suffix used with the noun instead of the separate pronoun in the dative, as in Gen. xxxix. 21, Lev. xv. 3, etc. The noun *Jehovah* is in all probability to be taken as a genitive, in connection with the word voke Moses to appeal to his meekness, since it was not his meekness that Miriam had disputed, but only his prophetic call. If such grounds as these are interpolated into the words of Moses, and it is to be held that an attack upon the prophetic calling does not involve such an attack upon the person as might have excited anger, it is certainly impossible to maintain the Mosaic authorship of this statement as to the character of Moses; for the vanity of wishing to procure the recognition of his meekness by praising it, cannot certainly be imputed to Moses the man of God.

¹ The discrepancy discovered by *Knobel*, in the fact that, according to the so-called Elohist, no one but Moses, Aaron, and the sons of Aaron were allowed to enter the sanctuary, whereas, according to the Jehovist, others did so,—*e.g.* Miriam here, and Joshua in Ex. xxxiii. 11,—rests entirely upon a groundless fancy, arising from a misinterpretation, as there is not a word about entering the sanctuary, *i.e.* the dwelling itself, either in the verse before us or in Ex. xxxiii. 11.

נְבִיאָם ("a prophet to you"), as it is in the LXX. and *Vulg.*, and not to be construed with the words which follow ("I Jehovah will make Myself known"). The position of *Jehovah* at the head of the clause without a preceding 'נִי (I) would be much more remarkable than the separation of the dependent noun from the governing noun by the suffix, which occurs in other cases also (*e.g.* Lev. vi. 3, xxvi. 42, etc.); moreover, it would be by no means suited to the sense, as no such emphasis is laid upon the fact that it was *Jehovah* who made Himself known, as to require or even justify such a construction. The "*whole house of Jehovah*" (ver. 7) is not "primarily His dwelling, the holy tent" (*Baumgarten*),—for, in that case, the word "whole" would be quite superfluous,—but the whole house of Israel, or the covenant nation regarded as a kingdom, to the administration and government of which Moses had been called: as a matter of fact, therefore, the whole economy of the Old Testament, having its central point in the holy tent, which Jehovah had caused to be built as the dwelling-place of His name. It did not terminate, however, in the service of the sanctuary, as we may see from the fact that God did not make the priests who were entrusted with the duties of the sanctuary the organs of His saving revelation, but raised up and called prophets after Moses for that purpose. Compare the expression in Heb. iii. 6, "Whose house we are." נֶאֱמָן with אֵל does not mean to be, or become, entrusted with anything (*Baumgarten, Knobel*), but simply to be lasting, firm, constant, in a local or temporal sense (Deut. xxviii. 59; 1 Sam. ii. 35; 2 Sam. vii. 16, etc.); in a historical sense, to prove or attest one's self (Gen. xlii. 20); and in an ethical sense, to be found proof, trustworthy, true (Ps. lxxviii. 8; 1 Sam. iii. 20, xxii. 14: see *Delitzsch* on Heb. iii. 2). In the participle, therefore, it signifies proved, faithful, πιστός (LXX.). "*Mouth to mouth*" answers to the "face to face" in Ex. xxxiii. 11 (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 10), *i.e.* without any mediation or reserve, but with the same closeness and freedom with which friends converse together (Ex. xxxiii. 11). This is still further strengthened and elucidated by the words in apposition, "*in the form of seeing (appearance), and not in riddles,*" *i.e.* visibly, and not in a dark, hidden, enigmatical way. מִרְאָה is an accusative defining the mode, and signifies here not vision, as in ver. 6, but *adspectus*, view, sight; for it forms an antithesis to בְּמִרְאָה in ver. 6. "*The form (Eng. similitude) of Jehovah*" was not the essential nature of God, His unveiled glory,—for this no mortal man can see (*vid.* Ex. xxxiii. 18 sqq.),—but a form which

manifested the invisible God to the eye of man in a clearly discernible mode, and which was essentially different, not only from the visionary sight of God in the form of a man (Ezek. i. 26; Dan. vii. 9 and 13), but also from the appearances of God in the outward world of the senses, in the person and form of the angel of Jehovah, and stood in the same relation to these two forms of revelation, so far as directness and clearness were concerned, as the sight of a person in a dream to that of the actual figure of the person himself. God talked with Moses without figure, in the clear distinctness of a spiritual communication, whereas to the prophets He only revealed Himself through the medium of ecstasy or dream.

Through this utterance on the part of Jehovah, Moses is placed above all the prophets, in relation to God and also to the whole nation. The divine revelation to the prophets is thereby restricted to the two forms of inward intuition (vision and dream). It follows from this, that it had always a visionary character, though it might vary in intensity; and therefore that it had always more or less obscurity about it, because the clearness of self-consciousness and the distinct perception of an external world, both receded before the inward intuition, in a dream as well as in a vision. The prophets were consequently simply organs, through whom Jehovah made known His counsel and will at certain times, and in relation to special circumstances and features in the development of His kingdom. It was not so with Moses. Jehovah had placed him over all His house, had called him to be the founder and organizer of the kingdom established in Israel through his mediatorial service, and had found him faithful in His service. With this servant (*θεράπων*, LXX.) of His, He spake mouth to mouth, without a figure or figurative cloak, with the distinctness of a human interchange of thought; so that at any time he could inquire of God and wait for the divine reply. Hence Moses was not a prophet of Jehovah, like many others, not even merely the first and highest prophet, *primus inter pares*, but stood above all the prophets, as the founder of the theocracy, and mediator of the Old Covenant. Upon this unparalleled relation of Moses to God and the theocracy, so clearly expressed in the verses before us, the Rabbins have justly founded their view as to the higher grade of inspiration in the *Thorah*. This view is fully confirmed through the history of the Old Testament kingdom of God, and the relation in which the writings of the prophets stand to those of Moses. The prophets subsequent to Moses simply continued to build upon the foundation

which Moses laid. And if Moses stood in this unparalleled relation to the Lord, Miriam and Aaron sinned grievously against him, when speaking as they did. Ver. 9. After this address, "*the wrath of Jehovah burned against them, and He went.*" As a judge, withdrawing from the judgment-seat when he has pronounced his sentence, so Jehovah went, by the cloud in which He had come down withdrawing from the tabernacle, and ascending up on high. And at the same moment, Miriam, the instigator of the rebellion against her brother Moses, was covered with leprosy, and became white as snow.

Vers. 11-16. When Aaron saw his sister smitten in this way, he said to Moses, "*Alas! my lord, I beseech thee, lay not this sin upon us, for we have done foolishly;*" i.e. let us not bear its punishment. "*Let her (Miriam) not be as the dead thing, on whose coming out of its mother's womb half its flesh is consumed;*" i.e. like a still-born child, which comes into the world half decomposed. His reason for making this comparison was, that leprosy produces decomposition in the living body.—Ver. 13. Moses, with his mildness, took compassion upon his sister, upon whom this punishment had fallen, and cried to the Lord, "*O God, I beseech Thee, heal her.*" The connection of the particle אֲנִי with אֱלֹהִים is certainly unusual, but yet it is analogous to the construction with such exclamations as אֵי (Jer. iv. 31, xlv. 3) and הֵיָהּ (Gen. xii. 11, xvi. 2, etc.); since אֱלֹהִים in the vocative is to be regarded as equivalent to an exclamation; whereas the alteration into אֱלֹהִים, as proposed by *J. D. Michaelis* and *Knobel*, does not even give a fitting sense, apart altogether from the fact, that the repetition of אֲנִי after the verb, with אֱלֹהִים before it, would be altogether unexampled.—Vers. 14, 15. Jehovah hearkened to His servant's prayer, though not without inflicting deep humiliation upon Miriam. "*If her father had but spit in her face, would she not be ashamed seven days?*" i.e. keep herself hidden from Me out of pure shame. She was to be shut outside the camp, to be excluded from the congregation as a leprous person for seven days, and then to be received in again. Thus restoration and purification from her leprosy were promised to her after the endurance of seven days' punishment. Leprosy was the just punishment for her sin. In her haughty exaggeration of the worth of her own prophetic gift, she had placed herself on a par with Moses, the divinely appointed head of the whole nation, and exalted herself above the congregation of the Lord. For this she was afflicted with a disease which shut her out of the number of the members of the people of

God, and thus actually excluded from the camp; so that she could only be received back again after she had been healed, and by a formal purification. The latter followed as a matter of course, from Lev. xiii. and xiv., and did not need to be specially referred to here. —Vers. 15*b*, 16. The people did not proceed any farther till the restoration of Miriam. After this they departed from Hazeroth, and encamped in the desert of *Paran*, namely at Kadesh, on the southern boundary of Canaan. This is evident from chap. xiii., more especially ver. 26, as compared with Deut. i. 19 sqq., where it is stated not merely that the spies, who were sent out from this place of encampment to Canaan, returned to the congregation at Kadesh, but that they set out from Kadesh-Barnea for Canaan, because there the Israelites had come to the mountains of the Amorites, which God had promised them for an inheritance.

With regard to the situation of *Kadesh*, it has already been observed at Gen. xiv. 7, that it is probably to be sought for in the neighbourhood of the fountain of *Ain Kades*, which was discovered by *Rowland*, to the south of *Bir Seba* and *Khalasa*, on the heights of *Jebel Helal*, i.e. at the north-west corner of the mountain land of *Azazimeh*, which is more closely described at chap. x. 12 (see pp. 57, 58), where the western slopes of this highland region sink gently down into the undulating surface of the desert, which stretches thence to *El Arish*, with a breadth of about six hours' journey, and keeps the way open between Arabia Petræa and the south of Palestine. "In the northern third of this western slope, the mountains recede so as to leave a free space for a plain of about an hour's journey in breadth, which comes towards the east, and to which access is obtained through one or more of the larger wadys that are to be seen here (such as *Retemat*, *Kusaimeh*, *el Ain*, *Muweileh*)."
At the north-eastern background of this plain, which forms almost a rectangular figure of nine miles by five, or ten by six, stretching from west to east, large enough to receive the camp of a wandering people, and about twelve miles to the E.S.E. of *Muweileh*, there rises, like a large solitary mass, at the edge of the mountains which run on towards the north, a bare rock, at the foot of which there is a copious spring, falling in ornamental cascades into the bed of a brook, which is lost in the sand about 300 or 400 yards to the west. This place still bears the ancient name of *Kudēs*. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this *Kudēs* and the biblical Kadesh. The situation agrees with all the statements in the Bible concerning Kadesh: for example, that Israel had then reached the border of the

promised land ; also that the spies who were sent out from Kadesh returned thither by coming from Hebron to the wilderness of Paran (chap. xiii. 26) ; and lastly, according to the assertions of the Bedouins, as quoted by *Rowland*, this Kudes was ten or eleven days' journey from Sinai (in perfect harmony with Deut. i. 2), and was connected by passable wadys with Mount Hor. The Israelites proceeded, no doubt, through the wady *Retemat*, i.e. *Rithmah* (see at chap. xxxiii. 18), into the plain of Kadesh. (On the town of Kadesh, see at chap. xx. 16.)¹

SPIES SENT OUT. MURMURING OF THE PEOPLE, AND THEIR
PUNISHMENT.—CHAP. XIII. AND XIV.

When they had arrived at Kadesh, in the desert of Paran (chap. xiii. 26), Moses sent out spies by the command of God, and according to the wishes of the people, to explore the way by which they could enter into Canaan, and also the nature of the land, of its cities, and of its population (chap. xiii. 1-20). The men who were sent out passed through the land, from the south to the northern frontier, and on their return reported that the land was no doubt one of pre-eminent goodness, but that it was inhabited by a strong people, who had giants among them, and were in possession of very large fortified towns (vers. 21-29) ; whereupon Caleb declared that it was quite possible to conquer it, whilst the others despaired of overcoming the Canaanites, and spread an evil report among the people concerning the land (vers. 30-33). The congregation then raised a loud lamentation, and went so far in their murmuring against Moses and Aaron, as to speak without reserve or secrecy of deposing Moses, and returning to Egypt under another leader : they even wanted to stone Joshua and Caleb, who tried to calm the excited multitude, and urged them to trust in the Lord. But suddenly the glory of the Lord interposed with a special manifestation of judgment (chap. xiv. 1-10). Jehovah made known to Moses His resolution to destroy the rebellious nation, but suffered Himself to be moved by the intercession of Moses so far as to promise that He would preserve the nation, though He would exclude the murmuring multitude from the promised land (vers. 11-25). He then directed Moses and Aaron to proclaim to the people the following

¹ See *Kurtz*, History of the Old Covenant, vol. iii. p. 225, where the current notion, that Kadesh was situated on the western border of the Arabah, below the Dead Sea, by either Ain Hash or Ain el Weibeh, is successfully refuted.

punishment for their repeated rebellion : that they should bear their iniquity for forty years in the wilderness ; that the whole nation that had come out of Egypt should die there, with the exception of Caleb and Joshua ; and that only their children should enter the promised land (vers. 26-39). The people were shocked at this announcement, and resolved to force a way into Canaan ; but, as Moses predicted, they were beaten by the Canaanites and Amalekites, and driven back to Hormah (vers. 40-45).¹

These events form a grand turning-point in the history of Israel, in which the whole of the future history of the covenant nation is typically reflected. The constantly repeated unfaithfulness of the nation could not destroy the faithfulness of God, or alter His purposes of salvation. In wrath Jehovah remembered mercy ; through judgment He carried out His plan of salvation, that all the world might know that no flesh was righteous before Him, and that the unbelief and unfaithfulness of men could not overturn the truth of God.

Chap. xiii. 1-20. DESPATCH OF THE SPIES TO CANAAN.—Vers. 1 sqq. The command of Jehovah, to send out men to spy out the land of Canaan, was occasioned, according to the account given by Moses in Deut. i. 22 sqq., by a proposal of the congregation, which pleased Moses, so that he laid the matter before the Lord, who then commanded him to send out for this purpose, “*of every tribe of their fathers a man, every one a ruler among them, i.e. none*

¹ According to *Knobel*, the account of these events arose from two or three documents interwoven with one another in the following manner : chap. xiii. 1-17a, 21, 25, 26, 32, and xiv. 2a, 5-7, 10b, 36-38, was written by the Elohist, the remainder by the Jehovist,—chap. xiii. 22-24, 27-31, xiv. 1b, 11-25, 39-45, being taken from his first document, and chap. xiii. 17b-20, xiv. 2b-4, 8-10a, 26-33, 35, from his second ; whilst, lastly, chap. xiii. 33, and the commencement of chap. xiv. 1, were added from his own resources, because it contains contradictory statements. “According to the Elohist,” says this critic, “the spies went through the whole land (chap. xiii. 32, xiv. 7), and penetrated even to the north of the country (chap. xiii. 21) : they took forty days to this (chap. xiii. 25, xiv. 34) ; they had among them Joshua, whose name was altered at that time (chap. xiii. 16), and who behaved as bravely as Caleb (chap. xiii. 8, xiv. 6, 38). According to the Jehovistic completion, the spies did not go through the whole land, but only entered into it (chap. xiii. 27), merely going into the neighbourhood of Hebron, in the south country (chap. xiii. 22, 23) ; there they saw the gigantic Anakites (chap. xiii. 22, 28, 33), cut off the large bunch of grapes in the valley of Eshcol (chap. xiii. 23, 24), and then came back to Moses. Caleb was the only one who showed himself courageous, and Joshua was not with them at all (chap. xiii. 30, xiv. 24).” But these discre-

but men who were princes in their tribes, who held the prominent position of princes, *i.e.* distinguished persons of rank; or, as it is stated in ver. 3, "*heads of the children of Israel*," *i.e.* not the tribe-princes of the twelve tribes, but those men, out of the total number of the heads of the tribes and families of Israel, who were the most suitable for such a mission, though the selection was to be made in such a manner that every tribe should be represented by one of its own chiefs. That there were none of the twelve tribe-princes among them is apparent from a comparison of their names (vers. 4-15) with the (totally different) names of the tribe-princes (chap. i. 3 sqq., vii. 12 sqq.). Caleb and Joshua are the only spies that are known. The order, in which the tribes are placed in the list of the names in vers. 4-15, differs from that in chap. i. 5-15 only in the fact that in ver. 10 Zebulun is separated from the other sons of Leah, and in ver. 11 Manasseh is separated from Ephraim. The expression "*of the tribe of Joseph*," in ver. 11, stands for "*of the children of Joseph*," in chap. i. 10, xxxiv. 23. At the close of the list it is still further stated, that Moses called *Hoshea* (*i.e.* help), the son of Nun, *Jehoshua*, contracted into *Joshua* (*i.e.* Jehovah-help, equivalent to, whose help is Jehovah). This statement does not present any such discrepancy, when compared with Ex. xvii. 9, 13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11, and Num. xi. 28, where Joshua bears this name as the servant of Moses at a still earlier period, as to point to any diversity of authorship. As there is nothing of a genealogical nature in the biblical narrative; on the contrary, they have been introduced by the critic himself, by the forcible separation of passages from their context, and by arbitrary interpolations. The words of the spies in chap. xiii. 27, "We came into the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey," do not imply that they *only* came into the southern portion of the land, any more than the fact that they brought a bunch of grapes from the neighbourhood of Hebron is a proof that they did not go beyond the valley of Eshcol. Moreover, it is not stated in chap. xiii. 30 that Joshua was not found among the tribes. Again, the circumstance that in chap. xiv. 11-25 and 26-35 the same thing is said twice over,—the special instructions as to the survey of the land in chap. xiii. 17b-20, which were quite unnecessary for intelligent leaders,—the swearing of God (chap. xiv. 16, 21, 23),—the forced explanation of the name *Eshcol*, in chap. xiii. 24, and other things of the same kind,—are said to furnish further proofs of the interpolation of Jehovistic clauses into the Elohist narrative; and lastly, a number of the words employed are supposed to place this beyond all doubt. Of these proofs, however, the first rests upon a simple misinterpretation of the passage in question, and a disregard of the peculiarities of Hebrew history; whilst the rest are either subjective conclusions, dictated by the taste of vulgar rationalism, or inferences and assumptions, of which the tenability and force need first of all to be established.

logical character in any of these passages, so as to warrant us in expecting to find the family name of Joshua in them, the name Joshua, by which Hosea had become best known in history, could be used proleptically in them all. On the other hand, however, it is not distinctly stated in the verse before us, that this was the occasion on which Moses gave Hosea the new name of Joshua. As the *Vav consec.* frequently points out merely the order of thought, the words may be understood without hesitation in the following sense: These are the names borne by the heads of the tribes to be sent out as spies, as they stand in the family registers according to their descent; Hosea, however, was named Joshua by Moses; which would not by any means imply that the alteration in the name had not been made till then. It is very probable that Moses may have given him the new name either before or after the defeat of the Amalekites (Ex. xvii. 9 sqq.), or when he took him into his service, though it has not been mentioned before; whilst here the circumstances themselves required that it should be stated that Hosea, as he was called in the list prepared and entered in the documentary record according to the genealogical tables of the tribes, had received from Moses the name of Joshua. In vers. 17–20 Moses gives them the necessary instructions, defining more clearly the motive which the congregation had assigned for sending them out, namely, that they might search out the way into the land and to its towns (Deut. i. 22). “*Get you up there (הָרָא) in the south country, and go up to the mountain.*” *Negeb*, i.e. south country, *lit.* dryness, aridity, from נֶגֶב, to be dry or arid (in *Syr.*, *Chald.*, and *Samar.*). Hence the dry, parched land, in contrast to the well-watered country (Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15), was the name given to the southern district of Canaan, which forms the transition from the desert to the strictly cultivated land, and bears for the most part the character of a steppe, in which tracts of sand and heath are intermixed with shrubs, grass, and vegetables, whilst here and there corn is also cultivated; a district therefore which was better fitted for grazing than for agriculture, though it contained a number of towns and villages (see at Josh. xv. 21–32). “*The mountain*” is the mountainous part of Palestine, which was inhabited by Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites (ver. 29), and was called the mountains of the Amorites, on account of their being the strongest of the Canaanitish tribes (Deut. i. 7, 19 sqq.). It is not to be restricted, as *Knobel* supposes, to the limits of the so-called mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 48–62), but included the mountains of Israel or Ephraim also

(Josh. xi. 21, xx. 7), and formed, according to Deut. i. 7, the backbone of the whole land of Canaan up to Lebanon.—Ver. 18. They were to see the land, “what it was,” *i.e.* what was its character, and the people that dwelt in it, whether they were strong, *i.e.* courageous and brave, or weak, *i.e.* spiritless and timid, and whether they were little or great, *i.e.* numerically; (ver. 19) what the land was, whether good or bad, *sc.* with regard to climate and cultivation, and whether the towns were camps, *i.e.* open villages and hamlets, or fortified places; also (ver. 20) whether the land was fat or lean, *i.e.* whether it had a fertile soil or not, and whether there were trees in it or not. All this they were to search out courageously (הִתְחַזֵּק, to show one’s self courageous in any occupation), and to fetch (some) of the fruits of the land, as it was the time of the first-ripe grapes. In Palestine the first grapes ripen as early as August, and sometimes even in July (*vid. Robinson*, ii. 100, ii. 611), whilst the vintage takes place in September and October.

Vers. 21-33. JOURNEY OF THE SPIES; THEIR RETURN, AND REPORT.—Ver. 21. In accordance with the instructions they had received, the men who had been sent out passed through the land, from the desert of Zin to Rehob, in the neighbourhood of Hamath, *i.e.* in its entire extent from south to north. The “*Desert of Zin*” (which occurs not only here, but in chap. xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiii. 36, xxxiv. 3, 4; Deut. xxxii. 51, and Josh. xv. 1, 3) was the name given to the northern edge of the great desert of Paran, *viz.* the broad ravine of Wady *Murreh* (see p. 59), which separates the lofty and precipitous northern border of the table-land of the Azazimeh from the southern border of the Rakhma plateau, *i.e.* of the southernmost plateau of the mountains of the Amorites (or the mountains of Judah), and runs from Jebel *Madarah* (*Moddera*) on the east, to the plain of *Kadesh*, which forms part of the desert of Zin (*cf.* chap. xxvii. 14, xxxiii. 36; Deut. xxxii. 51), on the west. The south frontier of Canaan passed through this from the southern end of the Dead Sea, along the Wady *el Murreh* to the Wady *el Arish* (chap. xxxiv. 3).—“*Rehob, to come (coming) to Hamath,*” *i.e.* where you enter the province of Hamath, on the northern boundary of Canaan, is hardly one of the two Rehobs in the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 28 and 30), but most likely *Beth-Rehob* in the tribe of Naphtali, which was in the neighbourhood of *Dan Laïs*, the modern *Tell el Kadhy* (Judg. xviii. 28), and which *Robinson* imagined that he had identified in the ruins of the castle of *Huin* or *Honin*, in

the village of the same name, to the south-west of *Tell el Kadhy*, on the range of mountains which bound the plain towards the west above Lake *Huleh* (Bibl. Researches, p. 371). In support of this conjecture, he laid the principal stress upon the fact that the direct road to Hamath through the *Wady et Teim* and the *Bekaa* commences here. The only circumstance which it is hard to reconcile with this conjecture is, that Beth-Rehob is never mentioned in the Old Testament, with the exception of Judg. xviii. 28, either among the fortified towns of the Canaanites or in the wars of the Israelites with the Syrians and Assyrians, and therefore does not appear to have been a place of such importance as we should naturally be led to suppose from the character of this castle, the very situation of which points to a bold, commanding fortress (see Lynch's Expedition), and where there are still remains of its original foundations built of large square stones, hewn and grooved, and reminding one of the antique and ornamental edifices of Solomon's times (cf. Ritter, *Erkunde*, xv. pp. 242 sqq.).—*Hamath* is *Epiphania* on the *Orontes*, now *Hamah* (see at Gen. x. 18).

After the general statement, that the spies went through the whole land from the southern to the northern frontier, two facts are mentioned in vers. 22-24, which occurred in connection with their mission, and were of great importance to the whole congregation. These single incidents are linked on, however, in a truly Hebrew style, to what precedes, viz. by an *imperfect* with *Vav consec.*, just in the same manner in which, in 1 Kings vi. 9, 15, the detailed account of the building of the temple is linked on to the previous statement, that Solomon built the temple and finished it;¹ so that the true rendering would be, “now they ascended in the south country and came to Hebron (חֶבְרוֹן) is apparently an error in writing for חֶבְרֹון), and there were יְלִדֵי הָעֵינָק, the children of Anak,” three of whom are mentioned by name. These three, who were afterwards expelled by Caleb, when the land was divided and the city of Hebron was given to him for an inheritance (Josh. xv. 14;

¹ A comparison of 1 Kings vi., where we cannot possibly suppose that two accounts have been linked together or interwoven, is specially adapted to give us a clear view of the peculiar custom adopted by the Hebrew historians, of placing the end and ultimate result of the events they narrate as much as possible at the head of their narrative, and then proceeding with a minute account of the more important of the attendant circumstances, without paying any regard to the chronological order of the different incidents, or being at all afraid of repetitions, and so to prove how unwarrantable and false are the conclusions of those critics who press such passages into the support of their

Judg. i. 20), were descendants of *Arbah*, the lord of Hebron, from whom the city received its name of *Kinjath-Arbah*, or city of Arbah, and who is described in Josh. xiv. 15 as "the great (*i.e.* the greatest) man among the Anakim," and in Josh. xv. 13 as the "father of Anak," *i.e.* the founder of the Anakite family there. For it is evident enough that הָעֲנָק (*Anak*) is not the proper name of a man in these passages, but the name of a family or tribe, from the fact that in ver. 33, where Anak's sons are spoken of in a general and indefinite manner, בְּנֵי עֲנָק has not the article; also from the fact that the three Anakites who lived in Hebron are almost always called יְלִידֵי הָעֲנָק, Anak's born (vers. 22, 28), and that בְּנֵי הָעֲנָק (sons of Anak), in Josh. xv. 14, is still further defined by the phrase יְלִידֵי הָעֲנָק (children of Anak); and lastly, from the fact that in the place of "sons of Anak," we find "sons of the Anakim" in Deut. i. 28 and ix. 2, and the "Anakim" in Deut. ii. 10, xi. 21; Josh. xiv. 12, etc. *Anak* is supposed to signify long-necked; but this does not preclude the possibility of the founder of the tribe having borne this name. The origin of the *Anakites* is involved in obscurity. In Deut. ii. 10, 11, they are classed with the *Emim* and *Rephaim* on account of their gigantic stature, and probably reckoned as belonging to the pre-Canaanitish inhabitants of the land, of whom it is impossible to decide whether they were of Semitic origin or descendants of Ham (see vol. i. p. 203). It is also doubtful, whether the names found here in vers. 21, 28, and in Josh. xv. 14, are the names of individuals, *i.e.* of chiefs of the Anakites, or the names of Anakite tribes. The latter supposition is favoured by the circumstance, that the same names occur even after the capture of Hebron by Caleb, or at least fifty years after the event referred to here. With regard to Hebron, it is still further observed in ver. 22*b*, that it was built seven years before *Zoan* in Egypt. *Zoan*—the Tanis of the Greeks and Romans, the *San* of the Arabs, which is called *Jani*, *Jane* in Coptic writings—was situated upon the eastern side of the Tanitic arm of the Nile, not

hypotheses. We have a similar passage in Josh. iv. 11 sqq., where, after relating that when *all* the people had gone through the Jordan the priests also passed through with the ark of the covenant (ver. 11), the historian proceeds in vers. 12, 13, to describe the crossing of the two tribes and a half; and another in Judg. xx., where, at the very commencement (ver. 35), the issue of the whole is related, viz. the defeat of the Benjamites; and then after that there is a minute description in vers. 36-46 of the manner in which it was effected. This style of narrative is also common in the historical works of the Arabs.

far from its mouth (see *Ges. Thes.* p. 1177), and was the residence of Pharaoh in the time of Moses (see vol. ii. p. 27). The date of its erection is unknown; but Hebron was in existence as early as Abraham's time (Gen. xiii. 18, xxiii. 2 sqq.).—Ver. 23. The spies also came into the valley of *Eshcol*, where they gathered pomegranates and figs, and also cut down a vine-branch with grapes upon it, which two persons carried upon a pole, most likely on account of its extraordinary size. Bunches of grapes are still met with in Palestine, weighing as much as eight, ten, or twelve pounds, the grapes themselves being as large as our smaller plums (cf. *Tobler Denkschriften*, pp. 111, 112). The grapes of Hebron are especially celebrated. To the north of this city, on the way to Jerusalem, you pass through a valley with vineyards on the hills on both sides, containing the largest and finest grapes in the land, and with pomegranates, figs, and other fruits in great profusion (*Robinson, Palestine*, i. 316, compared with i. 314 and ii. 442). This valley is supposed, and not without good ground, to be the *Eshcol* of this chapter, which received its name of *Eshcol* (cluster of grapes), according to ver. 24, from the bunch of grapes which was cut down there by the spies. This statement, of course, applies to the Israelites, and would therefore still hold good, even if the conjecture were a well-founded one, that this valley received its name originally from the *Eshcol* mentioned in Gen. xiv. 13, 24, as the terebinth grove did from *Mamre* the brother of Eshcol.

Vers. 25 sqq. In forty days the spies returned to the camp at Kadesh (see at chap. xvi. 6), and reported the great fertility of the land (“*it floweth with milk and honey*,” see at Ex. iii. 8), pointing, at the same time, to the fruit they had brought with them; “*nevertheless*,” they added (עַל־כֵּן, “only that”), “*the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are fortified, very large: and, moreover, we saw the children of Anak there*.” Amalekites dwelt in the south (see at Gen. xxxvi. 12); Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites in the mountains (see at Gen. x. 15, 16); and Canaanites by the (Mediterranean) Sea and on the side of the Jordan, *i.e.* in the Arabah or Ghor (see at Gen. xiii. 7 and x. 15–18).—Ver. 30. As these tidings respecting the towns and inhabitants of Canaan were of a character to excite the people, Caleb calmed them before Moses by saying, “*We will go up and take it; for we shall overcome it*.” The fact that Caleb only is mentioned, though, according to chap. xiv. 6, Joshua also stood by his side, may be explained on the simple ground, that at first Caleb was the only one to speak and

maintain the possibility of conquering Canaan.—Ver. 31. But his companions were of an opposite opinion, and declared that the people in Canaan were stronger than the Israelites, and therefore it was impossible to go up to it.—Ver. 32. Thus they spread an evil report of the land among the Israelites, by exaggerating the difficulties of the conquest in their unbelieving despair, and describing Canaan as a land which “*ate up its inhabitants.*” Their meaning certainly was not “that the wretched inhabitants were worn out by the laborious task of cultivating it, or that the land was pestilential on account of the inclemency of the weather, or that the cultivation of the land was difficult, and attended with many evils,” as *Calvin* maintains. Their only wish was to lay stress upon the difficulties and dangers connected with the conquest and maintenance of the land, on account of the tribes inhabiting and surrounding it: the land was an apple of discord, because of its fruitfulness and situation; and as the different nations strove for its possession, its inhabitants wasted away (*Cler., Ros., O. v. Gerlach*). The people, they added, are אֲנָשֵׁי מִדּוֹת, “*men of measures,*” i.e. of tall stature (cf. Isa. xlv. 14), “*and there we saw the Nephilim, i.e. primeval tyrants (see at Gen. vi. 4), Anak’s sons, giants of Nephilim, and we seemed to ourselves and to them as small as grasshoppers.*”

Chap. xiv. 1-10. UPROAR AMONG THE PEOPLE.—Vers. 1-4. This appalling description of Canaan had so depressing an influence upon the whole congregation (cf. Deut. i. 28: they “made their heart melt,” i.e. threw them into utter despair), that they raised a loud cry, and wept in the night in consequence. The whole nation murmured against Moses and Aaron their two leaders, saying “*Would that we had died in Egypt or in this wilderness! Why will Jehovah bring us into this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should become a prey (be made slaves by the enemy; cf. Deut. i. 27, 28)? Let us rather return into Egypt! We will appoint a captain, they said one to another, and go back to Egypt.*”—Vers. 5-9. At this murmuring, which was growing into open rebellion, Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces before the whole of the assembled congregation, namely, to pour out their distress before the Lord, and move Him to interpose; that is to say, after they had made an unsuccessful attempt, as we may supply from Deut. i. 29-31, to cheer up the people, by pointing them to the help they had thus far received from God. “In such distress, nothing remained but to pour out their desires

before God; offering their prayer in public, however, and in the sight of all the people, in the hope of turning their minds" (*Calvin*). Joshua and Caleb, who had gone with the others to explore the land, also rent their clothes, as a sign of their deep distress at the rebellious attitude of the people (see at Lev. x. 6), and tried to convince them of the goodness and glory of the land they had travelled through, and to incite them to trust in the Lord. "*If Jehovah take pleasure in us,*" they said, "*He will bring us into this land. Only rebel not ye against Jehovah, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are our food;*" i.e. we can and shall swallow them up, or easily destroy them (cf. chap. xxii. 4, xxiv. 8; Deut. vii. 16; Ps. xiv. 4). "*Their shadow is departed from them, and Jehovah is with us: fear them not!*" "*Their shadow*" is the shelter and protection of God (cf. Ps. xci., cxxi. 5). The shadow, which defends from the burning heat of the sun, was a very natural figure in the sultry East, to describe defence from injury, a refuge from danger and destruction (Isa. xxx. 2). The protection of God had departed from the Canaanites, because God had determined to destroy them when the measure of their iniquity was full (Gen. xv. 16; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 24; Lev. xviii. 25, xx. 23). But the excited people resolved to stone them, when Jehovah interposed with His judgment, and His glory appeared in the tabernacle to all the Israelites; that is to say, the majesty of God flashed out before the eyes of the people in a light which suddenly burst forth from the tabernacle (see at Ex. xvi. 10).

Vers. 11–25. INTERCESSION OF MOSES.—Vers. 11, 12. Jehovah resented the conduct of the people as base contempt of His deity, and as utter mistrust of Him, notwithstanding all the signs which He had wrought in the midst of the nation; and declared that He would smite the rebellious people with pestilence, and destroy them, and make of Moses a greater and still mightier people. This was just what He had done before, when the rebellion took place at Sinai (Ex. xxxii. 10). But Moses, as a servant who was faithful over the whole house of God, and therefore sought not his own honour, but the honour of his God alone, stood in the breach on this occasion also (Ps. cvi. 23), with a similar intercessory prayer to that which he had presented at Horeb, except that on this occasion he pleaded the honour of God among the heathen, and the glorious revelation of the divine nature with which he had been favoured at Sinai, as a motive for sparing the rebellious nation (vers. 13–19;

cf. Ex. xxxii. 11-13, and xxxiv. 6, 7). The first he expressed in these words (vers. 13 sqq.): “*Not only have the Egyptians heard that Thou hast brought out this people from among them with Thy might; they have also told it to the inhabitants of this land. They (the Egyptians and the other nations) have heard that Thou, Jehovah, art in the midst of this people; that Thou, Jehovah, appearest eye to eye, and Thy cloud stands over them, and Thou goest before them in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. Now, if Thou shouldst slay this people as one man, the nations which have heard the tidings of Thee would say, Because Jehovah was not able to bring this people into the land which He swore to them, He has slain them in the desert.*” In that case God would be regarded by the heathen as powerless, and His honour would be impaired (cf. Deut. xxxii. 27; Josh. vii. 9). It was for the sake of His own honour that God, at a later time, did not allow the Israelites to perish in exile (cf. Isa. xlviii. 9, 11, lii. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 23).—וַאֲמָרוּ . . . וְשָׁמְעוּ (vers. 13, 14), *et audierunt et dixerunt*; וְ—וְ=et—et, both—and. The inhabitants of this land (ver. 13) were not merely the Arabians, but, according to Ex. xv. 14 sqq., the tribes dwelling in and round Arabia, the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Canaanites, to whom the tidings had been brought of the miracles of God in Egypt and at the Dead Sea. שָׁמְעוּ, in ver. 14, can neither stand for בִּי שָׁמְעוּ (*dixerunt*) *se audivisse*, nor for אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְעוּ, *qui audierunt*. They are neither of them grammatically admissible, as the relative pronoun cannot be readily omitted in prose; and neither of them would give a really suitable meaning. It is rather a rhetorical resumption of the שָׁמְעוּ in ver. 13, and the subject of the verb is not only “*the Egyptians*,” but also “*the inhabitants of this land*” who held communication with the Egyptians, or “*the nations*” who had heard the report of Jehovah (ver. 15), *i.e.* all that God had hitherto done for and among the Israelites in Egypt, and on the journey through the desert. “*Eye to eye* :” *i.e.* Thou hast appeared to them in the closest proximity. On the pillar of cloud and fire, see at Ex. xiii. 21, 22. “*As one man*,” equivalent to “*with a stroke*” (Judg. vi. 16).—In vers. 17, 18, Moses adduces a second argument, *viz.* the word in which God Himself had revealed His inmost being to him at Sinai (Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7). The words, “*Let the power be great*,” equivalent to “*show Thyself great in power*,” are not to be connected with what precedes, but with what follows; *viz.* “*show Thyself mighty by verifying Thy word, ‘Jehovah, long-suffering and great in mercy,’ etc.; forgive, I beseech*

Thee, this people according to the greatness of Thy mercy, and as Thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt even until now." נִשְׁכַּח (ver. 19) = נִשְׁכַּח (ver. 18).—Ver. 20. In answer to this importunate prayer, the Lord promised forgiveness, namely, the preservation of the nation, but not the remission of the well-merited punishment. At the rebellion at Sinai, He had postponed the punishment "till the day of His visitation" (Ex. xxxii. 34). And that day had now arrived, as the people had carried their continued rebellion against the Lord to the furthest extreme, even to an open declaration of their intention to depose Moses, and return to Egypt under another leader, and thus had filled up the measure of their sins. "*Nevertheless,*" added the Lord (vers. 21, 22), "*as truly as I live, and the glory of Jehovah will fill the whole earth, all the men who have seen My glory and My miracles . . . shall not see the land which I swear unto their fathers.*" The clause, "all the earth," etc., forms an apposition to "as I live." Jehovah proves Himself to be living, by the fact that His glory fills the whole earth. But this was to take place, not, as *Knobel*, who mistakes the true connection of the different clauses, erroneously supposes, by the destruction of the whole of that generation, which would be talked of by all the world, but rather by the fact that, notwithstanding the sin and opposition of these men, He would still carry out His work of salvation to a glorious victory. The כִּי in ver. 22 introduces the substance of the oath, as in Isa. xlix. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 39, xx. 3; and according to the ordinary form of an oath, כִּי in ver. 23 signifies "*not.*"—"They have tempted Me now ten times." Ten is used as the number of completeness and full measure; and this answered to the actual fact, if we follow the Rabbins, and add to the murmuring (1) at the Red Sea, Ex. xiv. 11, 12; (2) at Marah, Ex. xv. 23; (3) in the wilderness of Sin, Ex. xvi. 2; (4) at Rephidim, Ex. xvii. 1; (5) at Horeb, Ex. xxxii.; (6) at Taberah, Num. xi. 1; (7) at the graves of lust, Num. xi. 4 sqq.; and (8) here again at Kadesh, the *twofold* rebellion of certain individuals against the commandments of God at the giving of the manna (Ex. xvi. 20 and 27). The despisers of God should none of them see the promised land.—Ver. 24. But because there was another spirit in Caleb,—*i.e.* not the unbelieving, despairing, yet proud and rebellious spirit of the great mass of the people, but the spirit of obedience and believing trust, so that "he followed Jehovah fully" (*lit.* "fulfilled to walk behind Jehovah"), followed Him with unwavering fidelity,—God would bring him into the land into which he had gone, and his seed should

possess it. (מִלֵּא אֶחָד here, and at chap. xxxii. 11, 12; Deut. i. 36; Josh. xiv. 8, 9; 1 Kings xi. 6, is a *constructio prægnaans* for מִלֵּא אֶחָד; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31.) According to the context, the reference is not to Hebron particularly, but to Canaan generally, which God had sworn unto the fathers (ver. 23, and Deut. i. 36, comp. with ver. 35); although, when the land was divided, Caleb received Hebron for his possession, because, according to his own statement in Josh. xiv. 6 sqq., Moses had sworn that he would give it to him. But this is not mentioned here; just as Joshua also is not mentioned in this place, as he is at vers. 30 and 38, but Caleb only, who opposed the exaggerated accounts of the other spies at the very first, and endeavoured to quiet the excitement of the people by declaring that they were well able to overcome the Canaanites (chap. xiii. 30). This first revelation of God to Moses is restricted to the main fact; the particulars are given afterwards in the sentence of God, as intended for communication to the people (vers. 26-38).—Ver. 25. The divine reply to the intercession of Moses terminated with a command to the people to turn on the morrow, and go to the wilderness to the Red Sea, as the Amalekites and Canaanites dwelt in the valley. “*The Amalekites,*” etc.: this clause furnishes the reason for the command which follows. On the Amalekites, see at Gen. xxxvi. 12, and Ex. xvii. 8 sqq. The term Canaanite is a general epithet applied to all the inhabitants of Canaan, instead of the Amorites mentioned in Deut. i. 44, who held the southern mountains of Canaan. “The valley” is no doubt the broad *Wady Murreh* (see at chap. xiii. 21), including a portion of the *Negeb*, in which the Amalekites led a nomad life, whilst the Canaanites really dwelt upon the mountains (ver. 45), close up to the *Wady Murreh*.

Vers. 26-38. SENTENCE UPON THE MURMURING CONGREGATION.—After the Lord had thus declared to Moses in general terms His resolution to punish the incorrigible people, and not suffer them to come to Canaan, He proceeded to tell him what announcement he was to make to the people.—Ver. 27. This announcement commences in a tone of anger, with an *aposiopesis*, “*How long this evil congregation*” (sc. “shall I forgive it,” the simplest plan being to supply אֲנִי, as *Rosenmüller* suggests, from ver. 18), “*that they murmur against Me?*”—Vers. 28-31. Jehovah swore that it should happen to the murmurers as they had spoken. Their corpses should fall in the desert, even all who had been numbered, from

twenty years old and upwards: they should not see the land into which Jehovah had lifted up His hand (see at Ex. vi. 8) to lead them, with the sole exception of Caleb and Joshua. But their children, who, as they said, would be a prey (ver. 3), them Jehovah would bring, and they should learn to know the land which the others had despised.—Vers. 32, 33. “*As for you, your carcasses will fall in this wilderness. But your sons will be pasturing (i.e. will lead a restless shepherd life) in the desert forty years, and bear your whoredom (i.e. endure the consequences of your faithless apostasy; see Ex. xxxiv. 16), until your corpses are finished in the desert,*” i.e. till you have all passed away.—Ver. 34. “*After the number of the forty days that ye have searched the land, shall ye bear your iniquity, (reckoning) a day for a year, and know My turning away from you,*” or תִּנְאַף, *abalienatio*, from נֹאֵף (chap. xxxii. 7).—Ver. 35. As surely as Jehovah had spoken this, would He do it to that evil congregation, to those who had allied themselves against Him (נִיעֵר, to bind themselves together, to conspire; chap. xvi. 11, xxvii. 3). There is no ground whatever for questioning the correctness of the statement, that the spies had travelled through Canaan for forty days, or regarding this as a so-called round number—that is to say, as unhistorical. And if this number is firmly established, there is also no ground for disputing the forty years’ sojourn of the people in the wilderness, although the period during which the rebellious generation, consisting of those who were numbered at Sinai, died out, was actually thirty-eight years, reaching from the autumn of the second year after their departure from Egypt to the middle of the fortieth year of their wanderings, and terminating with the fresh numbering (chap. xxvi.) that was undertaken after the death of Aaron, and took place on the first of the fifth month of the fortieth year (chap. xx. 23 sqq., compared with chap. xxxiii. 38). Instead of these thirty-eight years, the forty years of the sojourn in the desert are placed in connection with the forty days of the spies, because the people had frequently fallen away from God, and been punished in consequence, even during the year and a half before their rejection; and in this respect the year and a half could be combined with the thirty-eight years which followed into one continuous period, during which they bore their iniquity, to set distinctly before the minds of the disobedient people the contrast between that peaceful dwelling in the promised land which they had forfeited, and the restless wandering in the desert, which had been imposed upon them as a punishment, and to impress upon them the causal connection be-

tween sin and suffering. "Every year that passed, and was deducted from the forty years of punishment, was a new and solemn exhortation to repent, as it called to mind the occasion of their rejection" (*Kurtz*). When *Knobel* observes, on the other hand, that "it is utterly improbable that all who came out of Egypt (that is to say, all who were twenty years old and upward when they came out) should have fallen in the desert, with the exception of two, and that there should have been no men found among the Israelites when they entered Canaan who were more than sixty years of age," the express statement, that on the second numbering there was not a man among those that were numbered who had been included in the numbering at Sinai, except Joshua and Caleb (chap. xxvi. 64 sqq.), is amply sufficient to overthrow this "improbability" as an unfounded fancy. Nor is this statement rendered at all questionable by the fact, that "Aaron's son Eleazar, who entered Canaan with Joshua" (Josh. xiv. 1, etc.), was most likely more than twenty years old at the time of his consecration at Sinai, as the Levites were not qualified for service till their thirtieth or twenty-fifth year. For, in the first place, the regulation concerning the Levites' age of service is not to be applied without reserve to the priests also, so that we could infer from this that the sons of Aaron must have been at least twenty-five or thirty years old when they were consecrated; and besides this, the priests do not enter into the question at all, for the tribe of Levi was excepted from the numbering in chap. i., and therefore Aaron's sons were not included among the persons numbered, who were sentenced to die in the wilderness. Still less does it follow from Josh. xxiv. 7 and Judg. ii. 7, where it is stated that, after the conquest of Canaan, there were many still alive who had been eye-witnesses of the wonders of God in Egypt, that they must have been more than twenty years old when they came out of Egypt; for youths from ten to nineteen years of age would certainly have been able to remember such miracles as these, even after the lapse of forty or fifty years.—Vers. 36-38. But for the purpose of giving to the whole congregation a practical proof of the solemnity of the divine threatening of punishment, the spies who had induced the congregation to revolt, through their evil report concerning the inhabitants of Canaan, were smitten by a "stroke before Jehovah," *i.e.* by a sudden death, which proceeded in a visible manner from Jehovah Himself, whilst Joshua and Caleb remained alive.

Vers. 39-45 (cf. Deut. i. 41-44). The announcement of the

sentence plunged the people into deep mourning. But instead of bending penitentially under the judgment of God, they resolved to atone for their error, by preparing the next morning to go to the top of the mountain and press forward into Canaan. And they would not even suffer themselves to be dissuaded from their enterprise by the entreaties of Moses, who denounced it as a transgression of the word of God which could not succeed, and predicted their overthrow before their enemies, but went presumptuously (יַעֲבֹלוּ לְעֹלֹת) up without the ark of the covenant and without Moses, who did not depart out of the midst of the camp, and were smitten by the Amalekites and Canaanites, who drove them back as far as Hormah. Whereas at first they had refused to enter upon the conflict with the Canaanites, through their unbelief in the might of the promise of God, now, through unbelief in the severity of the judgment of God, they resolved to engage in this conflict by their own power, and without the help of God, and to cancel the old sin of unbelieving despair through the new sin of presumptuous self-confidence,—an attempt which could never succeed, but was sure to plunge deeper and deeper into misery. Where “*the top (or height) of the mountain*” to which the Israelites advanced was, cannot be precisely determined, as we have no minute information concerning the nature of the ground in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. No doubt the allusion is to some plateau on the northern border of the valley mentioned in ver. 25, viz. the Wady *Murreh*, which formed the southernmost spur of the mountains of the Amorites, from which the Canaanites and Amalekites came against them, and drove them back. In Deut. i. 44, Moses mentions the Amorites instead of the Amalekites and Canaanites, using the name in a broader sense for all the Canaanites, and contenting himself with naming the leading foes with whom the Amalekites who wandered about in the *Negeb* had allied themselves, as Bedouins thirsting for booty. These tribes came down (ver. 45) from the height of the mountain to the lower plateau or saddle, which the Israelites had ascended, and smote them and יִכְתּוּם (from כָּתַת, with the reduplication of the second radical anticipated in the first: see *Ewald*, § 193, c.), “discomfited them, as far as Hormah,” or as Moses expresses it in Deut. i. 44, They “chased you, as bees do” (which pursue with great ferocity any one who attacks or disturbs them), “and destroyed you in Seir, even unto Hormah.” There is not sufficient ground for altering “in Seir” into “from Seir,” as the LXX., *Syriac*, and *Vulgate* have done. But בַּשֵּׁעִיר might signify “into Seir, as far as Hormah.” As the

Edomites had extended their territory at that time across the Arabah towards the west, and taken possession of a portion of the mountainous country which bounded the desert of Paran towards the north (see at chap. xxxiv. 3), the Israelites, when driven back by them, might easily be chased into the territory of the Edomites. *Hormah* (i.e. the ban-place) is used here proleptically (see at chap. xxi. 3).

OCCURRENCES DURING THE THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS OF WANDERING
IN THE WILDERNESS.—CHAP. XV.—XIX.

After the unhappy issue of the attempt to penetrate into Canaan, in opposition to the will of God and the advice of Moses, the Israelites remained "many days" in Kadesh, as the Lord did not hearken to their lamentations concerning the defeat which they had suffered at the hands of the Canaanites and Amalekites. Then they turned, and took their journey, as the Lord had commanded (chap. xiv. 25), into the wilderness, in the direction towards the Red Sea (Deut. i. 45, ii. 1); and in the first month of the fortieth year they came again into the desert of Zin, to Kadesh (chap. xx. 1). All that we know respecting this journeying from Kadesh into the wilderness in the direction towards the Red Sea, and up to the time of their return to the desert of Zin, is limited to a number of names of places of encampment given in the list of journeying stages in chap. xxxiii. 19–30, out of which, as the situation of the majority of them is altogether unknown, or at all events has not yet been determined, no connected account of the journeys of Israel during this interval of thirty-seven years can possibly be drawn. The most important event related in connection with this period is the rebellion of the company of Korah against Moses and Aaron, and the re-establishment of the Aaronic priesthood and confirmation of their rights, which this occasioned (chaps. xvi.–xviii.). This rebellion probably occurred in the first portion of the period in question. In addition to this there are only a few laws recorded, which were issued during this long time of punishment, and furnished a practical proof of the continuance of the covenant which the Lord had made with the nation of Israel at Sinai. There was nothing more to record in connection with these thirty-seven years, which formed the *second* stage in the guidance of Israel through the desert. For, as *Baumgarten* has well observed, "the fighting men of Israel had fallen under the judgment of Jehovah, and the sacred history,

therefore, was no longer concerned with them; whilst the youth, in whom the life and hope of Israel were preserved, had as yet no history at all." Consequently we have no reason to complain, as *Ewald* does (*Gesch.* ii. pp. 241, 242), that "the great interval of forty years remains a perfect void;" and still less occasion to dispose of the gap, as this scholar has done, by supposing that the last historian left out a great deal from the history of the forty years' wanderings. The supposed "void" was completely filled up by the gradual dying out of the generation which had been rejected by God.

Various Laws of Sacrifice. Punishment of a Sabbath-breaker.

Command to wear Tassels upon the Clothes.—Chap. xv.

Vers. 1-31. REGULATIONS CONCERNING SACRIFICES.—Vers. 1-16. For the purpose of reviving the hopes of the new generation that was growing up, and directing their minds to the promised land, during the mournful and barren time when judgment was being executed upon the race that had been condemned, Jehovah communicated various laws through Moses concerning the presentation of sacrifices in the land that He would give them (vers. 1 and 2), whereby the former laws of sacrifice were supplemented and completed. The *first* of these laws had reference to the connection between meat-offerings and drink-offerings on the one hand, and burnt-offerings and slain-offerings on the other.—Vers. 3 sqq. In the land of Canaan, every burnt and slain-offering, whether prepared in fulfilment of a vow, or spontaneously, or on feast-days (cf. Lev. vii. 16, xxii. 18, and xxiii. 38), was to be associated with a meat-offering of fine flour mixed with oil, and a drink-offering of wine,—the quantity to be regulated according to the kind of animal that was slain in sacrifice. (See Lev. xxiii. 18, where this connection is already mentioned in the case of the festal sacrifices.) For a lamb (בֶּבֶרֶט, *i.e.* either sheep or goat, cf. ver. 11), they were to take the tenth of an ephah of fine flour, mixed with the quarter of a hin of oil and the quarter of a hin of wine, as a drink-offering. In ver. 5, the construction changes from the third to the second person. עָשָׂה, to prepare, as in Ex. xxix. 38.—Vers. 6, 7. For a ram, they were to take two tenths of fine flour, with the third of a hin of oil and the third of a hin of wine.—Vers. 8 sqq. For an ox, three tenths of fine flour, with half a hin of oil and half a hin of wine. The הַקָּרִיב (3d person) in ver. 9, between תַּעֲשֶׂה in ver. 8, and תַּקְרִיב in ver. 10, is certainly striking and unusual, but not so offensive as

to render it necessary to alter it into **וּתְקַרִּיב**.—Vers. 11, 12. The quantities mentioned were to be offered with every ox, or ram, or lamb, of either sheep or goat, and therefore the number of the appointed quantities of meat and drink-offerings was to correspond to the number of sacrificial animals.—Vers. 13-16. These rules were to apply not only to the sacrifices of those that were born in Israel, but also to those of the strangers living among them. By “these things,” in ver. 13, we are to understand the meat and drink-offerings already appointed.—Ver. 15. “*As for the assembly, there shall be one law for the Israelite and the stranger, . . . an eternal ordinance . . . before Jehovah.*” **הַקָּהָל**, which is construed absolutely, refers to the assembling of the nation before Jehovah, or to the congregation viewed in its attitude with regard to God.

A *second* law (vers. 17-21) appoints, on the ground of the general regulations in Ex. xxii. 28 and xxiii. 19, the presentation of a heave-offering from the bread which they would eat in the land of Canaan, viz. a first-fruit of groat-meal (**רֵאשִׁית עֲרִיסֹת**) baked as cake (**חֻלֵּה**). *Arisoth*, which is only used in connection with the gift of first-fruits, in Ezek. xlv. 30, Neh. x. 38, and the passage before us, signifies most probably groats, or meal coarsely bruised, like the talmudical **עֲרִסָן**, *contusum*, *mola*, *far*, and indeed *far hordei*. This cake of the groats of first-fruits they were to offer “*as a heave-offering of the threshing-floor*,” i.e. as a heave-offering of the bruised corn, in the same manner as this (therefore, in addition to it, and along with it); and that “*according to your generations*” (see Ex. xii. 14), that is to say, for all time, to consecrate a gift of first-fruits to the Lord, not only of the grains of corn, but also of the bread made from the corn, and “*to cause a blessing to rest upon his house*” (Ezek. xlv. 30). Like all the gifts of first-fruits, this cake also fell to the portion of the priests (see Ezek. and Neh. *ut sup.*).

To these there are added, in vers. 22, 31, laws relating to *sin-offerings*, the first of which, in vers. 22-26, is distinguished from the case referred to in Lev. iv. 13-21, by the fact that the sin is not described here, as it is there, as “doing one of the commandments of Jehovah which ought not to be done,” but as “not doing all that Jehovah had spoken through Moses.” Consequently, the allusion here is not to sins of commission, but to sins of omission, not following the law of God, “*even* (as is afterwards explained in ver. 23) *all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses from the day that the Lord hath commanded, and thenceforward according to your generations*,” i.e. since the first beginning of

the giving of the law, and during the whole of the time following (*Knobel*). These words apparently point to a complete falling away of the congregation from the whole of the law. Only the further stipulation in ver. 24, "*if it occur away from the eyes of the congregation through error*" (in oversight), cannot be easily reconciled with this, as it seems hardly conceivable that an apostasy from the entire law should have remained hidden from the congregation. This "not doing all the commandments of Jehovah," of which the congregation is supposed to incur the guilt without perceiving it, might consist either in the fact that, in particular instances, whether from oversight or negligence, the whole congregation omitted to fulfil the commandments of God, *i.e.* certain precepts of the law, *sc.* in the fact that they neglected the true and proper fulfilment of the whole law, either, as *Outram* supposes, "by retaining to a certain extent the national rites, and following the worship of the true God, and yet at the same time acting unconsciously in opposition to the law, through having been led astray by some common errors;" or by allowing the evil example of godless rulers to seduce them to neglect their religious duties, or to adopt and join in certain customs and usages of the heathen, which appeared to be reconcilable with the law of Jehovah, though they really led to contempt and neglect of the commandments of the Lord.¹ But as a disregard or neglect of the commandments of God had to be expiated, a burnt-offering was to be added to the sin-offering, that the separation of the congregation from the Lord, which had arisen from the sin of omission, might be entirely removed. The apodosis commences with וְהָיָה in ver. 24, but is interrupted by אִם מֵעַל, and resumed again with וְעָשְׂתָּ, "*it shall be, if . . . the whole congregation shall prepare,*" etc. The burnt-offering, being the principal sacrifice, is mentioned as usual before the sin-offering, although, when presented, it followed the latter, on account of its being necessary that

¹ *Maimonides* (see *Outram, ex veterum sententia*) understands this law as relating to extraneous worship; and *Outram* himself refers to the times of the wicked kings, "when the people neglected their hereditary rites, and, forgetting the sacred laws, fell by a common sin into the observance of the religious rites of other nations." Undoubtedly, we have historical ground in 2 Chron. xxix. 21 sqq., and Ezra viii. 35, for this interpretation of our law, but further allusions are not excluded in consequence. We cannot agree with *Baumgarten*, therefore, in restricting the difference between Lev. iv. 13 sqq. and the passage before us to the fact, that the former supposes the transgression of one particular commandment on the part of the whole congregation, whilst the latter (vers. 22, 23) refers to a continued lawless condition on the part of Israel.

the sin should be expiated before the congregation could sanctify its life and efforts afresh to the Lord in the burnt-offering. "*One kid of the goats:*" see Lev. iv. 23. כִּמְטָטָט (as in Lev. v. 10, ix. 16, etc.) refers to the right established in vers. 8, 9, concerning the combination of the meat and drink-offering with the burnt-offering. The sin-offering was to be treated according to the rule laid down in Lev. iv. 14 sqq.—Ver. 26. This law was to apply not only to the children of Israel, but also to the stranger among them, "*for (sc. it has happened) to the whole nation in mistake.*" As the sin extended to the whole nation, in which the foreigners were also included, the atonement was also to apply to the whole.—Vers. 27-31. In the same way, again, there was one law for the native and the stranger, in relation to sins of omission on the part of single individuals. The law laid down in Lev. v. 6 (cf. Lev. iv. 27 sqq.) for the Israelites, is repeated here in vers. 27, 28, and in ver. 28 it is raised into general validity for foreigners also. In ver. 29, הָאֲזָרָה is written absolutely for לְאֲזָרָה.—Vers. 30, 31. But it was only sins committed by mistake (see at Lev. iv. 2) that could be expiated by sin-offerings. Whoever, on the other hand, whether a native or a foreigner, committed a sin "*with a high hand,*"—i.e. so that he raised his hand, as it were, against Jehovah, or acted in open rebellion against Him,—blasphemed God, and was to be cut off (see Gen. xvii. 14); for he had despised the word of Jehovah, and broken His commandment, and was to atone for it with his life. עֲוֹנָהּ בָּהּ, "*its crime upon it;*" i.e. it shall come upon such a soul in the punishment which it shall endure.

Vers. 32-36. THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH-BREAKER is no doubt inserted here as a practical illustration of sinning "*with a high hand.*" It shows, too, at the same time, how the nation, as a whole, was impressed with the inviolable sanctity of the Lord's day. From the words with which it is introduced, "*and the children of Israel were in the wilderness,*" all that can be gathered is, that the occurrence took place at the time when Israel was condemned to wander about in the wilderness for forty years. They found a man gathering sticks in the desert on the Sabbath, and brought him as an open transgressor of the law of the Sabbath before Moses and Aaron and the whole congregation, i.e. the college of elders, as the judicial authorities of the congregation (Ex. xviii. 25 sqq.). They kept him in custody, like the blasphemer in Lev. xxiv. 12, because it had not yet been determined what was to be done to him. It

is true that it had already been laid down in Ex. xxxi. 14, 15, and xxxv. 2, that any breach of the law of the Sabbath should be punished by death and extermination, but the mode had not yet been prescribed. This was done now, and Jehovah commanded stoning (see Lev. xx. 2), which was executed upon the criminal without delay.

Vers. 37–41 (cf. Deut. xxii. 12). The command to wear TASSELS ON THE EDGE OF THE UPPER GARMENT appears to have been occasioned by the incident just described. The Israelites were to wear *צִיצִית*, tassels, on the wings of their upper garments, or, according to Deut. xxii. 12, at the four corners of the upper garment. *בְּסָמִית*, the covering in which a man wraps himself, synonymous with *בִּגְד*, was the upper garment, consisting of a four-cornered cloth or piece of stuff, which was thrown over the body-coat (see my *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. pp. 36, 37), and is not to be referred, as *Schultz* supposes, to the bed-coverings also, although this garment was actually used as a counterpane by the poor (see Ex. xxii. 25, 26). “*And upon the tassel of the wing they shall put a string of hyacinth-blue*,” namely, to fasten the tassel to the edge of the garment. *צִיצִית* (fem., from *צָצַץ*, the glittering, the bloom or flower) signifies something flowery or bloom-like, and is used in Ezek. viii. 3 for a lock of hair; here it is applied to a tassel, as being made of twisted threads: LXX. *κράσπεδα*; Matt. xxiii. 5, “borders.” The size of these tassels is not prescribed. The Pharisees liked to make them large, to exhibit openly their punctilious fulfilment of the law. For the Rabbinical directions how to make them, see *Carpzov. apparat.* pp. 197 sqq.; and *Bodenschatz, kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, iv. pp. 11 sqq.—Ver. 39. “*And it shall be to you for a tassel*,” i.e. the fastening of the tassel with the dark blue thread to the corners of your garments shall be to you a tassel, “*that ye, when ye see it, may remember all the commandments of Jehovah, and do them; and ye shall not stray after your hearts and your eyes, after which ye go a whoring*.” The *zizith* on the sky-blue thread was to serve as a memorial sign to the Israelites, to remind them of the commandments of God, that they might have them constantly before their eyes and follow them, and not direct their heart and eyes to the things of this world, which turn away from the word of God, and lead astray to idolatry (cf. Prov. iv. 25, 26). Another reason for these instructions, as is afterwards added in ver. 40, was to remind Israel of all the commandments of the Lord, that they might do

them and be holy to their God, and sanctify their daily life to Him who had brought them out of Egypt, to be their God, *i.e.* to show Himself as God to them.

Rebellion of Korah's Company.—Chap. xvi.—xvii. 5.

The sedition of Korah and his company, with the renewed sanction of the Aaronic priesthood on the part of God which it occasioned, is the only important occurrence recorded in connection with the thirty-seven years' wandering in the wilderness. The time and place are not recorded. The fact that the departure from Kadesh is not mentioned in chap. xiv., whilst, according to Deut. i. 46, Israel remained there many days, is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that it took place in Kadesh. The departure from Kadesh is not mentioned even after the rebellion of Korah; and yet we read, in chap. xx. 1, that the whole congregation came again into the desert of Zin to Kadesh at the beginning of the fortieth year, and therefore must previously have gone away. All that can be laid down as probable is, that it occurred in one of the earliest of the thirty-seven years of punishment, though we have no firm ground even for this conjecture.

Vers. 1-3. The authors of the rebellion were *Korah* the Levite, a descendant of the Kohathite Izhar, who was a brother of Amram, an ancestor (not the father) of Aaron and Moses (see at Ex. vi. 18), and three Reubenites, viz. *Dathan* and *Abiram*, sons of Eliab, of the Reubenitish family of Pallu (chap. xxvi. 8, 9), and *On*, the son of Peleth, a Reubenite, not mentioned again. The last of these (*On*) is not referred to again in the further course of this event, either because he played altogether a subordinate part in the affair, or because he had drawn back before the conspiracy came to a head. The persons named took (תָּקְחוּ), *i.e.* gained over to their plan, or persuaded to join them, 250 distinguished men of the other tribes, and rose up with them against Moses and Aaron. On the construction וַיִּקְחוּ . . . וַיָּקֶם (vers. 1 and 2), *Gesenius* correctly observes in his *Thesaurus* (p. 760), "There is an *anakolouthon* rather than an ellipsis, and not merely a copyist's error, in these words, 'and Korah, . . . and Dathan and Abiram, took and rose up against Moses with 250 men,' for they took 250 men, and rose up with them against Moses," etc. He also points to the analogous construction in 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Consequently there is no necessity either to force a meaning upon וַיָּקֶם, which is altogether foreign to it, or to attempt an emendation of the text. "*They rose up*

before Moses :” this does not mean, “they stood up in front of his tent,” as *Knobel* explains it, for the purpose of bringing ver. 2 into contradiction with ver. 3, but they created an uproar before his eyes; and with this the expression in ver. 3, “and they gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron,” may be very simply and easily combined. The 250 men of the children of Israel who joined the rebels no doubt belonged to the other tribes, as is indirectly implied in the statement in chap. xxvii. 3, that Zelophehad the Manassite was not in the company of Korah. These men were “princes of the congregation,” i.e. heads of the tribes, or of large divisions of the tribes, “called men of the congregation,” i.e. members of the council of the nation which administered the affairs of the congregation (cf. i. 16), “men of name” (אֲנָשֵׁי שֵׁם, see Gen. vi. 4). The leader was Korah; and the rebels are called in consequence “Korah’s company” (vers. 5, 6, chap. xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3). He laid claim to the high-priesthood, or at least to an equality with Aaron (ver. 17). Among his associates were the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, who, no doubt, were unable to get over the fact that the birthright had been taken away from their ancestor, and with it the headship of the house of Israel (i.e. of the whole nation). Apparently their present intention was to seize upon the government of the nation under a self-elected high priest, and to force Moses and Aaron out of the post assigned to them by God,—that is to say, to overthrow the constitution which God had given to His people.—Ver. 3. רַב־לָכֶם, “enough for you!” (רב, as in Gen. xlv. 28), they said to Moses and Aaron, i.e. “let the past suffice you” (*Knobel*); ye have held the priesthood and the government quite long enough. It must now come to an end; “for the whole congregation, all of them (i.e. all the members of the nation), are holy, and Jehovah is in the midst of them. Wherefore lift ye yourselves above the congregation of Jehovah?” The distinction between עֵדָה and קָהָל is the following: עֵדָה signifies *conventus*, the congregation according to its natural organization; קָהָל signifies *convocatio*, the congregation according to its divine calling and theocratic purpose. The use of the two words in the same verse upsets the theory that עֵדָה יְהוָה belongs to the style of the original work, and קָהָל יְהוָה to that of the Jehovist. The rebels appeal to the calling of all Israel to be the holy nation of Jehovah (Ex. xix. 5, 6), and infer from this the equal right of all to hold the priesthood, “leaving entirely out of sight, as blind selfishness is accustomed to do, the transition of the universal priesthood into the special mediatorial

office and priesthood of Moses and Aaron, which had their foundation in fact" (*Baumgarten*); or altogether overlooking the fact that God Himself had chosen Moses and Aaron, and appointed them as mediators between Himself and the congregation, to educate the sinful nation into a holy nation, and train it to the fulfilment of its proper vocation. The rebels, on the contrary, thought that they were holy already, because God had called them to be a holy nation, and in their carnal self-righteousness forgot the condition attached to their calling, "If ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant" (Ex. xix. 5).

Vers. 4-17. When Moses heard these words of the rebels, he fell upon his face, to complain of the matter to the Lord, as in chap. xiv. 5. He then said to Korah and his company, "*To-morrow Jehovah will show who is His and holy, and will let him come near to Him, and he whom He chooseth will draw near to Him.*" The meaning of אִשֶּׁר לוֹ is evident from אִשֶּׁר יִבְחַר בוֹ. He is Jehovah's, whom He chooses, so that He belongs to Him with his whole life. The reference is to the priestly rank, to which God had chosen Aaron and his sons out of the whole nation, and sanctified them by a special consecration (Ex. xxviii. 1, xxix. 1; Lev. viii. 12, 30), and by which they became the persons "standing near to Him" (Lev. x. 3), and were qualified to appear before Him in the sanctuary, and present to Him the sacrifices of the nation.—Ver. 6. To leave the decision of this to the Lord, Korah and his company, who laid claim to this prerogative, were to take censers, and bring lighted incense before Jehovah. He whom the Lord should choose was to be the sanctified one. This was to satisfy them. With the expression רַב־לָכֶם in ver. 7, Moses gives the rebels back their own words in ver. 3. The divine decision was connected with the offering of incense, because this was the holiest function of the priestly service, which brought the priest into the immediate presence of God, and in connection with which Jehovah had already shown to the whole congregation how He sanctified Himself, by a penal judgment on those who took this office upon themselves without a divine call (Lev. x. 1-3). Vers. 8 sqq. He then set before them the wickedness of their enterprise, to lead them to search themselves, and avert the judgment which threatened them. In doing this, he made a distinction between Korah the Levite, and Dathan and Abiram the Reubenites, according to the difference in the motives which prompted their rebellion, and the claims which they asserted. He first of all (vers. 8-11) reminded Korah the Levite

of the way in which God had distinguished his tribe, by separating the Levites from the rest of the congregation, to attend to the service of the sanctuary (chap. iii. 5 sqq., viii. 6 sqq.), and asked him, "*Is this too little for you? The God of Israel (this epithet is used emphatically for Jehovah) has brought thee near to Himself, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee, and ye strive after the priesthood also. Therefore . . . thou and thy company, who have leagued themselves against Jehovah: . . . and Aaron, what is he, that ye murmur against him?*" These last words, as an expression of wrath, are elliptical, or rather an *aposiopesis*, and are to be filled up in the following manner: "Therefore, . . . as Jehovah has distinguished you in this manner, . . . what do ye want? Ye rebel against Jehovah! why do ye murmur against Aaron? He has not seized upon the priesthood of his own accord, but Jehovah has called him to it, and he is only a feeble servant of God" (cf. Ex. xvi. 7). Moses then (vers. 12–14) sent for Dathan and Abiram, who, as is tacitly assumed, had gone back to their tents during the warning given to Korah. But they replied, "*We shall not come up.*" עָלָה, to go up, is used either with reference to the tabernacle, as being in a spiritual sense the culminating point of the entire camp, or with reference to appearance before Moses, the head and ruler of the nation. "*Is it too little that thou hast brought us out of a land flowing with milk and honey (they apply this expression in bitter irony to Egypt), to kill us in the wilderness (deliver us up to death), that thou wilt be always playing the lord over us?*" The idea of continuance, which is implied in the *inf. abs.*, הִשְׁתַּתֵּר, from שָׁתַּר, to exalt one's self as ruler (*Ges.* § 131, 36), is here still further intensified by נָם. "*Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, or given us fields and vineyards for an inheritance (i.e. thou hast not kept thy promise, Ex. iv. 30 compared with chap. iii. 7 sqq.). Wilt thou put out the eyes of these people?*" i.e. wilt thou blind them as to thy doings and designs?—Ver. 15. Moses was so disturbed by these scornful reproaches, that he entreated the Lord, with an asserion of his own unselfishness, not to have respect to their gift, i.e. not to accept the sacrifice which they should bring (cf. Gen. iv. 4). "*I have not taken one ass from them, nor done harm to one of them,*" i.e. I have not treated them as a ruler, who demands tribute of his subjects, and oppresses them (cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3).—Vers. 16, 17. In conclusion, he summoned Korah and his associates once more, to present themselves the following day before Jehovah with censers and incense.

Vers. 18-35. The next day the rebels presented themselves with censers before the tabernacle, along with Moses and Aaron; and the whole congregation also assembled there at the instigation of Korah. The Lord then interposed in judgment. Appearing in His glory to the whole congregation (just as in chap. xiv. 10), He said to Moses and Aaron, "*Separate yourselves from this congregation; I will destroy them in a moment.*" By assembling in front of the tabernacle, the whole congregation had made common cause with the rebels. God threatened them, therefore, with sudden destruction. But the two men of God, who were so despised by the rebellious faction, fell on their faces, interceding with God, and praying, "*God, Thou God of the spirits of all flesh! this one man (i.e. Korah, the author of the conspiracy) hath sinned, and wilt Thou be wrathful with all the congregation?*" i.e. let Thine anger fall upon the whole congregation. The Creator and Preserver of all beings, who has given and still gives life and breath to all flesh, is God of the spirits of all flesh. As the author of the spirit of life in all perishable flesh, God cannot destroy His own creatures in wrath; this would be opposed to His own paternal love and mercy. In this epithet, as applied to God, therefore, Moses appeals "to the universal blessing of creation. It is of little consequence whether these words are to be understood as relating to all the animal kingdom, or to the human race alone; because Moses simply prayed, that as God was the creator and architect of the world, He would not destroy the men whom He had created, but rather have mercy upon the works of His own hands" (*Calvin*). The intercession of the prophet Isaiah, in Isa. lxiv. 8, is similar to this, though that is founded upon the special relation in which God stood to Israel.—Vers. 23 sqq. Jehovah then instructed Moses, that the congregation was to remove away (נָחֲצוּ, to get up and away) from about the dwelling-place of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; and, as we may supply from the context, the congregation fell back from Korah's tent, whilst Dathan and Abiram, possibly at the very first appearance of the divine glory, drew back into their tents. Moses therefore betook himself to the tents of Dathan and Abiram, with the elders following him, and there also commanded the congregation to depart from the tents of these wicked men, and not touch anything they possessed, that they might not be swept away in all their sins.—Ver. 27. The congregation obeyed; but Dathan and Abiram came and placed themselves in front of the tents, along with their wives and children, to see what Moses would do. Moses

then announced the sentence : “ *By this shall ye know that Jehovah hath sent me to do all these works, that not out of my own heart (i.e. that I do not act of my own accord). If these men die like all men (i.e. if these wicked men die a natural death like other men), and the oversight of all men take place over them (i.e. if the same providence watches over them as over all other men, and preserves them from sudden death), Jehovah hath not sent me. But if Jehovah create a creation (בְּרִיאָה, בָּרָא, i.e. work an extraordinary miracle), and the earth open its mouth and swallow them up, with all that belongs to them, so that they go down alive into hell, ye shall perceive that these men have despised Jehovah.*”—Vers. 31–33. And immediately the earth clave asunder, and swallowed them up, with their families and all their possessions, and closed above them, so that they perished without a trace from the congregation. אָתָם refers to the three ringleaders. “ *Their houses ;*” i.e. their families, not their tents, as in chap. xviii. 31, Ex. xii. 3. “ *All the men belonging to Korah*” were his servants ; for, according to chap. xxvi. 11, his sons did not perish with him, but perpetuated his family (chap. xxvi. 58), to which the celebrated Korahite singers of David’s time belonged (1 Chron. vi. 18–22, ix. 19).—Ver. 34. This fearful destruction of the ringleaders, through which Jehovah glorified Moses afresh as His servant in a miraculous way, filled all the Israelites round about with such terror, that they fled לָקָלָם, “ *at their noise,*” i.e. at the commotion with which the wicked men went down into the abyss which opened beneath their feet, lest, as they said, *the earth should swallow them up also.*—Ver. 35. The other 250 rebels, who were probably still in front of the tabernacle, were then destroyed by fire which proceeded from Jehovah, as Nadab and Abihu had been before (Lev. x. 2).

Vers. 36–40 (or xvii. 1–5). After the destruction of the sinners, the Lord commanded that Eleazar should take up the censers “ *from between the burning,*” i.e. from the midst of the men that had been burned, and scatter the fire (the burning coals in the pans) far away, that it might not be used any more. “ *For they (the censers) are holy ;*” that is to say, they had become holy through being brought before Jehovah (ver. 39) ; and therefore, when the men who brought them were slain, they fell as banned articles to the Lord (Lev. xxvii. 28). “ *The censers of these sinners against their souls*” (i.e. the men who have forfeited their lives through their sin : cf. Prov. xx. 2, Hab. ii. 10), “ *let them make into broad plates for a covering to the altar*” (of burnt-offering). Through this application of them they became a sign, or, according to ver. 39,

a memorial to all who drew near to the sanctuary, which was to remind them continually of this judgment of God, and warn the congregation of grasping at the priestly prerogatives. The words, וְלֹא יִהְיֶה, in ver. 40, introduce the predicate in the form of an apodosis to the subject, which is written absolutely, and consists of an entire sentence. יִהְיֶה with כִּי signifies, “to experience the same fate as” another.

Punishment of the murmuring Congregation, and Confirmation of the High-priesthood of Aaron.—Chap. xvi. 41-xvii. 13 (or chap. xvii. 6-28).

Vers. 41-50. PUNISHMENT OF THE MURMURING CONGREGATION.—The judgment upon the company of Korah had filled the people round about with terror and dismay, but it had produced no change of heart in the congregation that had risen up against its leaders. The next morning the whole congregation began to murmur against Moses and Aaron, and to charge them with having slain the people of Jehovah. They referred to Korah and his company, but especially to the 250 chiefs of renown, whom they regarded as the kernel of the nation, and called “the people of Jehovah.” They would have made Moses and Aaron responsible for their death, because in their opinion it was they who had brought the judgment upon their leaders; whereas it was through the intercession of Moses (chap. xvi. 22) that the whole congregation was saved from the destruction which threatened it. To such an extent does the folly of the proud heart of man proceed, and the obduracy of a race already exposed to the judgment of God.—Ver. 7. When the congregation assembled together, Moses and Aaron turned to the tabernacle, and saw how the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared. As the cloud rested continually above the tabernacle during the time of encampment (chap. ix. 18 sqq.; Ex. xl. 38), we must suppose that at this time the cloud covered it in a fuller and much more conspicuous sense, just as it had done when the tabernacle was first erected (chap. ix. 15; Ex. xl. 34), and that at the same time the glory of God burst forth from the dark cloud in a miraculous splendour.—Vers. 8 sqq. Thereupon they both went into the court of (אֶל פְּנֵי, as in Lev. ix. 5) the tabernacle, and God commanded them to rise up (הִרְפוּ, Niphal of רָפוּ = רוּם; see *Ges.* § 65, Anm. 5) out of this congregation, which He would immediately destroy. But they fell upon their faces in prayer, as in chap. xvi. 21, 22. This time, however, they

could not avert the bursting forth of the wrathful judgment, as they had done the day before (chap. xvi. 22). The plague had already commenced, when Moses told Aaron to take the censer quickly into the midst of the congregation, with coals and incense (זִלְחָן, *imper. Hiph.*), to make expiation for it with an incense-offering. And when this was done, and Aaron placed himself between the dead and the living, the plague, which had already destroyed 14,700 men, was stayed. The plague consisted apparently of a sudden death, as in the case of a pestilence raging with extreme violence, though we cannot regard it as an actual pestilence.

The means resorted to by Moses to stay the plague showed afresh how the faithful servant of God bore the rescue of his people upon his heart. All the motives which he had hitherto pleaded, in his repeated intercession that this evil congregation might be spared, were now exhausted. He could not stake his life for the nation, as at Horeb (Ex. xxxii. 32), for the nation had rejected him. He could no longer appeal to the honour of Jehovah among the heathen, seeing that the Lord, even when sentencing the rebellious race to fall in the desert, had assured him that the whole earth should be filled with His glory (chap. xiv. 20 sqq.). Still less could he pray to God that He would not be wrathful with all for the sake of one or a few sinners, as in chap. xvi. 22, seeing that the whole congregation had taken part with the rebels. In this condition of things there was but one way left of averting the threatened destruction of the whole nation, namely, to adopt the means which the Lord Himself had given to His congregation, in the high-priestly office, to wipe away their sins, and recover the divine grace which they had forfeited through sin,—viz. the offering of incense which embodied the high-priestly prayer, and the strength and operation of which were not dependent upon the sincerity and earnestness of subjective faith, but had a firm and immovable foundation in the objective force of the divine appointment. This was the means adopted by the faithful servant of the Lord, and the judgment of wrath was averted in its course; the plague was averted.—The effectual operation of the incense-offering of the high priest also served to furnish the people with a practical proof of the power and operation of the true and divinely appointed priesthood. “The priesthood which the company of Korah had so wickedly usurped, had brought down death and destruction upon himself, through his offering of incense; but the divinely appointed priesthood of Aaron averted death and destruction from the whole congregation when

incense was offered by him, and stayed the well-merited judgment, which had broken forth upon it" (*Kurtz*).

Chap. xvii. 1-13 (or chap. xvii. 16-28). CONFIRMATION OF THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD OF AARON.—Whilst the Lord had thus given a practical proof to the people, that Aaron was the high priest appointed by Him for His congregation, by allowing the high-priestly incense offered by Aaron to expiate His wrath, and by removing the plague; He also gave them a still further confirmation of His priesthood, by a miracle which was well adapted to put to silence all the murmuring of the congregation.—Vers. 16-20. He commanded Moses to take twelve rods of the tribe-princes of Israel, one for the fathers' house of each of their tribes, and to write upon each the name of the tribe; but upon that of the tribe of Levi he was to write Aaron's name, because each rod was to stand for the head of their fathers' houses, *i.e.* for the existing head of the tribe; and in the case of Levi, the tribe-head was Aaron. As only twelve rods were taken for all the tribes of Israel, and Levi was included among them, Ephraim and Manasseh must have been reckoned as the one tribe of Joseph, as in Deut. xxvii. 12. These rods were to be laid by Moses in the tabernacle before the testimony, or ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 21, xxix. 42). And there the rod of the man whom Jehovah chose, *i.e.* entrusted with the priesthood (see chap. xvi. 5), would put forth shoots, to quiet the murmuring of the people. יָרַח, *Ilph.*, to cause to sink, to bring to rest, construed with מַעַל in a pregnant signification, to quiet in such a way that it will not rise again.—Vers. 6-9. Moses carried out this command. And when he went into the tabernacle the following morning, behold Aaron's rod of the house of Levi had sprouted, and put forth shoots, and had borne blossoms and matured almonds. And Moses brought all the rods out of the sanctuary, and gave every man his own; the rest, as we may gather from the context, being all unchanged, so that the whole nation could satisfy itself that God had chosen Aaron. Thus was the word fulfilled which Moses had spoken at the commencement of the rebellion of the company of Korah (chap. xvi. 5), and that in a way which could not fail to accredit him before the whole congregation as sent of God.

So far as the occurrence itself is concerned, there can hardly be any need to remark, that the natural interpretation which has lately been attempted by *Ewald*, viz. that Moses had laid several

almond rods in the holy place, which had just been freshly cut off, that he might see the next day which of them would flower the best during the night, is directly at variance with the words of the text, and also with the fact, that a rod even freshly cut off, when laid in a dry place, would not bear ripe fruit in a single night. The miracle which God wrought here as the Creator of nature, was at the same time a significant symbol of the nature and meaning of the priesthood. The choice of the rods had also a bearing upon the object in question. A man's rod was the sign of his position as ruler in the house and congregation; with a prince the rod becomes a sceptre, the insignia of rule (Gen. xlix. 10). As a severed branch, the rod could not put forth shoots and blossom in a natural way. But God could impart new vital powers even to the dry rod. And so Aaron had naturally no pre-eminence above the heads of the other tribes. But the priesthood was founded not upon natural qualifications and gifts, but upon the power of the Spirit, which God communicates according to the choice of His wisdom, and which He had imparted to Aaron through his consecration with holy anointing oil. It was this which the Lord intended to show to the people, by causing Aaron's rod to put forth branches, blossom, and fruit, through a miracle of His omnipotence; whereas the rods of the other heads of the tribes remained as barren as before. In this way, therefore, it was not without deep significance that Aaron's rod not only put forth shoots, by which the divine election might be recognised, but bore even blossom and ripe fruit. This showed that Aaron was not only qualified for his calling, but administered his office in the full power of the Spirit, and bore the fruit expected of him. The almond rod was especially adapted to exhibit this, as an almond-tree flowers and bears fruit the earliest of all the trees, and has received its name of *אֶשְׂכָּר*, "awake," from this very fact (cf. Jer. i. 11).

God then commanded (vers. 10, 11) that Aaron's rod should be taken back into the sanctuary, and preserved before the testimony, "*for a sign for the rebellious, that thou puttest an end to their murmuring, and they die not.*" The preservation of the rod before the ark of the covenant, in the immediate presence of the Lord, was a pledge to Aaron of the continuance of his election, and the permanent duration of his priesthood; though we have no need to assume, that through a perpetual miracle the staff continued green and blossoming. In this way the staff became a sign to the rebellious, which could not fail to stop their murmuring.—Vers. 12, 13. This miracle

awakened a salutary terror in all the people, so that they cried out to Moses in mortal anguish, "*Behold, we die, we perish, we all perish! Every one who comes near to the dwelling of Jehovah dies; are we all to die?*" Even if this fear of death was no fruit of faith, it was fitted for all that to prevent any fresh outbreaks of rebellion on the part of the rejected generation.

Service and Revenues of the Priests and Levites.—Chap. xviii.

The practical confirmation of the priesthood of Aaron and his family, on the part of God, is very appropriately followed by the legal regulations concerning the official duties of the priests and Levites (vers. 1-7), and the revenues to be assigned them for their services (vers. 8-32), as the laws hitherto given upon this subject, although they contain many isolated stipulations, have not laid down any complete and comprehensive arrangement. The instructions relating to this subject were addressed by Jehovah directly to Aaron (see vers. 1 and 8), up to the law, that out of the tenths which the Levites were to collect from the people, they were to pay a tenth again to the priests; and this was addressed to Moses (ver. 25), as the head of all Israel.

VERS. 1-7. THE OFFICIAL DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—Ver. 1. To impress upon the minds of the priests and Levites the holiness and responsibility of their office, the service of Aaron, of his sons, and of his father's house, *i.e.* of the family of the Kohathites, is described as "bearing the iniquity of the sanctuary," and the service which was peculiar to the Aaronides, as "bearing the iniquity of their priesthood." "*To bear the iniquity of the sanctuary*" signifies not only "to have to make expiation for all that offended against the laws of the priests and the holy things, *i.e.* the desecration of these" (*Knobel*), but "iniquity or transgression at the sanctuary," *i.e.* the defilement of it by the sin of those who drew near to the sanctuary; not only of the priests and Levites, but of the whole people who defiled the sanctuary in the midst of them with its holy vessels, not only by their sins (Lev. xvi. 6), but even by their holy gifts (Ex. xxviii. 38), and thus brought guilt upon the whole congregation, which the priests were to bear, *i.e.* to take upon themselves and expunge, by virtue of the holiness and sanctifying power communicated to their office (see at Ex. xxviii. 38). The "iniquity of the priesthood," however, not only embraced every offence against the priesthood, every neglect of the most

scrupulous and conscientious fulfilment of duty in connection with their office, but extended to all the sin which attached to the official acts of the priests, on account of the sinfulness of their nature. It was to wipe out these sins and defilements, that the annual expiation of the holy things on the day of atonement had been appointed (Lev. xvi. 16 sqq.). The father's house of Aaron, *i.e.* the Levitical family of Kohath, was also to join in bearing the iniquity of the sanctuary, because the oversight of the holy vessels of the sanctuary devolved upon it (chap. iv. 4 sqq.).—Vers. 2–4. Aaron was also to bring his (other) brethren (*sc.* to the sanctuary), viz. the tribe of Levi, that is to say, the Gershonites and Merarites, that they might attach themselves to him and serve him, both him (אֹהֵל) and his sons, before the tent of testimony, and discharge the duties that were binding upon them, according to chap. iv. 24 sqq., 31 sqq. (cf. chap. iii. 6, 7, viii. 26). Only they were not to come near to the holy vessels and the altar, for that would bring death both upon them and the priests (see at chap. iv. 15). On ver. 4, cf. chap. i. 53 and iii. 7.—Vers. 5–7. The charge of the sanctuary (*i.e.* the dwelling) and the altar (of burnt-offering) devolved upon Aaron and his sons, that the wrath of God might not come again upon the children of Israel (see chap. viii. 19),—namely, through such illegal acts as Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 2), and the company of Korah (chap. xvi. 35), had committed. To this end God had handed over the Levites to them as a gift, to be their assistants (see at chap. iii. 9 and viii. 16, 19). But Aaron and his sons were to attend to the priesthood “*with regard to everything of the altar and within the veil*” (*i.e.* of the most holy place, see Lev. xvi. 12). The allusion is to all the priestly duties from the altar of burnt-offering to the most holy place, including the holy place which lay between. This office, which brought them into the closest fellowship with the Lord, was a favour accorded to them by the grace of God. This is expressed in the words, “*as a service of gift* (a service with which I present you) *I give you the priesthood.*” The last words in ver. 7 are the same as in chap. i. 51; and “*stranger*” (*zar*), as in Lev. xxii. 10.

Vers. 8–20. THE REVENUES OF THE PRIESTS.—These are summed up in ver. 8 in these words, “*I give thee the keeping of My heave-offerings in all holy gifts for a portion, as an eternal statute.*” The notion of מְשָׁמֶרֶת, keeping, as in Ex. xii. 6, xvi. 23, 32, is defined in the second parallel clause as מִשְׁחָה, a portion (see at Lev. vii. 35).

The priests were to keep all the heave-offerings, as the portion which belonged to them, out of the sacrificial gifts that the children of Israel offered to the Lord. תְּרוּמָה, heave-offerings (see at Ex. xxv. 2, and Lev. ii. 9), is used here in the broadest sense, as including all the holy gifts (*kodashim*, see Lev. xxi. 22) which the Israelites lifted off from their possessions and presented to the Lord (as in chap. v. 9). Among these, for example, were, *first* of all, the most holy gifts in the meat-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings (vers. 9, 10; see at Lev. ii. 3). The burnt-offerings are not mentioned, because the whole of the flesh of these was burned upon the altar, and the skin alone fell to the portion of the priest (Lev. vii. 8). "*From the fire,*" sc. of the altar. אֵשׁ, fire, is equivalent to אֲשֶׁת, firing (see Lev. i. 9). These gifts they were to eat, as most holy, in a most holy place, i.e. in the court of the tabernacle (see Lev. vi. 9, 19, vii. 6), which is called "*most holy*" here, to lay a stronger emphasis upon the precept. In the *second* place, these gifts included also "*the holy gifts;*" viz. (a) (ver. 11) the heave-offering of their gifts in all wave-offerings (*tenuphoth*), i.e. the wave-breast and heave-leg of the peace-offerings, and whatever else was waved in connection with the sacrifices (see at Lev. vii. 33): these might be eaten by both the male and female members of the priestly families, provided they were legally clean (Lev. xxii. 3 sqq.); (b) (ver. 12) the gifts of first-fruits: "*all the fat* (i.e. the best, as in Gen. xlv. 18) *of oil, new wine, and corn,*" viz. רֵאשִׁיתָם, "*the first of them,*" the בְּבִרְיִים, "*the first-grown fruits*" of the land, and that of all the fruit of the ground (Deut. xxvi. 2, 10; Prov. iii. 9; Ezek. xlv. 30), corn, wine, oil, honey, and tree-fruit (Deut. viii. 8, compared with Lev. xix. 23, 24), which were offered, according to 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, Neh. x. 36, 38, Tob. i. 6, as first-fruits every year (see *Mishnah, Bikkur*, i. 3, 10, where the first-fruits are specified according to the productions mentioned in Deut. viii. 8; the law prescribed nothing in relation to the quantity of the different first-fruits, but left this entirely to the offerer himself); (c) (ver. 14) everything placed under a ban (see at Lev. xxvii. 28); and (d) (vers. 15-18) the first-born of man and beast. The first-born of men and of unclean beasts were redeemed according to chap. iii. 47, Ex. xiii. 12, 13, and Lev. xxvii. 6, 27; but such as were fit for sacrifice were actually offered, the blood being swung against the altar, and the fat portions burned upon it, whilst the whole of the flesh fell to the portion of the priests. So far as the redemption of human beings was concerned (ver. 16), they were

“to redeem from the monthly child,” i.e. the first-born child as soon as it was a month old.—Ver. 19. “All the holy heave-offerings” are not the thank-offerings (*Knobel*), but, as in ver. 8, all the holy gifts enumerated in vers. 9–18. Jehovah gives these to the priests as an eternal claim. “An eternal covenant of salt is this before Jehovah,” for Aaron and his descendants. A “covenant of salt;” equivalent to an indissoluble covenant, or inviolable contract (see at Lev. ii. 13).—Ver. 20. For this reason, Aaron was to receive no inheritance in the land among the children of Israel. Aaron, as the head of the priests, represents the whole priesthood; and with regard to the possession, the whole tribe of Levi is placed, in ver. 23, on an equality with the priests. The Levites were to receive no portion of the land as an inheritance in Canaan (cf. chap. xxvi. 62; Deut. xii. 12, xiv. 27; Josh. xiv. 3). Jehovah was the portion and inheritance, not only of Aaron and his sons, but of the whole tribe of Levi (cf. Deut. x. 9, xviii. 2; Josh. xiii. 33); or, as it is expressed in Josh. xviii. 7, “the priesthood of Jehovah was their inheritance,” though not in the sense that *Knobel* supposes, viz. “the priesthood with its revenues,” which would make the expression “Jehovah, the God of Israel” (Josh. xiii. 33), to be metonymical for “sacrificial gifts, first-fruits, and tenths.” The possession of the priests and Levites did not consist in the revenues assigned to them by God, but in the possession of Jehovah, the God of Israel. In the same sense in which the tribe of Levi was the peculiar possession of Jehovah out of the whole of the people of possession, was Jehovah also the peculiar possession of Levi; and just as the other tribes were to live upon what was afforded by the land assigned them as a possession, Levi was to live upon what Jehovah bestowed upon it. And inasmuch as not only the whole land of the twelve tribes, with which Jehovah had enfeoffed them, but the whole earth, belonged to Jehovah (Ex. xix. 5), He was necessarily to be regarded as the greatest possession of all, beyond which nothing greater is conceivable, and in comparison with which every other possession is to be regarded as nothing. Hence it was evidently the greatest privilege and highest honour to have Him for a portion and possession (*Bähr*, *Symbolik*, ii. p. 44). “For truly,” as *Masius* writes (Com. on Josh.), “he who possesses God possesses all things; and the worship (*cultus*) of Him is infinitely fuller of delight, and far more productive, than the cultivation (*cultus*) of any soil.”

Vers. 21–24. REVENUES OF THE LEVITES.—For (הַלֵּוִי, instead

of, for) their service at the tabernacle God assigns them "*every tenth in Israel as an inheritance.*" On the tenth, see at Lev. xxvii. 30-33. The institution and description of their service in vers. 22 and 23 is the same as that in chap. i. 53 and viii. 19. "Lest they bear sin:" see at Lev. xix. 17.

Vers. 25-32. *Appropriation of the Tithe.*—Vers. 26 sqq. When the Levites took (received) from the people the tithe assigned them by Jehovah, they were to lift off from it a heave-offering for Jehovah, a tithe of the tithe for Aaron the priest (*i.e.* for the priesthood; see at ver. 20). "*Your heave-offering shall be reckoned to you as the corn of the threshing-floor, and the fulness (see Ex. xxii. 28) of the wine-press,*" *i.e.* according to ver. 30, as the revenue of the threshing-floor and wine-press; that is to say, as corn and wine which they had reaped themselves.—Ver. 29. The whole of this heave-offering of Jehovah, *i.e.* the tithe of the tithe, they were to lift off from all their gifts, from all the tithes of the people which they received; "*of all the fat of it,*" *i.e.* of all the best of the heave-offering they received, they were to lift off אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, "*its holy,*" *i.e.* the holy part, which was to be dedicated to Jehovah.—Ver. 30. They might eat it (the tithe they had received, after taking off the priests' tithe) in any place with their families, as it was the reward for their service at the tabernacle.—Ver. 32. They would load no sin upon themselves by so doing (see Lev. xix. 17), if they only lifted off the best as tithe (for the priest), and did not desecrate the holy gifts, *sc.* by eating in all kinds of places, which was not allowed, according to ver. 10, with regard to the most holy gifts.

These regulations concerning the revenues of the priests and Levites were in perfect accordance with the true idea of the Israelitish kingdom of God. Whereas in heathen states, where there was an hereditary priestly caste, that caste was generally a rich one, and held a firm possession in the soil (in Egypt, for example; see at Gen. xlvii. 22), the Levites received no hereditary landed property in the land of Israel, but only towns to dwell in among the other tribes, with pasturage for their cattle (chap. xxxv.), because Jehovah, the God of Israel, would be their inheritance. In this way their earthly existence was based upon the spiritual ground and soil of faith, in accordance with the calling assigned them, to be the guardians and promoters of the commandments, statutes, and rights of Jehovah; and their authority and influence among the people were bound up with their unreserved surrender of themselves to the Lord, and their firm reliance upon the possession of their God. Now, whilst this

position was to be a constant incitement to the Levites to surrender themselves entirely to the Lord and His service, it was also to become to the whole nation a constant admonition, inasmuch as it was a prerogative conferred upon them by the Lord, to seek the highest of all good in the possession of the Lord, as its portion and inheritance.—The revenue itself, however, which the Lord assigned to the Levites and priests, as His servants, consisting of the tenths and first-fruits, as well as certain portions of the different sacrificial gifts that were offered to Him, appears to have been a very considerable one, especially if we adopt the computation of *J. D. Michaelis* (*Mos. Recht.* i. § 52) with reference to the tithes. “A tribe,” he says, “which had only 22,000 males in it (23,000 afterwards), and therefore could hardly have numbered more than 12,000 grown-up men, received the tithes of 600,000 Israelites; consequently one single Levite, without the slightest necessity for sowing, and without any of the expenses of agriculture, reaped or received from the produce of the flocks and herds as much as five of the other Israelites.” But this leaves out of sight the fact that tithes are never paid so exactly as this, and that no doubt there was as little conscientiousness in the matter then as there is at the present day, when those who are entitled to receive a tenth often receive even less than a twentieth. Moreover, the revenue of the tribe, which the Lord had chosen as His own peculiar possession, was not intended to be a miserable and beggarly one; but it was hardly equal, at any time, to the revenues which the priestly castes of other nations derived from their endowments. Again, the Levites had to give up the tenth of all the tithes they received to the priests; and the priests were to offer to Jehovah upon the altar a portion of the first-fruits, heave-offerings, and wave-offerings that were assigned to them. Consequently, as the whole nation was to make a practical acknowledgment, in the presentation of the tithe and first-fruits, that it had received its hereditary property as a fief from the Lord its God, so the Levites, by their payment of the tenth to the priests, and the priests, by presenting a portion of their revenues upon the altar, were to make a practical confession that they had received all their revenues from the Lord their God, and owed Him praise and adoration in return (see *Bähr*, *Symbolik*, ii. pp. 43 sqq.).

The Law concerning Purification from the Uncleaness of Death.—
Chap. xix.

In order that a consciousness of the continuance of the covenant

relation might be kept alive during the dying out of the race that had fallen under the judgment of God, after the severe stroke with which the Lord had visited the whole nation in consequence of the rebellion of the company of Korah, He gave the law concerning purification from the uncleanness of death, in which first of all the preparation of a sprinkling water is commanded for the removal of this uncleanness (vers. 1–10a); and then, secondly, the use of this purifying water enjoined as an eternal statute (vers. 10b–22). The thought that death, and the putrefaction of death, as being the embodiment of sin, defiled and excluded from fellowship with the holy God, was a view of the fall and its consequences which had been handed down from the primeval age (see vol. ii. p. 357), and which was not only shared by the Israelites with many of the nations of antiquity,¹ but presupposed by the laws given on Sinai as a truth well known in Israel; and at the same time confirmed, both in the prohibition of the priests from defiling themselves with the dead, except in the case of their nearest blood-relations (Lev. xxi. 1–6, 10–12), and in the command, that every one who was defiled by a corpse should be removed out of the camp (chap. v. 2–4). Now, so long as the mortality within the congregation did not exceed the natural limits, the traditional modes of purification would be quite sufficient. But when it prevailed to a hitherto unheard-of extent, in consequence of the sentence pronounced by God, the defilements would necessarily be so crowded together, that the whole congregation would be in danger of being infected with the defilement of death, and of forfeiting its vocation to be the holy nation of Jehovah, unless God provided it with the means of cleansing itself from this uncleanness, without losing the fellowship of His covenant of grace. The law which follows furnished the means. In ver. 2 this law is called חֻקַּת הַמִּוֶּדָּה, a “*statute of instruction*,” or law-statute. This combination of the two words commonly used for law and statute, which is only met with again in chap. xxxi. 21, and there, as here, in connection with a rule relating to purification from the uncleanness of death, is probably intended to give emphasis to the design of the law about to be given, to point it out as one of great importance, but not as *decretum absque ulla ratione*, a decree without any reason, as the Rabbins suppose.

Vers. 2–10a. *Preparation of the Purifying Water.*—As water is the ordinary means by which all kinds of uncleanness are removed,

¹ Vid. Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. pp. 466 sqq.; Sommer, *bibl. Abhdl.* pp. 271 sqq.; Knobel on this chapter, and Leyrer in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*.

it was also to be employed in the removal of the uncleanness of death. But as this uncleanness was the strongest of all religious defilements, fresh water alone was not sufficient to remove it; and consequently a certain kind of sprinkling-water was appointed, which was strengthened by the ashes of a sin-offering, and thus formed into a holy alkali. The main point in the law which follows, therefore, was the preparation of the ashes, and these had to be obtained by the *sacrifice of a red heifer*.¹—Vers. 2 sqq. The sons of Israel were to bring to Moses a red heifer, entirely without blemish, and to give it to Eleazar the priest, that he might have it slaughtered in his presence outside the camp. פָּרָה is not a cow generally, but a young cow, a heifer, δάμαλις (LXX.), *juvencu*, between the calf and the full-grown cow. אֶדְמָה, of a red colour, is not to be connected with תְּמִימָה in the sense of “quite red,” as the Rabbins interpret it; but תְּמִימָה, *integra*, is to be taken by itself, and the words which follow, “wherein is no blemish,” to be regarded as defining it still more precisely (see Lev. xxii. 19, 20). The slaying of this heifer is called חַטָּאת, a sin-offering, in vers. 9 and 17. To remind the congregation that death was the wages of sin, the antidote to the defilement of death was to be taken from a sin-offering. But as the object was not to remove and wipe away sin as such, but simply to cleanse the congregation from the uncleanness which proceeded from death, the curse of sin, it was necessary that the sin-offering should be modified in a peculiar manner to accord with this special design. The sacrificial animal was not to be a bullock, as in the case of the ordinary sin-offerings of the congregation (Lev. iv. 14), but a female, because the female sex is the bearer of life (Gen. iii. 20), a פָּרָה, *i.e. lit.* the fruit-bringing; and of a red colour, not because the blood-red colour points to sin (as *Hengstenberg* follows the Rabbins and earlier theologians in supposing), but as the colour of the most “intensive life,” which has its seat in the blood, and shows itself in the red colour of the face (the cheeks and lips); and one “upon which no yoke had ever come,” *i.e.* whose vital energy had not yet been crippled by labour under the yoke. Lastly,

¹ On this sacrifice, which is so rich in symbolical allusions, but the details of which are so difficult to explain, compare the rabbinical statutes in the talmudical tractate *Para* (*Mishnah*, v. *Surenh.* vi. pp. 269 sqq.); *Maimonides de vacca rufa*; and *Lundius jüd. Heiligth.* pp. 680 sqq. Among modern treatises on this subject, are *Bähr's Symbolik*, ii. pp. 493 sqq.; *Hengstenberg*, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, pp. 173 sqq.; *Leyrer in Herzog's Cycl.*; *Kurtz in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, pp. 629 sqq. (also *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, pp. 422 sqq., Eng. transl., Tr.); and my *Archäologie*, i. p. 58.

like all the sacrificial animals, it was to be uninjured, and free from faults, inasmuch as the idea of representation, which lay at the foundation of all the sacrifices, but more especially of the sin-offerings, demanded natural sinlessness and original purity, quite as much as imputed sin and transferred uncleanness. Whilst the last-mentioned prerequisite showed that the victim was well fitted for bearing sin, the other attributes indicated the fulness of life and power in their highest forms, and qualified it to form a powerful antidote to death. As thus appointed to furnish a reagent against death and mortal corruption, the sacrificial animal was to possess throughout, viz. in colour, in sex, and in the character of its body, the fulness of life in its greatest freshness and vigour.—Ver. 3. The sacrifice itself was to be superintended by Eleazar the priest, the eldest son of the high priest, and his presumptive successor in office; because Aaron, or the high priest, whose duty it was to present the sin-offerings for the congregation (Lev. iv. 16), could not, according to his official position, which required him to avoid all uncleanness of death (Lev. xxi. 11, 12), perform such an act as this, which stood in the closest relation to death and the uncleanness of death, and for that very reason had to be performed outside the camp. The subject, to “*bring her forth*” and “*slay her*,” is indefinite; since it was not the duty of the priest to slay the sacrificial animal, but of the offerer himself, or in the case before us, of the congregation, which would appoint one of its own number for the purpose. All that the priest had to do was to sprinkle the blood; at the same time the slaying was to take place לפני, before him, i.e. before his eyes. Eleazar was to sprinkle some of the blood seven times “*towards the opposite*,” i.e. towards the front of the tabernacle (*seven times*, as in Lev. iv. 17). Through this sprinkling of the blood the slaying became a sacrifice, being brought thereby into relation to Jehovah and the sanctuary; whilst the life, which was sacrificed for the sin of the congregation, was given up to the Lord, and offered up in the only way in which a sacrifice, prepared like this, outside the sanctuary, could possibly be offered.

After this (vers. 5, 6), they were to burn the cow, with the skin, flesh, blood, and dung, before his (Eleazar's) eyes, and he was to throw cedar-wood, hyssop, and scarlet wool into the fire. The burning of the sacrificial animal outside the camp took place in the case of every sin-offering for the whole congregation, for the reasons expounded in vol. ii. p. 307. But in the case before us, the whole of the sacrificial act had to be performed outside the camp,

i.e. outside the sphere of the theocracy ; because the design of this sin-offering was not that the congregation might thereby be received through the expiation of its sin into the fellowship of the God and Lord who was present at the altar and in the sanctuary, but simply that an antidote to the infection of death might be provided for the congregation, which had become infected through fellowship with death ; and consequently, the victim was to represent, not the living congregation as still associated with the God who was present in His earthly kingdom, but those members of the congregation who had fallen victims to temporal death as the wages of sin, and, as such, were separated from the earthly theocracy (see my *Archæology*, i. p. 283). In this sacrifice, the blood, which was generally poured out at the foot of the altar, was burned along with the rest, and the ashes to be obtained were impregnated with the substance thereof. But in order still further to increase the strength of these ashes, which were already well fitted to serve as a powerful antidote to the corruption of death, as being the incorruptible residuum of the sin-offering which had not been destroyed by the fire, cedar-wood was thrown into the fire, as the symbol of the incorruptible continuance of life ; and hyssop, as the symbol of purification from the corruption of death ; and scarlet wool, the deep red of which shadowed forth the strongest vital energy (see at Lev. xiv. 6),—so that the ashes might be regarded “as the quintessence of all that purified and strengthened life, refined and sublimated by the fire” (*Leyrer*).—Vers. 7–10a, etc. The persons who took part in this—viz. the priest, the man who attended to the burning, and the clean man who gathered the ashes together, and deposited them in a clean place for subsequent use—became unclean till the evening in consequence ; not from the fact that they had officiated for unclean persons, and, in a certain sense, had participated in their uncleanness (*Knobel*), but through the uncleanness of sin and death, which had passed over to the sin-offering ; just as the man who led into the wilderness the goat which had been rendered unclean through the imposition of sin, became himself unclean in consequence (Lev. xvi. 26). Even the sprinkling water prepared from the ashes defiled every one who touched it (ver. 21). But when the ashes were regarded in relation to their appointment as the means of purification, they were to be treated as clean. Not only were they to be collected together by a clean man ; but they were to be kept for use in a clean place, just as the ashes of the sacrifices that were taken away from the altar were to be carried to a clean place out-

side the camp (Lev. vi. 4). These defilements, like every other which only lasted till the evening, were to be removed by washing (see vol. ii. pp. 373-4). The ashes thus collected were to serve the congregation *לְמַי נִזְרָה*, i.e. literally as water of uncleanness; in other words, as water by which uncleanness was to be removed. "*Water of uncleanness*" is analogous to "water of sin" in chap. viii. 7.

Vers. 10b-22. *Use of the Water of Purification.*—The words in ver. 10b, "*And it shall be to the children of Israel, and to the stranger in the midst of them, for an everlasting statute,*" relate to the preparation and application of the sprinkling water, and connect the foregoing instructions with those which follow.—Vers. 11-13 contain the general rules for the use of the water; vers. 14-22 a more detailed description of the execution of those rules.—Vers. 11 sqq. Whoever touched a corpse, "*with regard to all the souls of men,*" i.e. the corpse of a person, of whatever age or sex, was unclean for seven days, and on the third and seventh day he was to cleanse himself (*הִתְחַטַּא*, as in chap. viii. 21) with the water (*בּוּ* refers, so far as the sense is concerned, to the water of purification). If he neglected this cleansing, he did not become clean, and he defiled the dwelling of Jehovah (see at Lev. xv. 31). Such a man was to be cut off from Israel (*vid.* at Gen. xvii. 14).—Vers. 14-16. Special instructions concerning the defilement. If a man died in a tent, every one who entered it, or who was there at the time, became unclean for seven days. So also did every "*open vessel upon which there was not a covering, a string,*" i.e. that had not a covering fastened by a string, to prevent the smell of the corpse from penetrating it. *פֶּתִיל*, a string, is in apposition to *צִמְד*, a band, or binding (see *Ges.* § 113; *Ewald*, § 287, e.). This also applied to any one in the open field, who touched a man who had either been slain by the sword or had died a natural death, or even a bone (skeleton), or a grave.—Vers. 17-19. *Ceremony of purification.* They were to take for the unclean person some of the dust of the burning of the cow, i.e. some of the ashes obtained by burning the cow, and put living, i.e. fresh water (see Lev. xiv. 5), upon it in a vessel. A clean man was then to take a bunch of hyssop (see Ex. xii. 22), on account of its inherent purifying power, and dip it in the water, on the third and seventh day after the defilement had taken place, and to sprinkle the tent, with the vessels and persons in it, as well as every one who had touched a corpse, whether a person slain, or one who had died a natural death, or a grave; after

which the persons were to wash their clothes and bathe, that they might be clean in the evening. As the uncleanness in question is held up as the highest grade of uncleanness, by its duration being fixed at seven days, *i.e.* an entire week, so the appointment of a double purification with the sprinkling water shows the force of the uncleanness to be removed; whilst the selection of the third and seventh days was simply determined by the significance of the numbers themselves. In ver. 20, the threat of punishment for the neglect of purification is repeated from ver. 13, for the purpose of making it most emphatic.—Vers. 21, 22. This also was to be an everlasting statute, that he who sprinkled the water of purification, or even touched it (see at vers. 7 sqq.), and he who was touched by a person defiled (by a corpse), and also the person who touched him, should be unclean till the evening,—a rule which also applied to other forms of uncleanness.

ISRAEL'S LAST JOURNEY FROM KADESH TO THE HEIGHTS OF
PISGAH IN THE FIELDS OF MOAB.—CHAP. XX. AND XXI.

In the first month of the fortieth year, the whole congregation of Israel assembled again at Kadesh, in the desert of Zin, to commence the march to Canaan. In Kadesh, Miriam died (chap. xx. 1), and the people murmured against Moses and Aaron on account of the want of water. The Lord relieved this want, by pouring water from the rock; but Moses sinned on this occasion, so that he was not allowed to enter Canaan (vers. 2–13). From Kadesh, Moses sent messengers to the king of Edom, to ask permission for the Israelites to pass peaceably through his land; but this was refused by the king of Edom (vers. 14–21). In the meantime, the Israelites marched from Kadesh to Mount Hor, on the borders of the land of Edom; and there Aaron died, and Eleazar was invested with the high-priesthood in his stead (vers. 22–29). On this march they were attacked by the Canaanitish king of Arad; but they gained a complete victory, and laid his cities under the ban (chap. xix. 1–3). As the king of Edom opposed their passing through his land, they were compelled to go from Mount Hor to the Red Sea, and round the land of Edom. On the way the murmuring people were bitten by poisonous serpents; but the penitent among them were healed of the bite of the serpent, by looking at the brazen serpent which Moses set up at the command of God (vers. 4–9). After going round the Moabitish mountains, they

turned to the north, and went along the eastern side of the Edomitic and Moabitic territory, as far as the Arnon, on the border of the Amoritic kingdom of Sihon, with the intention of going through to the Jordan, and so entering Canaan (vers. 10-20). But as Sihon would not allow the Israelites to pass through his land, and made a hostile demonstration against them, they smote him and conquered his land, and also the northern Amoritic kingdom of Og, king of Bashan (vers. 21-35), and forced their way through the Amoritic territory to the heights of Pisgah, for the purpose of going forward thence into the steppes of Moab by the Jordan (chap. xxii. 1). These marches formed the *third* stage in the guidance of Israel through the desert to Canaan.

Death of Miriam. Water out of the Rock. Refusal of a Passage through Edom. Aaron's Death. Conquest over the King of Arad.—Chap. xx.-xxi. 3.

The events mentioned in the heading, which took place either in Kadesh or on the march thence to the mountain of Hor, are grouped together in chap. xx. 1-xxi. 3, rather in a classified order than in one that is strictly chronological. The death of Miriam took place during the time when the people were collected at Kadesh-Barnea in the desert of Zin (ver. 21). But when the whole nation assembled together in this desert there was a deficiency of water, which caused the people to murmur against Moses, until God relieved the want by a miracle (vers. 2-13). It was from Kadesh that messengers were sent to the king of Edom (vers. 14 sqq.); but instead of waiting at Kadesh till the messengers returned, Moses appears to have proceeded with the people in the meantime into the Arabah. When and where the messengers returned to Moses, we are not informed. So much is certain, however, that the Edomites did not come with an army against the Israelites (vers. 20, 21), until they approached their land with the intention of passing through. For it was in the Arabah, at Mount Hor, that Israel first turned to go round the land of Edom (chap. xxi. 4). The attack of the Canaanites of Arad (chap. xxi. 1-3), who attempted to prevent the Israelites from advancing into the desert of Zin, occurred in the interval between the departure from Kadesh and the arrival in the Arabah at Mount Hor; so that if a chronological arrangement were adopted, this event would be placed in chap. xx. 22, between the first and second clauses of this verse. The words "*and came to Mount Hor*" (ver. 22*b*) are anticipatory,

and introduce the most important event of all that period, viz. the death of Aaron at Mount Hor (vers. 23-29).¹

Ver. 1. ASSEMBLING OF THE CONGREGATION AT KADESH.—In the first month the children of Israel came into the desert of Zin, *i.e.* in the fortieth year of their wanderings, at the commencement of which “the whole congregation” assembled together once more in the very same place where the sentence had been passed thirty-seven years and a half before, that they should remain in the desert for forty years, until the rebellious generation had died out. The year is not mentioned in ver. 1, but, according to chap. xiv. 32 sqq., it can only be the year with which the forty years of the sentence that they should die out in the wilderness came to an end, that is to say, the fortieth year of their wandering. This is put

¹ Even *Fries* (pp. 53, 54) has admitted that the account in Num. xxi. 1, xxxiii. 40, is to be regarded as a rehearsal of an event which took place before the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Hor, and that the conflict with the king of Arad must have occurred immediately upon the advance of Israel into the desert of Zin; and he correctly observes, that the sacred writer has arranged what stood in practical connection with the sin of Moses and Aaron, and the refusal of Edom, in the closest juxtaposition to those events: whereas, after he had once commenced his account of the tragical occurrences in chap. xx., there was no place throughout the whole of that chapter for mentioning the conflict with Arad; and consequently this battle could only find a place in the second line, after the record of the most memorable events which occurred between the death of Miriam and that of Aaron, and to which it was subordinate in actual significance. On the other hand, *Fries* objects to the arrangement we have adopted above, and supposes that Israel did not go straight from Kadesh through the Wady *Murreh* into the Arabah, and to the border of the (actual) land of Edom, and then turn back to the Red Sea; but that after the failure of the negotiations with the king of Edom, Moses turned at once from the desert of Zin and plain of Kadesh, and went back in a south-westerly direction to the Hebron road; and having followed this road to Jebel Araif, the south-western corner-pillar of the western Edom, turned at right angles and went by the side of Jebel Mukrah to the Arabah, where he was compelled to alter his course again through meeting with Mount Hor, the border-pillar of Edom at that point, and to go southwards to the Red Sea (pp. 88-9). But although this combination steers clear of the difficulty connected with our assumption,—viz. that when Israel advanced into the Arabah to encamp at Mount Hor, they had actually trodden upon the Edomitish territory in that part of the Arabah which connected the mountain land of Azazimeh, of which the Edomites had taken forcible possession, with their hereditary country, the mountains of Seir,—we cannot regard this view as in harmony with the biblical account. For, apart from the improbability of Moses going a second time to Mount Hor on the border of Edom, after he had been compelled to desist from his advance through the desert of Zin (Wady *Murreh*), and take a circuitous route, or rather make a

beyond all doubt by what follows. For the whole congregation proceeds from Kadesh in the desert of Zin to Mount Hor, where Aaron died, and that, according to chap. xxxiii. 38, in the fifth month of the fortieth year after the exodus from Egypt. Miriam died during the time that the people were staying (אָשַׁב) in Kadesh, and there she was buried.

Vers. 2-13. SIN OF MOSES AND AARON AT THE WATER OF STRIFE AT KADESH.—In the arid desert the congregation was in want of water, and the people quarrelled with Moses in consequence. In connection with the first stay in Kadesh there is nothing said about any deficiency of water. But as the name Kadesh embraces a large district of the desert of Zin, and is not confined to one particular spot, there might easily be a want of water in this place or retrograde movement, on the western side of the Edomitish territory of the land of Azazimeh, only to be driven back a second time, the account of the contest with the king of Arad is hard to reconcile with this combination. In that case the king of Arad must have attacked or overtaken the Israelites when they were collected together in the desert of Zin at Kadesh. But this does not tally with the words of chap. xxi. 1, "When the Canaanite heard that Israel came (was approaching) by the way of the spies;" for if Moses turned round in Kadesh to go down the Hebron road as far as Jebel Araif, in consequence of the refusal of Edom, the Israelites did not take the way of the spies at all, for their way went northwards from Kadesh to Canaan. The supposition of *Fries* (p. 54), that the words in chap. xxi. 1, "came by the way of the spies," are a permutation of those in chap. xx. 1, "came into the desert of Zin," and that the two perfectly coincide as to time, is forced; as the Israelites are described in chap. xx. 1 not only as coming into the desert of Zin in general, but as assembling together there at Kadesh.

Modern critics (*Knobel* and others) have also mutilated these chapters, and left only chap. xx. 1 (in part), 2, 6, 22-29, xxi. 10, 11, xxii. 1, as parts of the original work, whilst all the rest is described as a Jehovistic addition, partly from ancient sources and partly from the invention of the Jehovist himself. But the supposed contradiction—viz. that whilst the original work describes the Israelites as going through northern Edom, and going round the Moabitish territory in the more restricted sense, the Jehovist represents them as going round the land of Edom upon the west, south, and east (chap. xx. 21, xxi. 4), and also as going round the land of the Arnon in a still larger circle, and past other places as well (chap. xxi. 12, 16, 18)—rests upon a false interpretation of the passages in question. The other arguments adduced—viz. the fact that the Jehovist gives great prominence to the hatred of the Edomites (chap. xx. 18, 20) and interweaves poetical sentences (chap. xxi. 14, 15, 17, 18, 27, 28), the miraculous rod in Moses' hand (chap. xx. 8), and the etymology (chap. xxi. 3)—are all just arguing in a circle, since the supposition that all these things are foreign to the original work, is not a fact demonstrated, but a simple *petitio principii*.

the other. In their faithless discontent, the people wished that they had died when their brethren died before Jehovah. The allusion is not to Korah's company, as *Knobel* supposes, and the word מָוֹת, "to expire," would be altogether inapplicable to their destruction; but the reference is to those who had died one by one during the thirty-seven years. "Why," they murmured once more against Moses and Aaron, "*have ye brought the congregation of God into this desert, to perish there with their cattle? Why have ye brought it out of Egypt into this evil land, where there is no seed, no fig-trees and pomegranates, no vines, and no water to drink?*"—Ver. 6. Moses and Aaron then turned to the tabernacle, to ask for the help of the Lord; and the glory of the Lord immediately appeared (see at chap. xvii. 7 and xiv. 10).—Vers. 7, 8. The Lord relieved the want of water. Moses was to take the staff, and with Aaron to gather together the congregation, and speak to the rock before their eyes, when it would give forth water for the congregation and their cattle to drink.—Vers. 9–11. Moses then took the rod "from before Jehovah,"—i.e. the rod with which he had performed miracles in Egypt (Ex. xvii. 5), and which was laid up in the sanctuary, not Aaron's rod which blossomed (chap. xvii. 25),—and collected the congregation together before the rock, and said to them, "*Hear, ye rebels, shall we fetch you water out of this rock?*" He then smote the rock twice with his rod, whereupon much water came out, so that the congregation and their cattle had water to drink.—Ver. 12. The Lord then said to both of them, both Moses and Aaron, "*Because ye have not trusted firmly in Me, to sanctify Me before the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.*" The want of belief or firm confidence in the Lord, through which both of them had sinned, was not actual unbelief or distrust in the omnipotence and grace of God, as if God could not relieve the want of water or extend His help to the murmuring people; for the Lord had promised His help to Moses, and Moses did what the Lord had commanded him. It was simply the want of full believing confidence, a momentary wavering of that immovable assurance, which the two heads of the nation ought to have shown to the congregation, but did not show. Moses did even more than God had commanded him. Instead of speaking to the rock with the rod of God in his hand, as God directed him, he spoke to the congregation, and in these inconsiderate words, "Shall we fetch you water out of the rock?" words which, if they did not express any doubt in the

help of the Lord, were certainly fitted to strengthen the people in their unbelief, and are therefore described in Ps. cvi. 33 as prating (speaking unadvisedly) with the lips (cf. Lev. v. 4). He then struck the rock twice with the rod, "as if it depended upon human exertion, and not upon the power of God alone," or as if the promise of God "would not have been fulfilled without all the smiting on his part" (*Knobel*). In the ill-will expressed in these words the weakness of faith was manifested, by which the faithful servant of God, worn out with the numerous temptations, allowed himself to be overcome, so that he stumbled, and did not sanctify the Lord before the eyes of the people, as he ought to have done. Aaron also wavered along with Moses, inasmuch as he did nothing to prevent Moses' fall. But their sin became a grievous one, from the fact that they acted unworthily of their office. God punished them, therefore, by withdrawing their office from them before they had finished the work entrusted to them. They were not to conduct the congregation into the promised land, and therefore were not to enter in themselves (cf. chap. xxvii. 12-14; Deut. xxxii. 48 sqq.). The rock, from which water issued, is distinguished by the article הַסֵּלֶה, not as being already known, or mentioned before, but simply as a particular rock in that neighbourhood; though the situation is not described, so as to render it possible to search for it now.¹—Ver. 13. The account closes with the words, "*This is the water of strife, about which the children of Israel strove with Jehovah, and He sanctified Himself on them.*" This does not imply that the scene of

¹ *Moses Nachmanides* has given a correct interpretation of the words, "Speak to the rock before their eyes" (ver. 8): viz. "to the first rock in front of them, and standing in their sight." The fable attributed to the Rabbins, viz. that the rock of *Rephidim* followed the Israelites all about in the desert, and supplied them with water, cannot be proved from the talmudical and rabbinical passages given by *Buxtorf* (*historia Petræ in deserto*) in his *exercitatt. c. v.*, but is simply founded upon a literal interpretation of certain rabbinical statements concerning the identity of the well at *Rephidim* with that at *Kadesh*, which were evidently intended to be figurative, as *Abarbanel* expressly affirms (*Buxtorf, l. c.* pp. 422 seq.). "Their true meaning," he says, "was, that those waters which flowed out in Horeb were the gift of God granted to the Israelites, and continued all through the desert, just like the manna. For wherever they went, fountains of living waters were opened to them as the occasion required. And for this reason, the rock in *Kadesh* was the same rock as that in Horeb. Still less ground is there for supposing that the Apostle Paul alluded to any such rabbinical fable when he said, "They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them" (1 Cor. x. 4), and gave it a spiritual interpretation in the words, "and that rock was Christ."

this occurrence received the name of "strife-water," but simply that the water which God brought out of the rock for the Israelites received that name. But God sanctified Himself on them, by the fact that, on the one hand, He put their unbelief to shame by the miraculous gift of water, and on the other hand punished Moses and Aaron for the weakness of their faith.¹

Vers. 14–21. MESSAGE OF THE ISRAELITES TO THE KING OF EDM.—As Israel was about to start from Kadesh upon its march to Canaan, but wished to enter it from the east across the Jordan, and not from the south, where the steep and lofty mountain ranges presented obstacles which would have been difficult to overcome, if not quite insuperable, Moses sent messengers from Kadesh to the king of Edom, to solicit from the kindred nation a friendly and unimpeded passage through their land. He reminded the king of the relationship of Israel, of their being brought down to Egypt, of the oppression they had endured there, and their deliverance out of the land, and promised him that they would not pass through fields and vineyards, nor drink the water of their wells, but keep to the king's way, without turning to the right hand or the left, and thus would do no injury whatever to the land (vers. 14–16).² By the "angel" who led Israel out of Egypt we are naturally to understand not the pillar of cloud and fire (*Knobel*), but the angel of the Lord, the visible revealer of the invisible God, whom the messengers

¹ The assumption of neological critics, that this occurrence is identical with the similar one at Rephidim (Ex. xvii.), and that this is only another saga based upon the same event, has no firm ground whatever. The want of water in the arid desert is a fact so constantly attested by travellers, that it would be a matter of great surprise if Israel had only experienced this want, and quarrelled with its God and its leaders, once in the course of forty years. As early as Ex. xv. 22 sqq. the people murmured because of the want of drinkable water, and the bitter water was turned into sweet; and immediately after the event before us, it gave utterance to the complaint again, "We have no bread and no water" (chap. xxi. 4, 5). But if the want remained the same, the relief of that want would necessarily be repeated in the same or a similar manner. Moreover, the occurrences at Rephidim (or Massah-Meribah) and at Kadesh are altogether different from each other. In Rephidim, God gave the people water out of the rock, and the murmuring of the people was stayed. In Kadesh, God no doubt relieved the distress in the same way; but the mediators of His mercy, Moses and Aaron, sinned at the time, so that God sanctified Himself upon them by a judgment, because they had not sanctified Him before the congregation. (See *Hengstenberg*, Dissertations, vol. ii.)

² We learn from Judg. xi. 17, that Israel sent messengers from Kadesh to the king of Moab also, and with a similar commission, and that he also refused

describe indefinitely as "an angel," when addressing the Edomites. *Kadesh* is represented in ver. 16 as a city on the border of the Edomitish territory. The reference is to *Kadesh-Barnea* (chap. xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 4; Deut. i. 2, 19, ii. 14, ix. 23; Josh. x. 41, xiv. 6, 7, xv. 3). This city was no doubt situated quite in the neighbourhood of *Ain Kudes*, the well of *Kadesh*, discovered by *Rowland*. This well was called *En-Mishpat*, the fountain of judgment, in Abraham's time (Gen. xiv. 7); and the name *Kadesh* occurs first of all on the first arrival of the Israelites in that region, in the account of the events which took place there, as being the central point of the place of encampment, the "desert of Paran," or "desert of Zin" (cf. chap. xiii. 26 with ver. 21, and chap. xii. 16). And even on the second arrival of the congregation in that locality, it is not mentioned till after the desert of Zin (chap. xx. 1); whilst the full name *Kadesh-Barnea* is used by Moses for the first time in chap. xxxii. 8, when reminding the people of those mournful occurrences in *Kadesh* in chap. xiii. and xiv. The conjecture is therefore a very natural one, that the place in question received the name of *Kadesh* first of all from that tragical occurrence (chap. xiv.), or possibly from the murmuring of the congregation on account of the want of water, which led Moses and Aaron to sin, so that the Lord sanctified (שִׁקְּיָהוּ) Himself upon them by a judgment, because they had not sanctified Him before the children of Israel (vers. 12 and 13); that *Barnea* was the older or original name of the town, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the "water of strife," and that this name was afterwards united with *Kadesh*, and formed into a composite noun. If this conjecture is a correct one, the name *Kadesh* is used proleptically, not only in Gen. xiv. 7, as a more precise definition of *En-Mishpat*, but also in Gen. xvi. 14, xx. 1; and Num. xiii. 26, and xx. 1; and there is no lack of analogies for this. It is in this too that we are probably to seek for an explanation of the fact, that in the list of stations in chap. xxxiii. the name *Kadesh* does not occur in connection with the first arrival of the congregation in the desert of Zin, but only in connection with their second arrival (ver. 36), and that the place of encampment on their first arrival is called *Rithmah*, and not *Barnea*, because

to grant the request for an unimpeded passage through his land. This message is passed over in silence here, because the refusal of the Moabites had no influence upon the further progress of the Israelites. "For if they could not pass through Edom, the permission of the Moabites would not help them at all. It was only *eventualiter* that they sought this permission."—*Hengstenberg*, Diss.

the headquarters of the camp were in the Wady *Retemath*, not at the town of *Barnea*, which was farther on in the desert of Zin. The expression "*town of the end of thy territory*" is not to be understood as signifying that the town belonged to the Edomites, but simply affirms that it was situated on the border of the Edomitish territory. The supposition that Barnea was an Edomitish town is opposed by the circumstance that, in chap. xxxiv. 4, and Josh xv. 3, it is reckoned as part of the land of Canaan; that in Josh. x. 41 it is mentioned as the southernmost town, where Joshua smote the Canaanites and conquered their land; and lastly, that in Josh. xv. 23 it is probably classed among the towns allotted to the tribe of Judah, from which it seems to follow that it must have belonged to the Amorites. "The end of the territory" of the king of Edom is to be distinguished from "the territory of the land of Edom" in ver. 23. The land of Edom extended westwards only as far as the Arabah, the low-lying plain, which runs from the southern point of the Dead Sea to the head of the Elanitic Gulf. At that time, however, the Edomites had spread out beyond the Arabah, and taken possession of a portion of the desert of Paran belonging to the peninsula of Sinai, which was bounded on the north by the desert of Zin (see at chap. xxxiv. 3). By their not drinking of the water of the wells (ver. 17), we are to understand, according to ver. 19, their not making use of the wells of the Edomites either by violence or without compensation. The "king's way" is the public high road, which was probably made at the cost of the state, and kept up for the king and his armies to travel upon, and is synonymous with the "sultan-road" (*Derb es Sultan*) or "emperor road," as the open, broad, old military roads are still called in the East (cf. *Robinson*, Pal. ii. 340; *Seetzen*, i. pp. 61, 132, ii. pp. 336, etc.).

This military road led, no doubt, as *Leake* has conjectured (*Burckhardt*, Syr. pp. 21, 22), through the broad Wady *el Ghuweir*, which not only forms a direct and easy passage to the level country through the very steep mountains that fall down into the Arabah, but also a convenient road through the land of Edom (*Robinson*, ii. pp. 552, 583, 610), and is celebrated for its splendid meadows, which are traceable to its many springs (*Burckhardt*, pp. 688, 689); for the broad Wady *Murreh* runs from the northern border of the mountain-land of Azazimeh, not only as far as the mountain of Moddera (Madurah), where it is divided, but in its southern half as far as the Arabah (see p. 59). This is very likely the "great route through broad wadys," which the Bedouins

who accompanied *Rowland* assured him "was very good, and led direct to Mount Hor, but with which no European traveller was acquainted" (*Ritter's Erdk.* xiv. p. 1088). It probably opens into the Arabah at the Wady *el Weibeh*, opposite to the Wady *Ghuweir*.—Vers. 18, 19. The Edomites refused the visit of the Israelites in a most unbrotherly manner, and threatened to come out against them with the sword, without paying the least attention to the repeated assurance of the Israelitish messengers, that they would only march upon the high road, and would pay for water for themselves and their cattle. רַק אֵין דָּבָר, *lit.* "it is nothing at all; I will go through with my feet:" *i.e.* we want no great thing; we will only make use of the high road.—Ver. 20. To give emphasis to his refusal, Edom went against Israel "with much people and with a strong hand," *sc.* when they approached its borders. This statement, as well as the one in ver. 21, that Israel turned away before Edom, anticipates the historical order; for, as a matter of course, the Edomites cannot have come at once with an army on the track of the messengers, for the purpose of blocking up the road through the Wady Murreh, which runs along the border of its territory to the west of the Arabah.

Vers. 22-29. DEATH OF AARON AT MOUNT HOR.—The Israelites left Kadesh, and passed along the road just mentioned to Mount *Hor*. This mountain, which was situated, according to chap. xxxiii. 37, on the border of the land of Edom, is placed by *Josephus* (*Ant.* iv. 4, 7) in the neighbourhood of *Petra*; so also by *Eusebius* and *Jerome*: "*Or mons, in quo mortuus est Aaron, juxta civitatem Petram.*" According to modern travellers, it is Mount *Harun*, on the north-western side of Wady *Musa* (*Petra*), which is described by *Robinson* (vol. ii. p. 508) as "a cone irregularly truncated, having three ragged points or peaks, of which that upon the north-east is the highest, and has upon it the Muhammedan Wely, or tomb of Aaron," from which the mountain has received its name "*Harun*," *i.e.* *Aaron* (*vid.* *Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 715, 716; *v. Schubert, Reise*, ii. pp. 419 sqq.; *Ritter, Erdkunde*, xiv. pp. 1127 sqq.). There can be no doubt as to the general correctness of this tradition;¹ for even if the Mohammedan tradition concerning Aaron's grave is not well accredited, the situation of this mountain

¹ There is no force whatever in the arguments by which *Knobel* has endeavoured to prove that it is incorrect. The first objection, viz. that the Hebrews reached Mount Hor from Kadesh in a single march, has no foundation

is in perfect harmony with the statement in ver. 23 and chap. xxxiii. 37, viz. that the Israelites had then reached the border of the land of Edom. The place where the people encamped is called *Mosera* in Deut. x. 6, and *Moseroth* in the list of stations in chap. xxxiii. 30, and is at all events to be sought for in the Arabah, in the neighbourhood of Mount *Hor*, though it is altogether unknown to us. The camp of 600,000 men, with their wives, children, and flocks, would certainly require a space miles wide, and might therefore easily stretch from the mouths of the Wady el Weibeh and Wady Ghuweir, in the Arabah, to the neighbourhood of Mount *Harun*. The place of encampment is called after this mountain, *Hor*, both here and in chap. xxxiii. 37 sqq., because it was there that Aaron died and was buried. The Lord foretold his death to Moses, and directed him to take off Aaron's priestly robes, and put them upon Eleazar his son, as Aaron was not to enter the promised land, because they (Aaron and Moses) had opposed the command of Jehovah at the water of strife (see at ver. 12). "Gathered to his people," like the patriarchs (Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29, xlix. 33).—Vers. 27, 28. Moses executed this command, and Aaron died upon the top of the mountain, according to chap. xxxiii. 37, 38, on the first day of the fifth month, in the fortieth year after the exodus from Egypt, at the age of 123 years (which agrees with Ex. vii. 7), and was mourned by all Israel for thirty days.

in the biblical text, and cannot be inferred from the circumstance that there is no place of encampment mentioned between Kadesh and Mount *Hor*; for, on the one hand, we may clearly see, not only from chap. xxi. 10, but even from Ex. xvii. 1, as compared with Num. xxxiii. 41 sqq. and 42 sqq., that only those places of encampment are mentioned in the historical account where events occurred that were worthy of narrating; and, on the other hand, it is evident from chap. x. 33, that the Israelites sometimes continued marching for several days before they formed an encampment again. The *second* objection—viz. that if *Hor* was near *Petra*, it is impossible to see how the advance of the Hebrews from Kadesh to *Hor* could be regarded by the king of *Arad*, who lived more than thirty hours' journey to the north, as coming (chap. xxxiii. 40), not to mention "coming by the way of the spies" (chap. xxi. 1), and how this king could come into conflict with the Hebrews when posted at *Petra*—rests upon the erroneous assumption, that the attack of the king of *Arad* did not take place till after the death of Aaron, because it is not mentioned till afterwards. Lastly, the *third* objection—viz. that a march from Kadesh in a south-westerly direction to Wady *Musa*, and then northwards past *Zalmona* to *Phuon* (chap. xxxiii. 41), is much too adventurous—is overthrown by chap. xxi. 4, where the Israelites are said to have gone from Mount *Hor* by the way of the Red Sea. (See the notes on chap. xxi. 10.)

Chap. xxi. 1-3. VICTORY OF ISRAEL OVER THE CANAANITISH KING OF ARAD.—When this Canaanitish king, who dwelt in the Negeb, *i.e.* the south of Palestine (*vid.* chap. xiii. 17), heard that Israel was coming the way of the spies, he made war upon the Israelites, and took some of them prisoners. *Arad* is mentioned both here and in the parallel passage, chap. xxxiii. 40, and also by the side of *Hormah*, in Josh. xii. 14, as the seat of a Canaanitish king (*cf.* Judg. i. 16, 17). According to *Eusebius* and *Jerome* in the *Onomast.*, it was twenty Roman miles to the south of Hebron, and has been preserved in the ruins of *Tell Arad*, which *v. Schubert* (ii. pp. 457 sqq.) and *Robinson* (ii. pp. 473, 620, and 624) saw in the distance; and, according to *Roth* in *Petermann's* geographische Mittheilungen (1858, p. 269), it was situated to the south-east of Kurmul (Carmel), in an undulating plain, without trees or shrubs, with isolated hills and ranges of hills in all directions, among which was *Tell Arad*. The meaning of הָרֶךְ הָאֶתְרִים is uncertain. The LXX., *Saad.*, and others, take the word *Atharim* as the proper name of a place not mentioned again; but the *Chaldee*, *Samar.*, and *Syr.* render it with much greater probability as an appellative noun formed from תָּרַר with א prosthet., and synonymous with הָתְּרִים, the spies (chap. xiv. 6). The way of the spies was the way through the desert of Zin, which the Israelitish spies had previously taken to Canaan (chap. xiii. 21). The territory of the king of Arad extended to the southern frontier of Canaan, to the desert of Zin, through which the Israelites went from Kadesh to Mount Hôr. The Canaanites attacked them when upon their march, and made some of them prisoners.—Vers. 2, 3. The Israelites then vowed to the Lord, that if He would give this people into their hands, they would “ban” their cities; and the Lord hearkened to the request, and delivered up the Canaanites, so that they put them and their cities under the ban. (On the ban, see at Lev. xxvii. 28.) “*And they called the place Hormah,*” *i.e.* banning, ban-place. “The place” can only mean the spot where the Canaanites were defeated by the Israelites. If the town of Zephath, or the capital of Arad, had been specially intended, it would no doubt have been also mentioned, as in Judg. i. 17. As it was not the intention of Moses to press into Canaan from the south, across the steep and difficult mountains, for the purpose of effecting its conquest, the Israelites could very well content themselves for the present with the defeat inflicted upon the Canaanites, and defer the complete execution of their vow until the time when they had gained a firm footing in

Canaan. The banning of the Canaanites of Arad and its cities necessarily presupposed the immediate conquest of the whole territory, and the laying of all its cities in ashes. And so, again, the introduction of a king of *Hormah*, *i.e.* *Zephath*, among the kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. xii. 14), is no proof that Zephath was conquered and called Hormah in the time of Moses. Zephath may be called Hormah proleptically both there and in Josh. xix. 4, as being the southernmost border town of the kingdom of Arad, in consequence of the ban suspended by Moses over the territory of the king of Arad, and may not have received this name till after its conquest by the Judæans and Simeonites. At the same time, it is quite conceivable that Zephath may have been captured in the time of Joshua, along with the other towns of the south, and called Hormah at that time, but that the Israelites could not hold it then; and therefore, after the departure of the Israelitish army, the old name was restored by the Canaanites, or rather only retained, until the city was retaken and permanently held by the Israelites after Joshua's death (Judg. i. 16, 17), and received the new name once for all. The allusion to Hormah here, and in chap. xiv. 45, does not warrant the opinion in any case, that it was subsequently to the death of Moses and the conquest of Canaan under Joshua that the war with the Canaanites of Arad and their overthrow occurred.

March round the land of Edom and Moab. Conquest of Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites.—Chap. xxi. 4–35.

Vers. 4–9. MARCH OF ISRAEL THROUGH THE ARABAH. PLAGUE OF SERPENTS, AND BRAZEN SERPENT.—Ver. 4. As the Edomites refused a passage through their land when the Israelites left Mount Hor, they were obliged to take the way to the Red Sea, in order to go round the land of Edom, that is to say, to go down the Arabah to the head of the Elanitic Gulf.—Vers. 5, 6. As they went along this road the people became impatient (“the soul of the people was much discouraged,” see Ex. vi. 9), and they began once more to murmur against God and Moses, because they had neither bread nor water (cf. chap. xx. 4 sqq.), and were tired of the loose, *i.e.* poor, food of manna (מַן מְלֵךְ from מֶלֶךְ). The low-lying plain of the Arabah, which runs between steep mountain walls from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea, would be most likely to furnish the Israelites with very little food, except the manna which God gave them; for although it is not altogether destitute of vegetation, especially at the mouths of the wadys and winter torrents from

the hills, yet on the whole it is a horrible desert, with a loose sandy soil, and drifts of granite and other stones, where terrible sandstorms sometimes arise from the neighbourhood of the Red Sea (see *v. Schubert*, R. ii. pp. 396 sqq., and *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xiv. pp. 1013 sqq.); and the want of food might very frequently be accompanied by the absence of drinkable water. The people rebelled in consequence, and were punished by the Lord with fiery serpents, the bite of which caused many to die. נִחְשֵׁים אֲרָפִים, *lit.* burning snakes, so called from their burning, *i.e.* inflammatory bite, which filled with heat and poison, just as many of the snakes were called by the Greeks, *e.g.* the δειράς, πρηστῆρες, and καύσωνες (*Dioscor.* vii. 13: *Aelian. nat. anim.* vi. 51), not from the skin of these snakes with fiery red spots, which are frequently found in the Arabah, and are very poisonous.¹—Ver. 7. This punishment brought the people to reflection. They confessed their sin to Moses, and entreated him to deliver them from the plague through his intercession with the Lord. And the Lord helped them; in such a way, however, that the reception of help was made to depend upon the faith of the people.—Vers. 8, 9. At the command of God, Moses made a *brazen serpent*, and put it upon a standard.² Whoever then of the persons bitten by the poisonous serpents looked at the brazen serpent with faith in the promise of God, lived, *i.e.* recovered from the serpent's bite. The serpent was to be made of brass or copper, because the colour of this metal, when the sun was shining upon it, was most like the appearance of the fiery serpents; and thus the symbol would be more like the thing itself.

Even in the book of Wisdom (chap. xvi. 6, 7), the brazen serpent is called “a symbol of salvation; for he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by Thee,

¹ This is the account given by *v. Schubert*, R. ii. p. 406: “In the afternoon they brought us a very mottled snake of a large size, marked with fiery red spots and wavy stripes, which belonged to the most poisonous species, as the formation of its teeth clearly showed. According to the assertion of the Bedouins, these snakes, which they greatly dreaded, were very common in that neighbourhood.”

² For the different views held by early writers concerning the brazen serpent, see *Buxtorf*, *historia serp. aen.*, in his *Exercitt.* pp. 458 sqq.; *Deyling*, *observatt. ss.* ii. obs. 15, pp. 156 sqq.; *Vitringa*, *observ. ss.* 1, pp. 403 sqq.; *Jo. Marck*, *Scripturariæ Exercitt. exerc.* 8, pp. 465 sqq.; *Iluth*, *Serpens exaltatus non contritoris sed conterendi imago*, Erl. 1758; *Gottfr. Menken* on the brazen serpent; *Sack*, *Apologetik*, 2 *Ausg.* pp. 355 sqq. *Hofmann*, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, ii. pp. 142, 143; *Kurtz*, *History of the Old Covenant*, iii. 345 sqq.; and the commentators on John iii. 14 and 15.

that art the Saviour of all." It was not merely intended, however, as *Ewald* supposes (*Gesch.* ii. p. 228), as a "sign that just as this serpent hung suspended in the air, bound and rendered harmless by the command of Jehovah, so every one who looked at this with faith in the redeeming power of Jehovah, was secured against the evil,—a figurative sign, therefore, like that of St George and the Dragon among ourselves;" for, according to this, there would be no internal causal link between the fiery serpents and the brazen image of a serpent. It was rather intended as a figurative representation of the poisonous serpents, rendered harmless by the mercy of God. For God did not cause a real serpent to be taken, but the image of a serpent, in which the fiery serpent was stiffened, as it were, into dead brass, as a sign that the deadly poison of the fiery serpents was overcome in this brazen serpent. This is not to be regarded as a symbol of the divine healing power; nor is the selection of such a symbol to be deduced and explained, as it is by *Winer*, *Kurtz*, *Knobel*, and others, from the symbolical view that was common to all the heathen religions of antiquity, that the serpent was a beneficent and health-bringing power, which led to its being exalted into a symbol of the healing power, and a representation of the gods of healing. This heathen view is not only foreign to the Old Testament, and without any foundation in the fact that, in the time of Hezekiah, the people paid a superstitious worship to the brazen serpent erected by Moses (2 Kings xviii. 4); but it is irreconcilably opposed to the biblical view of the serpent, as the representative of evil, which was founded upon Gen. iii. 15, and is only traceable to the magical art of serpent-charming, which the Old Testament abhorred as an idolatrous abomination. To this we may add, that the thought which lies at the foundation of this explanation, viz. that poison is to be cured by poison, has no support in Hos. xiii. 4, but is altogether foreign to the Scriptures. God punishes sin, it is true, by sin; but He neither cures sin by sin, nor death by death. On the contrary, to conquer sin it was necessary that the Redeemer should be without sin; and to take away its power from death, it was requisite that Christ, the Prince of life, who had life in Himself, should rise again from death and the grave (John v. 26, xi. 25; Acts iii. 15; 2 Tim. i. 10).

The brazen serpent became a symbol of salvation on the three grounds which *Luther* pointed out. In the *first* place, the serpent which Moses was to make by the command of God was to be of brass or copper, that is to say, of a reddish colour, and (although

without poison) altogether like the persons who were red and burning with heat because of the bite of the fiery serpents. In the *second* place, the brazen serpent was to be set up upon a pole for a sign. And in the *third* place, those who desired to recover from the fiery serpent's bite and live, were to look at the brazen serpent upon the pole, otherwise they could not recover or live (*Luther's Sermon on John iii. 1-15*). It was in these three points, as *Luther* has also clearly shown, that the typical character of this symbol lay, to which Christ referred in His conversation with Nicodemus (*John iii. 14*). The brazen serpent had the form of a real serpent, but was "without poison, and altogether harmless." So God sent His Son in the form of sinful flesh, and yet without sin (*Rom. viii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 22-24*).—2. In the lifting up of the serpent as a standard. This was a *δειγματίζειν ἐν παρρησίᾳ*, a *θριαμβεύειν* (a "showing openly," or "triumphing"), a triumphal exhibition of the poisonous serpents as put to death in the brazen image, just as the lifting up of Christ upon the cross was a public triumph over the evil principalities and powers below the sky (*Col. ii. 14, 15*).—3. In the cure effected through looking at the image of the serpent. Just as the Israelites had to turn their eyes to the brazen serpent in believing obedience to the word of the Lord, in order to be cured of the bite of the poisonous serpents, so must we look with faith at the Son of man lifted up upon the cross, if we would be delivered from the bite of the old serpent, from sin, death, the devil, and hell. "Christ is the antitype of the serpent, inasmuch as He took upon Himself the most pernicious of all pernicious potencies, viz. sin, and made a vicarious atonement for it" (*Hengstenberg on John iii. 14*). The brazen image of the serpent was taken by the Israelites to Canaan, and preserved till the time of Hezekiah, who had it broken in pieces, because the idolatrous people had presented incense-offerings to this holy relic (*2 Kings xviii. 4*).

Vers. 10-20. MARCH OF ISRAEL ROUND EDMO AND MOAB, TO THE HEIGHTS OF PISGAH IN THE FIELD OF MOAB (cf. chap. xxxiii. 41-47).—Ver. 10. From the camp in the Arabah, which is not more particularly described, where the murmuring people were punished by fiery serpents, Israel removed to *Oboth*. According to the list of stations in chap. xxxiii. 41 sqq., they went from *Hor* to *Zalmonah*, the situation of which has not been determined; for *C. v. Raumer's* conjecture (*der Zug der Israeliten*, p. 45), that it was the

same place as the modern *Maan*, has no firm basis in the fact that *Maan* is a station of the Syrian pilgrim caravans. From *Zalmonah* they went to *Phunon*, and only then to *Oboth*. The name *Phunon* is no doubt the same as *Phinon*, a tribe-seat of the Edomitish Phylarch (Gen. xxxvi. 41); and according to *Jerome* (*Onom. s. v. Fenon*), it was "a little village in the desert, where copper was dug up by condemned criminals (see at Gen. xxxvi. 41), between *Petra* and *Zoar*." This statement suits very well, provided we imagine the situation of *Phunon* to have been not in a straight line between *Petra* and *Zoar*, but more to the east, between the mountains on the edge of the desert. For the Israelites unquestionably went from the southern end of the *Arabah* to the eastern side of *Idumæa*, through the *Wady el Ithm* (*Getum*), which opens into the *Arabah* from the east, a few hours to the north of *Akaba* and the ancient *Ezion-geber*. They had then gone round the mountains of *Edom*, and begun to "turn to the north" (Deut. ii. 3), so that they now proceeded farther northwards, on the eastern side of the mountains of *Edom*, "through the territory of the sons of *Esau*," no doubt by the same road which is taken in the present day by the caravans which go from *Gaza* to *Maan*, through the *Ghor*. "This runs upon a grassy ridge, forming the western border of the coast of *Arabia*, and the eastern border of the cultivated land, which stretches from the land of *Edom* to the sources of the *Jordan*, on the eastern side of the *Ghor*" (*v. Raumer*, *Zug*, p. 45). On the western side of their mountains the *Edomites* had refused permission to the *Israelites* to pass through their land (chap. xx. 18 sqq.), as the mountains of *Seir* terminate towards the *Ghor* (the *Arabah*) in steep and lofty precipices, and there are only two or three narrow wadys which intersect them from west to east; and of these the *Wady Ghuweir* is the only one which is practicable for an army, and even this could be held so securely by a moderate army, that no enemy could force its way into the heart of the country (see *Leake* in *Burckhardt*, pp. 21, 22; and *Robinson*, ii. p. 583). It was different on the eastern side, where the mountains slope off into a wide extent of table-land, which is only slightly elevated above the desert of *Arabia*. Here, on the weaker side of their frontier, the *Edomites* lost the heart to make any attack upon the *Israelites*, who would now have been able to requite their hostilities. But the Lord had commanded *Israel* not to make war upon the sons of *Esau*; but when passing through their territory, to purchase food and water from them for money (Deut. ii. 4-6). The *Edomites* submitted to the necessity, and

endeavoured to take advantage of it, by selling provisions, "in the same way in which, at the present day, the caravan from Mecca is supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of the mountains along the pilgrim road" (*Leake in Burckhardt*, p. 24). The situation of *Oboth* cannot be determined.

Ver. 11. The next encampment was "*Ije-Abarim* in the desert, which lies before Moab towards the sun-rising," *i.e.* on the eastern border of Moabitis (chap. xxxiii. 44). As the Wady *el Ahsy*, which runs into the Dead Sea, in a deep and narrow rocky bed, from the south-east, and is called *el Kerahy* in its lower part (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 673-4), separates Idumæa from Moabitis; *Ije-Abarim* (*i.e.* ruins of the crossings over) must be sought for on the border of Moab to the north of this wady, but is hardly to be found, as *Knobel* supposes, on the range of hills called *el Tarfuye*, which is known by the name of *Orokaraye*, still farther to the south, and terminates on the south-west of *Kerek*, whilst towards the north it is continued in the range of hills called *el Ghoweithe* and the mountain range of *el Zoble*; even supposing that the term *Abarim*, "the passages or sides," is to be understood as referring to these ranges of hills and mountains which skirt the land of the Amorites and Moabites, and form the enclosing sides. For the boundary line between the hills of *el-Tarfuye* and those of *el-Ghoweithe* is so near to the Arnon, that there is not the necessary space between it and the Arnon for the encampment at the brook *Zared* (ver. 12). *Ije-Abarim* or *Jim* cannot have been far from the northern shore of the *el Ahsy*, and was probably in the neighbourhood of *Kalaat el Hassa* (*Ahsa*), the source of the *Ahsy*, and a station for the pilgrim caravans (*Burckhardt*, p. 1035). As the Moabites were also not to be attacked by the Israelites (*Deut.* ii. 9 sqq.), they passed along the eastern border of Moabitis as far as the brook *Zared* (ver. 12). This can hardly have been the Wady *el-Ahsy* (*Robinson*, ii. p. 555; *Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. p. 259; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xv. p. 689); for that must already have been crossed when they came to the border of Moab (ver. 11). Nor can it well have been "the brook *Zaide*, which runs from the south-east, passes between the mountain ranges of *Ghoweithe* and *Tarfuye*, and enters the Arnon, of which it forms the leading source,"—the view adopted by *Knobel*, on the very questionable ground that the name is a corruption of *Zared*. In all probability it was the Wady *Kerek*, in the upper part of its course, not far from *Katrane*, on the pilgrim road (*v. Raumer*, *Zug*, p. 47; *Kurtz*, and others).—Ver. 13. The next encampment was "*beyond*

(i.e. by the side of) *the Arnon, which is in the desert, and that cometh out of the territory of the Amorites.*" The *Arnon*, i.e. the present *Wady Mojob*, is formed by the union of the *Seyl* (i.e. brook or river) *Saïde*, which comes from the south-east, not far from *Katrane*, on the pilgrim road, and the *Lejum* from the north-east, which receives the small rivers *el Mekhreys* and *Balua*, the latter flowing from the pilgrim station *Kalaat Balua*, and then continues its course to the Dead Sea, through a deep and narrow valley, shut in by very steep and lofty cliffs, and covered with blocks of stone, that have been brought down from the loftier ground (*Burckhardt*, pp. 633 sqq.), so that there are only a few places where it is passable; and consequently a wandering people like the Israelites could not have crossed the *Mojob* itself to force an entrance into the territory of the hostile Amorites.¹ For the *Arnon* formed the boundary between Moab and the country of the Amorites. The spot where Israel encamped on the *Arnon* must be sought for in the upper part of its course, where it is still flowing "in the desert;" not at *Wady Zaïde*, however, although *Burckhardt* calls this the main source of the *Mojob*, but at the *Balua*, which flows into the *Lejum*. In all probability these streams, of which the *Lejum* came from the north, already bore the name of *Arnon*; as we may gather from the expression, "that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites." The place of Israel's encampment, "*beyond the Arnon in the desert*," is to be sought for, therefore, in the neighbourhood of *Kalaat Balua*, and on the south side of the *Arnon* (*Balua*). This is evident enough from Deut. ii. 24, 26 sqq., where the Israelites are represented as entering the territory of the Amoritish king *Sihon*, when they crossed the *Arnon*, having first of all sent a deputation, with a peaceable request for permission to pass through his land (cf. vers. 21 sqq.). Although this took place, according to Deut. ii. 26, "out of the wilderness of *Kedemoth*," an Amoritish town, it by no means follows that the Israelites had already crossed the *Arnon* and entered the territory of the Amorites, but only that they were standing on the border of it, and in the desert which took its name from *Kedemoth*, and ran up to this, the most easterly town, as the name seems to imply, of the country of the Amorites. After the conquest of the country, *Kedemoth* was

¹ It is utterly inconceivable that a whole people, travelling with all their possessions as well as with their flocks, should have been exposed without necessity to the dangers and enormous difficulties that would attend the crossing of so dreadfully wild and so deep a valley, and that merely for the purpose of forcing an entrance into an enemy's country.—*Ritter, Erdk.* xv. p. 1207.

allotted to the *Reubenites* (Josh. xiii. 18), and made into a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 37 ; 1 Chron. vi. 64).

The Israelites now received instructions from the Lord, to cross the river Arnon, and make war upon the Amoritish king Sihon of Heshbon, and take possession of his land, with the assurance that the Lord had given Sihon into the hand of Israel, and would fill all nations before them with fear and trembling (Deut. ii. 24, 25). This summons, with its attendant promises, not only filled the Israelites with courage and strength to enter upon the conflict with the mightiest of all the tribes of the Canaanites, but inspired poets in the midst of them to commemorate in odes the wars of Jehovah, and His victories over His foes. A few verses are given here out of one of these odes (vers. 14 sqq.), not for the purpose of verifying the geographical statement, that the Arnon touches the border of Moabitis, or that the Israelites had only arrived at the border of the Moabite and Amorite territory, but as an evidence that there, on the borders of Moab, the Israelites had been inspired through the divine promises with the firm assurance that they should be able to conquer the land of the Amorites which lay before them.—Vers. 14, 15. “*Therefore,*” *sc.* because the Lord had thus given king Sihon, with all his land, into the hand of Israel, “*it is written in the book of the wars of the Lord: Vaheb (Jehovah takes) in storm, and the brooks of Arnon and the valley of the brooks, which turns to the dwelling of Ar, and leans upon the border of Moab.*” The book of the wars of Jehovah is neither an Amoritish book of the conflicts of Baal, in which the warlike feats performed by Sihon and other Amoritish heroes with the help of Baal were celebrated in verse, as *G. Unruh* fabulously asserts in his *Zug der Isr. aus Æg. nach Canaan* (p. 130), nor a work “*dating from the time of Jehoshaphat, containing the early history of the Israelites, from the Hebrew patriarchs till past the time of Joshua, with the law interwoven,*” which is the character that *Knobel’s* critical fancy would stamp upon it, but a collection of odes of the time of Moses himself, in celebration of the glorious acts of the Lord to and for the Israelites ; and “*the quotation bears the same relation to the history itself, as the verses of Körner would bear to the writings of any historian of the wars of freedom, who had himself taken part in these wars, and introduced the verses into his own historical work*” (*Hengstenberg*).¹ The strophe selected

¹ “That such a book should arise in the last days of Moses, when the youthful generation began for the first time to regard and manifest itself, both vigorously and generally, as the army of Jehovah, is so far from being a surprising fact,

from the ode has neither subject nor verb in it, as the ode was well known to the contemporaries, and what had to be supplied could easily be gathered from the title, "Wars of Jehovah." *Vaheb* is no doubt the proper name of an Amoritish fortress; and בְּסוּפָה, "in storm," is to be explained according to Nah. i. 3, "The Lord, in the storm is His way." "Advancing in storm, He took Vaheb and the brooks of Arnon," i.e. the different wadys, valleys cut by brooks, which open into the Arnon. אֲשַׁר הַנְּחָלִים, *lit.* pouring of the brooks, from אֲשַׁר, *effusio*, the pouring, then the place where brooks pour down, the slope of mountains or hills, for which the term אֲשַׁרָה is generally used in the plural, particularly to denote the slopes of the mountains of Pisgah (Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20), and the hilly region of Palestine, which formed the transition from the mountains to the plain (Josh. x. 40 and xii. 8). שְׂבֵת, the dwelling, used poetically for the dwelling-place, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 and Obad. 3. עַר (*Ar*), the antiquated form for עִיר, a city, is the same as *Ar Moab* in ver. 28 and Isa. xv. 1, "the city of Moab, on the border of the Arnon, which is at the end of the (Moabitish) territory" (chap. xxii. 36). It was called Areopolis by the Greeks, and was near to Aroër (Deut. ii. 36 and Josh. xiii. 9), probably standing at the confluence of the Lejum and Mojob, in the "fine green pasture land, in the midst of which there is a hill with some ruins," and not far away the ruin of a small castle, with a heap of broken columns (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* p. 636). This *Ar* is not to be identified with the modern *Rabba*, in the midst of the land of the Moabites, six hours to the south of Lejum, to which the name *Areopolis* was transferred in the patristic age, probably after the destruction of *Ar*, the ancient Areopolis, by an earthquake, of which *Jerome* gives an account in connection with his own childhood (see his *Com.* on Isa. xv.), possibly the earthquake which occurred in the year A.D. 342, and by which many cities of the East were destroyed, and among others Nicomedia (cf. *Hengstenberg*, *Balaam*, pp. 525-528; *Ritter*, *Erdrkunde*, xv. pp. 1212 sqq.; and *v. Raumer*, *Palästina*, pp. 270, 271, Ed. 4).

that we can scarcely imagine a more suitable time for the commencement of such a work" (*Baumgarten*). And if this is the case, the allusion to this collection of odes cannot be adduced as an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, since Moses certainly did not write out the history of the journey from Kadesh to the Arboth Moab until after the two kings of the Amorites had been defeated, and the land to the east of the Jordan conquered, or till the Israelites had encamped in the steppes of Moab, opposite to Jericho.

Vers. 16-18. They proceeded thence to *Beer* (a well), a place of encampment which received its name from the fact that here God gave the people water, not as before by a miraculous supply from a rock, but by commanding wells to be dug. This is evident from the ode with which the congregation commemorated this divine gift of grace. “*Then Israel sang this song: Spring up, O well! Sing ye to it! Well which princes dug, which the nobles of the people hollowed out, with the sceptre, with their staves.*” עֵינָהּ, as in Ex. xv. 21 and xxxii. 18. מַחֲבֵט, ruler’s staff, cf. Gen. xlix. 10. *Beer*, probably the same as *Beer Elim* (Isa. xv. 8), on the north-east of Moab, was in the desert; for the Israelites proceeded thence “*from the desert to Mattanah*” (ver. 18), thence to Nahaliel, and thence to Bamoth. According to *Eusebius* (cf. *Reland, Pal. ill.* p. 495), *Mattanah* (Μαθθανέμ) was by the valley of the Arnon, twelve Roman miles to the east (or more properly south-east or south) of *Medabah*, and is probably to be seen in *Tedun*, a place now lying in ruins, near the source of the *Lejum* (*Burckhardt*, pp. 635, 636; *Hengstenberg, Balaam*, p. 530; *Knobel*, and others). The name of *Nahaliel* is still retained in the form *Encheileh*. This is the name given to the *Lejum*, after it has been joined by the *Balua*, until its junction with the *Saide* (*Burckhardt*, p. 635). Consequently the Israelites went from *Beer* in the desert, in a north-westerly direction to *Tedun*, then westwards to the northern bank of the *Encheileh*, and then still farther in a north-westerly and northerly direction to *Bamoth*. There can be no doubt that *Bamoth* is identical with *Bamoth Baal*, i.e. heights of Baal (chap. xxii. 4). According to Josh. xiii. 17 (cf. Isa. xv. 2), *Bamoth* was near to *Dibon* (*Dibân*), between the Wady Wale and Wady Mojeb, and also to *Beth-Baal Meon*, i.e. *Myun*, half a German mile (2½ English) to the south of Heshbon; and, according to chap. xxii. 41, you could see *Bamoth Baal* from the extremity of the Israelitish camp in the steppes of Moab. Consequently *Bamoth* cannot be the mountain to the south of Wady Wale, upon the top of which *Burckhardt* says there is a very beautiful plain (p. 632; see *Hengstenberg, Balaam*, p. 532); because the steppes of Moab cannot be seen at all from this plain, as they are covered by the *Jebel Attarus*. It is rather a height upon the long mountain *Attarus*, which runs along the southern shore of the *Zerka Macin*, and may possibly be a spot upon the summit of the *Jebel Attarus*, “the highest point in the neighbourhood,” upon which, according to *Burckhardt* (p. 630), there is “a heap of stones overshadowed by a very large

pistachio-tree." A little farther down to the south-west of this lies the fallen town *Kereijat* (called *Körriat* by *Seetzen*, ii. p. 342), *i.e.* *Kerioth*, Jer. xlviii. 24; Amos ii. 2.—Ver. 20. From *Bamoth* they proceeded "to the valley, which (is) in the field of Moab, upon the top of *Pisgah*, and looks across the face of the desert." ראש הַפְסֵנָה, head, or height of the *Pisgah*, is in apposition to the field of Moab. The "field of Moab" was a portion of the table-land which stretches from *Rabbath Ammân* to the *Arnon*, which "is perfectly treeless for an immense distance in one part (*viz.* the neighbourhood of *Eleale*), but covered over with the ruins of towns that have been destroyed," and which "extends to the desert of Arabia towards the east, and slopes off to the Jordan and the Dead Sea towards the west" (*v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 71). It is identical with "the whole plain from *Medeba* to *Dibon*" (Josh. xiii. 9), and "the whole plain by *Medeba*" (ver. 16), in which *Heshbon* and its cities were situated (ver. 17; cf. ver. 21 and Deut. iii. 10). The valley in this table-land was upon the height of *Pisgah*, *i.e.* the northern part of the mountains of *Abarim*, and looked across the surface of the desert. *Jeshimon*, the desert, is the plain of *Ghor el Belka*, *i.e.* the valley of desolation on the north-eastern border of the Dead Sea, which stretches from the *Wady Menshalla* or *Wady Ghuweir (el Guer)* to the small brook *el Szuême* (*Wady es Suveimeh* on *Van de Velde's* map) at the Dead Sea, and narrows it more and more at the northern extremity on this side. "*Ghor el Belka* consists in part of a barren, salt, and stony soil; though there are some portions which can be cultivated. To the north of the brook *el Szuême*, the great plain of the Jordan begins, which is utterly without fertility till you reach the *Nahr Heshbân*, about two hours distant, and produces nothing but bitter, salt herbs for camels" (*Seetzen*, ii. pp. 373, 374), and which was probably reckoned as part of *Jeshimon*, since *Beth-Jeshimoth* was situated within it (see at chap. xxiii. 28). The valley in which the Israelites were encamped in the field of Moab upon the top of *Pisgah*, is therefore to be sought for to the west of *Heshbon*, on the mountain range of *Abarim*, which slopes off into the *Ghor el Belka*. From this the Israelites advanced into the *Arboth Moab* (see chap. xxii. 1).

If we compare the places of encampment named in vers. 11–20 with the list of stations in chap. xxxiii. 41–49, we find, instead of the seven places mentioned here between *Ijje Abarim* and the *Arboth Moab*,—*viz.* Brook *Zared*, on the other side of the *Arnon* in the desert, *Beer*, *Mattana*, *Nahaliel*, *Bamoth*, and the valley in the field of

Moab upon the top of Pisgah,—only three places given, viz. *Dibon* of Gad, *Almon Diblathaim*, and Mount *Abarim* before *Nebo*. That the last of these is only another name for the valley in the field of Moab upon the top of Pisgah, is undoubtedly proved by the fact that, according to Deut. xxxiv. 1 (cf. chap. iii. 27), Mount *Nebo* was a peak of *Pisgah*, and that it was situated, according to Deut. xxxii. 49, upon the mountains of *Abarim*, from which it is evident at once that the *Pisgah* was a portion of the mountains of *Abarim*, and in fact the northern portion opposite to Jericho (see at chap. xxvii. 12). The two other differences in the names may be explained from the circumstance that the space occupied by the encampment of the Israelites, an army of 600,000 men, with their wives, children, and cattle, when once they reached the inhabited country with its towns and villages, where every spot had its own fixed name, must have extended over several places, so that the very same encampment might be called by one or other of the places upon which it touched. If *Dibon Gad* (chap. xxxiii. 45) was the *Dibon* built (*i.e.* rebuilt or fortified) by the Gadites after the conquest of the land (chap. xxxii. 3, 34), and allotted to the Reubenites (Josh. xiii. 9, 17), which is still traceable in the ruins of *Dibân*, an hour to the north of the Arnon (*v. Raumer, Pal.* p. 261), (and there is no reason to doubt it), then the place of encampment, *Nahaliel* (*Encheile*), was identical with *Dibon* of Gad, and was placed after this town in chap. xxxiii. 45, because the camp of the Israelites extended as far as *Dibon* along the northern bank of that river. *Almon Diblathaim* also stands in the same relation to *Bamoth*. The two places do not appear to have been far from one another; for *Almon Diblathaim* is probably identical with *Beth Diblathaim*, which is mentioned in Jer. xlviii. 22 along with *Dibon*, *Nebo*, and other Moabite towns, and is to be sought for to the north or north-west of *Dibon*. For, according to *Jerome* (*Onom. s. v. Jassa*), *Jahza* was between *Medaba* and *Deblatai*, for which *Eusebius* has written *Ἀηβοῦς* by mistake for *Διβών*; *Eusebius* having determined the relative position of *Jahza* according to a more southerly place, *Jerome* according to one farther north. The camp of the Israelites therefore may easily have extended from *Almon* or *Beth-Diblathaim* to *Bamoth*, and might very well take its name from either place.¹

¹ Neither this difference in the names of the places of encampment, nor the material diversity,—viz. that in the chapter before us there are four places more introduced than in chap. xxxiii., whereas in every other case the list in chap.

Vers. 21–35. DEFEAT OF THE AMORITE KINGS, SIHON OF HESHIBON AND OG OF BASHAN, AND CONQUEST OF THEIR KINGDOMS.—Vers. 21–23. When the Israelites reached the eastern border of the kingdom of the Amorite king *Sihon* (see at ver. 13), they sent messengers to him, as they had previously done to the king of Edom, to ask permission to pass peaceably through his territory upon the high road (cf. ver. 22 and chap. xx. 17); and Sihon refused this request, just as the king of Edom had done, and marched with all his people against the Israelites. But whereas the Lord forbade the Israelites to make war upon their kinsmen the Edomites, He now commanded them to make war upon the Amorite king, and take possession of his land (Deut. ii. 24, 25); for the Amorites belonged to the Canaanitish tribes which were ripe for the judgment of extermination (Gen. xv. 16). And if, notwithstanding this, the Israelites sent to him with words of peace (Deut. ii. 26), this was simply done to leave the decision of his fate in his own hand (see at Deut. ii. 24). Sihon came out against the Israelites into the desert as far as *Jahza*, where a battle was fought, in which he was defeated. The accounts of the *Onom.* concerning *Jahza*, which was situated, according to *Eusebius*, between *Medamon* (*Medaba*) and *Debous* (*Dibon*, see above), and according to *Jerome*, between *Medaba* and *Deblatai*, may be reconciled with the statement that it was in the desert, provided we assume that it was not in a straight line between the places named, but in a more easterly direction on the edge of the desert, near to the commencement of the *Wady Wale*, a conclusion to which the juxtaposition of *Jahza*

xxxiii. contains a larger number of stations than we read of in the historical account,—at all warrants the hypothesis, that the present chapter is founded upon a different document from chap. xxxiii. For they may be explained in a very simple manner, as *Kurtz* has most conclusively demonstrated (vol. iii. pp. 383–5), from the diversity in the character of the two chapters. Chap. xxxiii. is purely statistical. The catalogue given there “contains a complete list in regular order of all the stations properly so called, that is to say, of those places of encampment where Israel made a longer stay than at other times, and therefore not only constructed an organized camp, but also set up the tabernacle.” In the historical account, on the other hand, the places mentioned are simply those which were of historical importance. For this reason there are fewer stations introduced between Mount Hor and Ijje Abarim than in chap. xxxiii., stations where nothing of importance occurred being passed over; but, on the other hand, there are a larger number mentioned between Ijje Abarim and Arboth Moab, and some of them places where no complete camp was constructed with the tabernacle set up, probably because they were memorable as starting-points for the expeditions into the two Amorite kingdoms.

and *Mephaot* in Josh. xiii. 18, xxi. 37, and Jer. xlviii. 21, also points (see at Josh. xiii. 18).—Ver. 24. Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, *i.e.* without quarter (see Gen. xxxiv. 26), and took possession of his land “*from Arnon (Mojeb) to the Jabbok, unto the children of Ammon,*” *i.e.* to the upper Jabbok, the modern *Nahr* or *Moiet Ammán*. The *Jabbok*, now called *Zerka*, *i.e.* the blue, does not take its rise, as *Seetzen* supposed, on the pilgrim-road by the castle of *Zerka*; but its source, according to *Abulfeda* (*tab. Syr.* p. 91) and *Buckingham*, is the *Nahr Ammán*, which flowed down from the ancient capital of the Ammonites, and was called the *upper Jabbok*, and formed the western border of the Ammonites towards the kingdom of Sihon, and subsequently towards Gad (Deut. ii. 37, iii. 16; Josh. xii. 2). “*For the border of the Ammonites was strong*” (firm), *i.e.* strongly fortified; “for which reason Sihon had only been able to push his conquests to the upper Jabbok, not into the territory of the Ammonites.” This explanation of *Knobel’s* is perfectly correct; since the reason why the Israelites did not press forward into the country of the Ammonites, was not the strength of their frontier, but the word of the Lord, “Make not war upon them, for I shall give thee no possession of the land of the children of Ammon” (Deut. ii. 19). God had only promised the patriarchs, on behalf of their posterity, that He would give them the land of Canaan, which was bounded towards the east by the Jordan (chap. xxxiv. 2-12; compared with Gen. x. 19 and xv. 19-21); and the Israelites would have received no settlement at all on the eastern side of the Jordan, had not the Canaanitish branch of the Amorites extended itself to that side in the time of Moses, and conquered a large portion of the possessions of the Moabites, and also (according to Josh. xiii. 25, as compared with Judg. xi. 13) of the Ammonites, driving back the Moabites as far as the Arnon, and the Ammonites behind the *Nahr Ammán*. With the defeat of the Amorites, all the land that they had conquered passed into the possession of the Israelites, who took possession of these towns (cf. Deut. ii. 34-36). The statement in ver. 25, that Israel settled in all the towns of the Amorites, is somewhat anticipatory of the history itself, as the settlement did not occur till Moses gave the conquered land to the tribes of Reuben and Gad for a possession (chap. xxxii.). The only places mentioned here are *Heshbon* and her daughters, *i.e.* the smaller towns belonging to it (cf. Josh. xiii. 17), which are enumerated singly in chap. xxxii. 34-38, and Josh. xiii. 15-28. In explanation of the expression, “*Heshbon and her*

daughters," it is added in ver. 26, that Heshbon was the city, *i.e.* the capital of the Amorite king Sihon, who had made war upon the former king of Moab, and taken away all his land as far as the Arnon. Consequently, even down to the time of the predecessor of Balak, the king of the Moabites at that time, the land to the north of the Arnon, and probably even as far as the lower Jabbok, to which point the kingdom of Sihon extended (see Deut. iii. 12, 13; Josh. xii. 5), belonged to the Moabites. And in accordance with this, the country where the Israelites encamped opposite to Jericho, before crossing the Jordan, is reckoned as part of the land of Moab (Deut. i. 5, xxviii. 69, xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 5, 6), and called Arboth Moab (see chap. xxii. 1); whilst the women who seduced the Israelites to join in the idolatrous worship of Baal Peor are called daughters of Moab (chap. xxv. 1).

Vers. 27-30. The glorious conquest and destruction of the capital of the powerful king of the Amorites, in the might of the Lord their God, inspired certain composers of proverbs (משלים *denom.* from מִשַּׁל) to write songs in commemoration of the victory. Three strophes are given from a song of this kind, and introduced with the words "*therefore,*" *sc.* because Heshbon had fallen in this manner, "*the composers of proverbs say.*" The first strophe (vers. 27b and 28) runs thus: "*Come to Heshbon: Built and restored be the city of Sihon! For fire went out of Heshbon; flames from the city of Sihon. It devoured Ar Moab, the lords of the heights of Arnon.*" The summons to come to Heshbon and build this ruined city up again, was not addressed to the Israelites, but to the conquered Amorites, and is to be interpreted as ironical (*F. v. Meyer; Ewald, Gesch.* ii. pp. 267, 268): "*Come to Heshbon, ye victorious Amorites, and build your royal city up again, which we have laid in ruins! A fire has gone out of it, and burned up Ar Moab, and the lords of the heights of the Arnon.*" The reference is to the war-fire, which the victorious Amorites kindled from Heshbon in the land of Moab under the former king of Moab; that is to say, the war in which they subjugated Ar Moab and the possessors of the heights of Arnon. *Ar Moab* (see at ver. 15) appears to have been formerly the capital of all Moabitis, or at least of that portion of it which was situated upon the northern side of the Arnon; and the prominence given to it in Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29, is in harmony with this. The heights of Arnon are mentioned as the limits to which Sihon had carried his victorious supremacy over Moab. The "*lords*" of these heights are the Moab-

ites.—Ver. 29. *Second strophe*: “Woe to thee, Moab! Thou art lost, people of Chemosh! He has given up his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity—to Sihon, king of the Amorites.” The poet here turns to Moab, and announces its overthrow. *Chemosh* (כִּמּוֹשׁ, from כָּמַשׁ = כָּבַשׁ, *subactor, domitor*) was the leading deity of the Moabites (Jer. xlviii. 7) as well as of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 24), and related not only to *Milcom*, a god of the Ammonites, but also to the early Canaanitish deity *Baal* and *Moloch*. According to a statement of *Jerome* (on Isa. xv.), it was only another name for *Baal Peor*, probably a god of the sun, which was worshipped as the king of his nation and the god of war. He is found in this character upon the coins of *Areopolis*, standing upon a column, with a sword in his right hand and a lance and shield in the left, and with two fire-torches by his side (cf. *Ekkhel doct. numm. vet.* iii. p. 504), and was appeased by the sacrifice of children in times of great distress (2 Kings iii. 27). Further information, and to some extent a different view, are found in the article by *J. G. Müller* in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*. The subject to יְהוֹנָדָה is neither Moab nor Jehovah, but Chemosh. The thought is this: as Chemosh, the god of Moab, could not deliver his people from the Amorite king; so now that Israel has conquered the latter, Moab is utterly lost. In the triumph which Israel celebrated over Moab through conquering its conquerors, there is a forewarning expressed of the ultimate subjection of Moab under the sceptre of Israel.—Ver. 30. *Third strophe*, in which the woe evoked upon Moab is justified: “We cast them down: Heshbon is lost even to Dibon; and we laid it waste even to Nophah, with fire to Medeba.” יְהוֹנָדָה is the first pers. pl. imperf. Kal of יָרָה with the suffix ם־ for ם־ (as in Ex. xxix. 30). יָרָה, to cast arrows, to shoot down (Ex. xix. 13): figuratively to throw to the ground (Ex. xv. 4). נָשַׁם for נָשַׁם, first pers. pl. imperf. *Hiph.* of נָשַׁם, synonymous with נָצַח, Jer. iv. 7. The suffixes of both verbs refer to the Moabites as the inhabitants of the cities named. Accordingly *Heshbon* also is construed as a masculine, because it was not the town as such, but the inhabitants, that were referred to. *Heshbon*, the residence of king Sihon, stood pretty nearly in the centre between the Arnon and the Jabbok (according to the *Onom.* twenty Roman miles from the Jordan, opposite to Jericho), and still exists in extensive ruins with deep bricked wells, under the old name of *Hesbân* (cf. *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 262). On *Dibon* in the south, not more than an hour from Arnon, see p. 288. *Nophach* is probably the same as *Nobach*, Judg. viii. 11, but not the same as

Kenath, which was altered into *Nobach* (chap. xxxii. 42). According to Judg. viii. 11, it was near Jogbeha, not far from the eastern desert; and in all probability it still exists in the ruined place called *Nowakis* (*Burckhardt*, p. 619; *Buckingham*, ii. p. 46; *Robinson*, App. p. 188), to the north-west of *Ammân* (*Rabbath-Ammon*). *Nophach*, therefore, is referred to as a north-eastern town or fortress, and contrasted with *Dibon*, which was in the south. The words which follow, 'אֶשֶׁר עַד מֵ, "*which to Medeba*," yield no intelligible meaning. The Seventy give $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ M.$ (fire upon Medeba), and seem to have adopted the reading אֶשֶׁר עַד. In the Masoretic punctuation also, the ך in אֶשֶׁר is marked as suspicious by a *punct. extraord.* Apparently, therefore, אֶשֶׁר was a copyist's error of old standing for אֶשׁ, and is to be construed as governed by the verb וַיִּשֶׂם, "*with fire to Medeba*." This city was about two hours to the south-east of Heshbon, and is still to be seen in ruins bearing the name of *Medaba*, upon the top of a hill of about half-an-hour's journey in circumference (*Burckhardt*, p. 625; *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 264-5).¹

Vers. 31, 32. When Israel was sitting, *i.e.* encamped, in the land of the Amorites, Moses reconnoitred *Jaezer*, after which the Israelites took "*its daughters*," *i.e.* the smaller places dependent upon *Jaezer*, and destroyed the Amorites who dwelt in them. It is evident from chap. xxxii. 35, that *Jaezer* was not only conquered, but destroyed. This city, which was situated, according to the *Onom.* (*s. v. Jazer*), ten Roman miles to the west of *Philadelphia* (*Rabbath-Ammon*), and fifteen Roman miles to the north of Heshbon, is most probably to be sought for (as *Seetzen* supposes, i. pp. 397, 406, iv. p. 216) in the ruins of *es Szîr*, at the source of the *Nahr Szîr*, in the neighbourhood of which *Seetzen* found some pools, which are probably the remains of "*the sea of Jazer*," mentioned in Jer. xlviii. 32. There is less probability in *Burckhardt's* conjecture (p. 609), that it is to be found in the ruins of *Ain Hazir*,

¹ *Ewald* and *Bleek* (*Einleitung* in d. A. T. p. 200) are both agreed that this ode was composed on the occasion of the defeat of the Amorites by the Israelites, and particularly on the capture of the capital Heshbon, as it depicts the fall of Heshbon in the most striking way; and this city was rebuilt shortly afterwards by the Reubenites, and remained ever afterwards a city of some importance. *Knobel*, on the other hand, has completely misunderstood the meaning and substance of the verses quoted, and follows some of the earliest commentators, such as *Clericus* and others, in regarding the ode as an Amoritish production, and interpreting it as relating to the conquest and fortification of Heshbon by Sihon

near *Kherbet el Suk*, to the south-west of *es Salt*; though *v. Raumer* (Pal. p. 262) decides in its favour (see my Commentary on Josh. xiii. 25).—Vers. 33–35. The Israelites then turned towards the north, and took the road to Bashan, where king Og came against them with his people, to battle at *Edrei*. From what point it was that the Israelites entered upon the expedition against Bashan, is not stated either here or in Deut. iii. 1 sqq., where Moses recapitulates these events, and gives a more detailed account of the conquests than he does here, simply because it was of no importance in relation to the main object of the history. We have probably to picture the conquest of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og as taking place in the following manner: namely, that after Sihon had been defeated at *Jahza*, and his capital had been speedily taken in consequence of this victory, Moses sent detachments of his army from the places of encampment mentioned in vers. 16, 18–20, into the different divisions of his kingdom, for the purpose of taking possession of their towns. After the conquest of the whole of the territory of Sihon, the main army advanced to Bashan and defeated king Og in a great battle at *Edrei*, whereupon certain detachments of the army were again despatched, under courageous generals, to secure the conquest of the different parts of his kingdom (cf. chap. xxxii. 39, 41, 42). The kingdom of Og embraced the northern half of Gilead, *i.e.* the country between the *Jabbok* and the *Mandhur* (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xii. 5), the modern *Jebel Ajlun*, and “all Bashan,” or “all the region of *Argob*” (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14), the modern plain of *Jaulan* and *Hauran*, which extended eastwards to *Salcha*, north-eastwards to *Edrei* (Deut. iii. 10), and northwards to *Geshur* and *Maacha* (Josh. xii. 5). For further remarks, see Deut. iii. 10. There were two towns in Bashan of the name of *Edrei*. One of them, which is mentioned in Deut. i. 4 and Josh. xii. 4, along with *Ashtaroth*, as a second residence of king Og, is described in the *Onom.* (*s. v.* *Ashtaroth* and *Edrei*) as six Roman miles, *i.e.* fully two hours, from *Ashtaroth*, and twenty-four or twenty-five miles from *Bostra*, and called *Adrau* or *Adara*. This is the modern *Derà* or *Draà* (in *Burckhardt*, p. 385; *Seetzen*, i. pp. 363, 364), and *Draah*, *Idderat* (in *Buckingham*, *Syr.* ii. p. 146), a place which still exists, consisting of a number of miserable houses, built for the most part of basalt, and standing upon a small elevation in a treeless, hilly region, with the ruins of an old church and other smaller buildings, supposed to belong to the time when *Draa*, *Adraa* (as *urbs Arabiae*), was an episcopal see, on the east of the pilgrim-road

between *Remtha* and *Mezareib*, by the side of a small wady (see *Ritter, Erdk.* xv. pp. 838 sqq.). The other *Edrei*, which is mentioned in Deut. iii. 10 as the north-western frontier of Bashan, was farther towards the north, and is still to be seen in the ruins of *Zorah* or *Ethra* (see at Deut. iii. 10). In the present instance the southern town is intended, which was not far from the south-west frontier of Bashan, as Og certainly did not allow the Israelites to advance to the northern frontier of his kingdom before he gave them battle.—Vers. 34, 35. Just as in the case of Sihon, the Lord had also promised the Israelites a victory over Og, and had given him into their power, so that they smote him, with his sons and all his people, without leaving any remnant, and executed the ban, according to Deut. ii. 34, upon both the kings. (See the notes on Deut. iii.)

III.—OCCURRENCES IN THE STEPPES OF MOAB, WITH INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO THE CONQUEST AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND OF CANAAN.

CHAP. XXII.—XXXVI.

Chap. xxii. 1. After the defeat of the two Amorite kings, Sihon and Og, and the conquest of their kingdoms in Gilead and Bashan, the Israelites removed from the height of Pisgah, on the mountains of Abarim before Nebo (see at chap. xxi. 20), and encamped in the "*Arboth Moab* (the steppes of Moab), on the other side of the Jordan of Jericho," *i.e.* that part of the Jordan which skirted the province of Jericho. *Arboth Moab* was the name given to that portion of the Arabah, or large plain of the Jordan, the present *Ghor* (see at Deut. i. 1), which belonged to the territory of the Moabites previous to the spread of the Amorites under Sihon in the land to the east of the Jordan, and which probably reached from the Dead Sea to the mouth of the Jabbok. The site of the Israelitish camp is therefore defined with greater minuteness by the clause "beyond the Jordan of Jericho." This place of encampment, which is frequently alluded to (chap. xxvi. 3, 63, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48, 50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13; Josh. xiii. 32), extended, according to chap. xxxiii. 49, from *Beth-Jeshimoth* to *Abel-Shittim*. *Beth-Jeshimoth* (*i.e.* house of wastes), on the north-eastern desert border (*Jeshimon*, chap. xxi. 20) of the Dead Sea, a town allotted to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20), was situated, according to

the *Onom.* (s. v. *Βηθασιμούθ*, *Bethsimuth*), ten Roman miles, or four hours, to the south (S.E.) of Jericho, on the Dead Sea; according to *Josephus* (*bell. jud.* iv. 7, 6), it was to the south of *Julias* (*Livias*), i.e. *Beth-Haram*, or *Rameh*, on the northern edge of the Wady Hesban (see at chap. xxxii. 36), or in the *Ghor el Seisabân*, on the northern coast of the Dead Sea, and the southern end of the plain of the Jordan. *Abel Shittim* (אַבֶּל הַשִּׁטִּים), i.e. the acacia-meadow, or, in its briefer form, *Shittim* (chap. xxv. 1), was situated, according to *Josephus* (*Ant.* iv. 8, 1), on the same spot as the later town of *Abila*, in a locality rich in date-palms, sixty stadia from the Jordan, probably by the Wady *Eshtah* to the north of the Wady Hesban; even if *Knobel's* supposition that the name is connected with אֶשְׁתָּה = שִׁטָּה with א *prost.* should not be a tenable one. From *Shittim* or *Sittim* the Israelites advanced, under Joshua, to the Jordan, to effect the conquest of Canaan (*Josh.* iii. 1).

In the steppes of Moab the Israelites encamped upon the border of the promised land, from which they were only separated by the Jordan. But before this boundary line could be passed, there were many preparations that had to be made. In the first place, the whole congregation was to pass through a trial of great importance to all future generations, as bearing upon the relation in which it stood to the heathen world; and in the second place, it was here that Moses, who was not to enter Canaan because of his sin at the water of strife, was to bring the work of legislation to a close before his death, and not only to issue the requisite instructions concerning the conquest of the promised inheritance, and the division of it among the tribes of Israel, but to impress once more upon the hearts of the whole congregation the essential contents of the whole law, with all that the Lord had done for Israel, that they might be confirmed in their fidelity to the Lord, and preserved from the danger of apostasy. This last work of the faithful servant of God, with which he brought his mediatorial work to a close, is described in the book of Deuteronomy; whilst the laws relating to the conquest and partition of Canaan, with the experience of Israel in the steppes of Moab, fill up the latter portion of the present book.

BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.—CHAP. XXII. 2-XXIV. 25.

The rapid defeat of the two mighty kings of the Amorites filled the Moabites with such alarm at the irresistible might of Israel, that Balak their king, with the princes of Midian, sought to bring

the powers of heathen magic to bear against the nation of God; and to this end he sent messengers with presents to BALAAM, the celebrated soothsayer, in Mesopotamia, who had the reputation of being able both to bless and curse with great success, to entreat him to come, and so to weaken the Israelites with his magical curses, that he might be able to smite them, and drive them out of his land (chap. xxii. 1-7). At first Balaam declined this invitation, in consequence of divine instructions (vers. 8-14); but when a second and still more imposing embassy of Moabite princes appeared before him, God gave him permission to go with them, but on this condition, that he should do nothing but what Jehovah should tell him (vers. 15-21). When on the way, he was warned again by the miraculous opposition of the angel of the Lord, to say nothing but what God should say to him (vers. 22-35). When Balak, therefore, came to meet him, on his arrival at the border of his kingdom, to give him a grand reception, Balaam explained to him, that he could only speak the word which Jehovah would put into his mouth (vers. 36-40), and then proclaimed, in *four* different utterances, what God inspired him to declare. First of all, as he stood upon the height of Bamoth-Baal, from which he could see the end of the Israelitish camp, he declared that it was impossible for him to curse this matchless, numerous, and righteous people, because they had not been cursed by their God (chap. xxii. 41-xxiii. 10). He then went to the head of Pisgah, where he could see all Israel, and announced that Jehovah would bless this people, because He saw no unrighteousness in them, and that He would dwell among them as their King, making known His word to them, and endowing them with activity and lion-like power (chap. xxiii. 11-24). And lastly, upon the top of Peor, where he could see Israel encamped according to its tribes, he predicted, in two more utterances, the spread and powerful development of Israel in its inheritance, under the blessing of God (chap. xxiii. 25-xxiv. 9), the rise of a star out of Jacob in the far distant future, and the appearance of a ruler in Israel, who would break to pieces all its foes (chap. xxiv. 10-24); and upon this Balak sent him away (ver. 25).

From the very earliest times opinions have been divided as to the character of Balaam.¹ Some (*e.g.* *Philo*, *Ambrose*, and *Augus-*

¹ On Balaam and his prophecies see *G. Moebius Prophetæ Bileami historia*, Lips. 1676; *Lüderwald, die Geschichte Bileams deutlich u. begrifflich erklärt* (Helmst. 1787); *B. R. de Geer, Diss. de Bileamo, ejus historia et vaticiniis*; *Tholuck's vermischte Schriften* (i. pp. 406 sqq.); *Hengstenberg, History of*

tine) have regarded him as a wizard and false prophet, devoted to the worship of idols, who was destitute of any susceptibility for the true religion, and was compelled by God, against his will, to give utterance to blessings upon Israel instead of curses. Others (*e.g.* *Tertullian* and *Jerome*) have supposed him to be a genuine and true prophet, who simply fell through covetousness and ambition. But these views are both of them untenable in this exclusive form. *Witsius* (*Miscell. ss. i. lib. i. c. 16, § 33 sqq.*), *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam and his Prophecies*), and *Kurtz* (*History of the Old Covenant*), have all of them clearly demonstrated this. The name בִּלְעָם (LXX. *Βαλαάμ*) is not to be derived, as *Gesenius* suggests, from בָּל and עַם, *non populus*, not a people, but either from בָּלַע and עַם (dropping one *y*), devourer of the people (*Simonis* and *Hengstenberg*), or more probably from בָּלַע, with the terminal syllable ם־תְּ, devourer, destroyer (*Fürst, Dietrich*), which would lead to the conclusion, that “he bore the name as a dreaded wizard and conjurer; whether he received it at his birth, as a member of a family in which this occupation was hereditary, and then afterwards actually became in public opinion what the giving of the name expressed as an expectation and desire; or whether the name was given to him at a later period, according to Oriental custom, when the fact indicated by the name had actually made its appearance” (*Hengstenberg*). In its true meaning, the name is related to that of his father, *Beor*.¹ בְּעוֹר, from בָּעַר, to burn, eat off, destroy: so called on account of the destructive power attributed to his curses (*Hengstenberg*). It is very probable, therefore, that *Balaam* belonged to a family in which the mantic character, or magical art, was hereditary. These names at once warrant the conjecture that *Balaam* was a heathen conjurer or soothsayer. Moreover, he is never called נְבִיא, a prophet, or חֹזֶה, a seer, but הַקָּדֵם, the soothsayer (*Josh. xiii. 22*), a title which

Balaam, etc. (Berlin, 1842, and English translation by Ryland: Clark, 1847); *Kurtz*, *History of the Old Covenant* (English translation: Clark, 1859); and *Gust. Baur*, *Gesch. der alttestl. Weissagung*, Giessen, 1861, where the literature is given more fully still.

¹ The form *Bosor*, which we find instead of *Beor* in 2 Pet. ii. 15, appears to have arisen from a peculiar mode of pronouncing the guttural *y* (see *Loescher de causis ling. ebr.* p. 246); whereas *Viringa* maintains (in his *obs.* ss. l. iv. c. 9), that Peter himself invented this form, “that by this sound of the word he might play upon the Hebrew בֶּשֶׂר, which signifies flesh, and thus delicately hint that *Balaam*, the false prophet, deserved to be called the son of *Bosor*, *i.e.* בֶּשֶׂר, or flesh, on account of his persuading to the indulgence of carnal lusts.”

is never used in connection with the true prophets. For סוֹפֵר, sooth-saying, is forbidden to the Israelites in Deut. xviii. 10 sqq., as an abomination in the sight of Jehovah, and is spoken of everywhere not only as a grievous sin (1 Sam. xv. 23; Ezek. xiii. 23; 2 Kings xvii. 17), but as the mark of a false prophet (Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28, Jer. xiv. 14, and even in Isa. iii. 2, where סוֹפֵר forms the antithesis to נָבִיא). Again, Balaam resorts to auguries, just like a heathen soothsayer (chap. xxiv. 1, compared with chap. xxiii. 3, 5), for the purpose of obtaining revelations; from which we may see that he was accustomed to adopt this as his ordinary mode of soothsaying.¹ On the other hand, Balaam was not without a certain measure of the true knowledge of God, and not without susceptibility for such revelations of the true God as he actually received; so that, without being really a prophet, he was able to give utterance to true prophecies from Jehovah. He not only knew Jehovah, but he confessed Jehovah, even in the presence of Balak, as well as of the Moabitish messengers. He asked His will, and followed it (chap. xxii. 8, 13, 18, 19, 38, xxiii. 12), and would not go with the messengers of Balak, therefore, till God had given him permission (chap. xxii. 20). If he had been altogether destitute of the fear of God, he would have complied at once with Balak's request. And again, although at the outset it is only *Elohim* who makes known His will (chap. xxii. 9, 20), and even when he first of all goes out in search of oracles, it is *Elohim* who comes to him (chap. xxiii. 4); yet not only does the angel of *Jehovah* meet him by the way (chap. xxii. 22 sqq.), but *Jehovah* also puts words into his mouth, which he announces to the king of the Moabites (chap. xxiii. 5, 12, 16), so that all his prophecies are actually uttered from a mind moved and governed by the Spirit of God, and that not from any physical constraint exerted upon him by God, but in such a manner that he enters into them with all his heart and soul, and heartily desires to die the death of these righteous, *i.e.* of the people of Israel (chap. xxiii. 10); and when he finds that it pleases Jehovah to bless Israel, he leaves off resorting any longer to auguries (chap. xxiv. 1), and eventually declares to the enraged monarch, that he cannot trans-

¹ "The fact that he made use of so extremely uncertain a method as augury, the insufficiency of which was admitted even by the heathen themselves (*vid. Nügelbach, homer. Theol.* pp. 154 sqq.), and which no true prophet among the Israelites ever employed, is to be attributed to the weakness of the influence exerted upon him by the Spirit of God. When the Spirit worked with power, there was no need to look round at nature for the purpose of ascertaining the will of God" (*Hengstenberg*).

gress the command of Jehovah, even if the king should give him his house full of silver and gold (chap. xxiv. 13).¹

This double-sidedness and ambiguity of the religious and prophetic character of Balaam may be explained on the supposition that, being endowed with a predisposition to divination and prophecy, he practised soothsaying and divination as a trade; and for the purpose of bringing this art to the greatest possible perfection, brought not only the traditions of the different nations, but all the phenomena of his own times, within the range of his observations. In this way he may have derived the first elements of the true knowledge of God from different echoes of the tradition of the primeval age, which was then not quite extinct, and may possibly have heard in his own native land some notes of the patriarchal revelations out of the home of the tribe-fathers of Israel. But these traditions are not sufficient of themselves to explain his attitude towards Jehovah, and his utterances concerning Israel. Balaam's peculiar knowledge of Jehovah, the God of Israel, and of all that He had done to His people, and his intimate acquaintance with the promises made to the patriarchs, which strike us in his prophecies (comp. chap. xxiii. 10 with Gen. xiii. 16, xxiii. 24; chap. xxiv. 9 with Gen. xlix. 9; and chap. xxiv. 17 with Gen. xlix. 10), can only be explained from the fact that the report of the great things which God had done to and for Israel in Egypt and at the Dead Sea, had not only spread among all the neighbouring tribes, as was foretold in Ex. xv. 14, and is attested by Jethro, Ex. xviii. 1 sqq., and Rahab the Canaanite, Josh. ii. 9 sqq., but had even penetrated into Mesopotamia, as the countries of the Euphrates had maintained a steady commercial intercourse from the very earliest times with Hither Asia and the land of Egypt. Through these tidings Balaam

¹ The significant interchange in the use of the names of God, which is seen in the fact, that from the very outset Balaam always speaks of Jehovah (chap. xxii. 8, 13, 18, 19),—whereas, according to the historian, it is only *Elohim* who reveals Himself to him (chap. xxii. 9, 10, 12),—has been pointed out by *Hengstenberg* in his *Dissertations*; and even *Baur*, in his *Geschichte der alttestl. Weissagung* (i. p. 334), describes it as a “fine distinction;” but neither of them satisfactorily explains this diversity. For the assumption that Balaam is thereby tacitly accused of hypocrisy (*Hengstenberg*), or that the intention of the writer is to intimate that “the heathen seer did not stand at first in any connection whatever with the true God of Israel” (*Baur*), sets up a chasm between *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, with which the fact that, according to chap. xxii. 22, the wrath of *Elohim* on account of Balaam's journey was manifested in the appearance of the angel of *Jehovah*, is irreconcilable. The manifestation of God in the form of

was no doubt induced not only to procure more exact information concerning the events themselves, that he might make a profitable use of it in connection with his own occupation, but also to dedicate himself to the service of Jehovah, "in the hope of being able to participate in the new powers conferred upon the human race; so that henceforth he called Jehovah his God, and appeared as a prophet in His name" (*Hengstenberg*). In this respect Balaam resembles the Jewish exorcists, who cast out demons in the name of Jesus without following Christ (Mark ix. 38, 39; Luke ix. 49), but more especially Simon Magus, his "New Testament antitype," who was also so powerfully attracted by the new divine powers of Christianity that he became a believer, and submitted to baptism, because he saw the signs and great miracles that were done (Acts viii. 13). And from the very time when Balaam sought Jehovah, the fame of his prophetic art appears to have spread. It was no doubt the report that he stood in close connection with the God of Israel, which induced Balak, according to chap. xxii. 6, to hire him to oppose the Israelites; as the heathen king shared the belief, which was common to all the heathen, that Balaam was able to work upon the God he served, and to determine and regulate His will. God had probably given to the soothsayer a few isolated but memorable glimpses of the unseen, to prepare him for the service of His kingdom. But "Balaam's heart was not right with God," and "he loved the wages of unrighteousness" (Acts viii. 21; 2 Pet. ii. 15). His thirst for honour and wealth was not so overcome by the revelations of the true God, that he could bring himself to give up his soothsaying, and serve the living God with an undivided heart. Thus it came to pass, that through the appeal addressed to him by Balak, he was brought into a situation in which, although he did not venture to attempt anything in opposition to the will of Jehovah,

the angel of *Jehovah*, was only a higher stage of the previous manifestations of *Elohim*. And all that follows from this is, that Balaam's original attitude towards Jehovah was a very imperfect one, and not yet in harmony with the true nature of the God of Israel. In his *Jehovah* Balaam worshipped only *Elohim*, i.e. only a divine being, but not the God of Israel, who was first of all revealed to him according to His true essence, in the appearance of the angel of Jehovah, and still more clearly in the words which He put into his mouth. This is indicated by the use of *Elohim*, in chap. xxii. 9, 10, 12. In the other passages, where this name of God still occurs, it is required by the thought, viz. in chap. xxii. 22, to express the essential identity of *Elohim* and the *Mal'ach Jehovah*; and in chap. xxii. 38, xxiii. 27, and xxiv. 2, to show that Balaam did not speak out of his *own* mind, but from the inspiration of the Spirit of God.

his heart was never thoroughly changed ; so that, whilst he refused the honours and rewards that were promised him by Balak, and pronounced blessings upon Israel in the strength of the Spirit of God that came upon him, he was overcome immediately afterwards by the might of the sin of his own unbroken heart, fell back into the old heathen spirit, and advised the Midianites to entice the Israelites to join in the licentious worship of Baal Peor (chap. xxxi. 16), and was eventually put to death by the Israelites when they conquered these their foes (chap. xxxi. 8).¹

Chap. xxii. 2-21. BALAAM HIRED BY BALAK TO CURSE ISRAEL.—Vers. 2-4. As the Israelites passed by the eastern border of the land of Moab, the Moabites did not venture to make any attack upon them ; on the contrary, they supplied them with bread and water for money (Deut. ii. 29). At that time they no doubt cherished the hope that Sihon, their own terrible conqueror, would be able with perfect ease either to annihilate this new foe, or to drive them back into the desert from which they had come. But when they saw this hope frustrated, and the Israelites had overthrown the two kings of the Amorites with victorious power, and had conquered their kingdoms, and pressed forward through what was formerly Moabitish territory, even to the banks of the Jordan, the close proximity of so powerful a people filled Balak, their king, with terror and dismay, so that he began to think of the best means of destroying them. There was no ground for such alarm, as the Israelites, in consequence of divine instructions (Deut. ii. 9), had offered no hostilities to the Moabites, but had conscientiously spared their territory and property ; and even after the defeat of the

¹ When modern critics, such as *Knobel*, *Baur*, etc., affirm that the tradition in chap. xxxi. 8, 16, Josh. xiii. 22—viz. that Balaam was a *kosem*, or soothsayer, who advised the Midianites to seduce the Israelites to join in the worship of Baal—is irreconcilable with the account in chap. xxii.-xxiv. concerning Balaam himself, his attitude towards Jehovah, and his prophecies with regard to Israel, they simply display their own incapacity to comprehend, or form any psychological appreciation of, a religious character such as Balaam ; but they by no means prove that the account in chap. xxii.-xxiv. is interpolated by the Jehovist into the Elohist original. And all that they adduce as a still further confirmation of this hypothesis (namely, that the weaving of prophetic announcements into the historical narrative, the interchange of the names of God, Jehovah, and Elohim, the appearance of the angel of the Lord, the talking of the ass, etc., are foreign to the Elohist original), are simply assertions and assumptions, which do not become any more conclusive from the fact that they are invariably adduced when no better arguments can be hunted up.

Amorites, had not turned their arms against them, but had advanced to the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan. But the supernatural might of the people of God was a source of such discomfort to the king of the Moabites, that a horror of the Israelites came upon him. Feeling too weak to attack them with force of arms, he took counsel with the elders of Midian. With these words, "*This crowd will now lick up all our environs, as the ox licketh up the green of the field,*" i.e. entirely consume all our possessions, he called their attention to the danger which the proximity of Israel would bring upon him and his territory, to induce them to unite with him in some common measures against this dangerous foe. This intention is implied in his words, and clearly follows from the sequel of the history. According to ver. 7, the elders of Midian went to Balaam with the elders of Moab; and there is no doubt that the Midianitish elders advised Balak to send for Balaam, with whom they had become acquainted upon their trading journeys (cf. Gen. xxxvii.), to come and curse the Israelites. Another circumstance also points to an intimate connection between Balaam and the Midianites, namely, the fact that, after he had been obliged to bless the Israelites in spite of the inclination of his own natural heart, he went to the Midianites and advised them to make the Israelites harmless, by seducing them to idolatry (chap. xxxi. 16). The Midianites, who are referred to here, must be distinguished from the branch of the same tribe which dwelt in the peninsula of Sinai (chap. x. 29, 30; Ex. ii. 15, 16, iii. 1). They had been settled for a long time (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 35) on the eastern border of the Moabitish and Amoritish territory, in a grassy but treeless steppe-land, where many ruins and wells are still to be found belonging to very ancient times (*Buckingham, Syr.* ii. pp. 79 sqq., 95 sqq.), and lived by grazing (chap. xxxi. 32 sqq.) and the caravan trade. They were not very warlike, and were not only defeated by the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 35), but were also subdued and rendered tributary by Sihon, king of the Amorites (see at chap. xxxi. 8). In the time of the Judges, indeed, they once invaded the land of Israel in company with the Amalekites and the sons of the East, but they were beaten by Gideon, and entirely repulsed (Judg. vi. and vii.), and from that time forth they disappear entirely from history. The "*elders of Midian*" are heads of tribes, who administered the general affairs of the people, who, like the Israelites, lived under a patriarchal constitution. The most powerful of them bore the title of "*kings*" (chap. xxxi. 8) or "*princes*" (Josh. xiii. 21). The clause, "and

Balak, the son of Zippor, was king of the Moabites at that time," is added as a supplementary note to explain the relation of Balak to the Moabites.

Vers. 5 and 6. Balak sent messengers to Balaam to *Pethor* in Mesopotamia. The town of *Pethor*, or *Pethora* (*Φαθοῦρα*, LXX.), is unknown. There is something very uncertain in *Knobel's* supposition, that it is connected with *Φαθοῦσαι*, a place to the south of *Circessium* (*Zozim.* iii. 14), and with the *Béthavva* mentioned by *Ptolemy*, v. 18, 6, and that these are the same as *Anah*, *'Avaθῶ*, *Anatha* (*Anmian. Marcell.* xxiv. 1, 6). And the conjecture that the name is derived from פֶּתַר, to interpret dreams (*Gen.* xli. 8), and marks the place as a seat of the possessors of secret arts, is also more than doubtful, since פֶּשֶׁר corresponds to פֶּתַר in Aramæan; although there can be no doubt that *Pethor* may have been a noted seat of Babylonian magi, since these wise men were accustomed to congregate in particular localities (cf. *Strabo*, xvi. 1, § 6, and *Münter Reliq. der Babyl.* p. 86). Balak desired Balaam to come and curse the people of Israel, who had come out of Egypt, and were so numerous that they covered the eye of the earth (see *Ex.* x. 5), i.e. the whole face of the land, and sat down (were encamped) opposite to him; that he might then perhaps be able to smite them and drive them out of the land. On אָרַר for אָר, the imperative of אָרַר, see *Ewald*, § 228, b.—“For I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.” Balak believed, in common with the whole of the ancient world, in the real power and operation of the curses, anathemas, and incantations pronounced by priests, soothsayers, and *goetæ*. And there was a truth at the foundation of this belief, however it may have been perverted by heathenism into phantasy and superstition. When God endows a man with supernatural powers of His word and Spirit, he also confers upon him the power of working upon others in a supernatural way. Man, in fact, by virtue of the real connection between his spirit and the higher spiritual world, is able to appropriate to himself supernatural powers, and make them subservient to the purposes of sin and wickedness, so as to practise magic and witchcraft with them, arts which we cannot pronounce either mere delusion or pure superstition, since the scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments speak of witchcraft, and condemn it as a real power of evil and of the kingdom of darkness (see vol. i. p. 476). Even in the narrative itself, the power of Balaam to bless and to curse is admitted; and, in addition to this, it is frequently celebrated as a great favour dis-

played towards Israel, that the Lord did not hearken to Balaam, but turned the curse into a blessing (Deut. xxiii. 5; Josh. xxiv. 10; Micah vi. 3; Neh. xiii. 2). This power of Balaam is not therefore traced, it is true, to the might of heathen deities, but to the might of Jehovah, whose name Balaam confessed; but yet the possibility is assumed of his curse doing actual, and not merely imaginary, harm to the Israelites. Moreover, the course of the history shows that in his heart Balaam was very much inclined to fulfil the desire of the king of the Moabites, and that this subjective inclination of his was overpowered by the objective might of the Spirit of Jehovah.

Vers. 7-14. When the elders of Moab and Midian came to him with wages of divination in their hand, he did not send them away, but told them to spend the night at his house, that he might bring them word what Jehovah would say to him. קִסְמִים, from קָסַם, soothsaying, signifies here that which has been wrought or won by soothsaying—the soothsayer's wages; just as בִּשְׂרָה, which signifies literally glad tidings, is used in 2 Sam. iv. 10 for the wages of glad tidings; and פַּעֲלָה, פָּעַל, which signifies work, is frequently used for that which is wrought, the thing acquired, or the wages. If Balaam had been a true prophet and a faithful servant of Jehovah, he would at once have sent the messengers away and refused their request, as he must then have known that God would not curse His chosen people. But Balaam loved the wages of unrighteousness. This corruptness of his heart obscured his mind, so that he turned to God not as a mere form, but with the intention and in the hope of obtaining the consent of God to his undertaking. And God came to him in the night, and made known His will. Whether it was through the medium of a dream or of a vision, is not recorded, as this was of no moment in relation to the subject in hand. The question of God in ver. 9, “*Who are these men with thee?*” not only served to introduce the conversation (*Knobel*), but was intended to awaken “the slumbering conscience of Balaam, to lead him to reflect upon the proposal which the men had made, and to break the force of his sinful inclination” (*Hengstenberg*).—Ver. 12. God then expressly forbade him to go with the messengers to curse the Israelites, as the people was blessed; and Balaam was compelled to send back the messengers without attaining their object, because Jehovah had refused him permission to go with them. קָבַח־לִי, ver. 11, imper. of קָבַח = קָבַח (see at Lev. xxiv. 11).

Vers. 15-21. The answer with which Balaam had sent the Moabitish messengers away, encouraged Balak to cherish the hope of gaining over the celebrated soothsayer to his purpose notwithstanding, and to send an embassy "of princes more numerous and more honourable than those," and to make the attempt to overcome his former resistance by more splendid promises; whether he regarded it, as is very probable, "as the remains of a weakly fear of God, or simply as a *ruse* adopted for the purpose of obtaining better conditions" (*Hengstenberg*). As a genuine heathen, who saw nothing more in the God of Israel than a national god of that people, he thought that it would be possible to render not only men, but gods also, favourable to his purpose, by means of splendid honours and rich rewards.¹—Vers. 18, 19. But Balaam replied to the proposals of these ambassadors: "*If Balak gave me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot transgress the mouth (command) of Jehovah, my God, to do little or great,*" i.e. to attempt anything in opposition to the will of the Lord (cf. 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 15, xxv. 36). The inability flowed from moral awe of God and dread of His punishment. "From beginning to end this fact was firmly established in Balaam's mind, viz. that in the work to which Balak summoned him he could do nothing at all except through Jehovah. This knowledge he had acquired by virtue of his natural gifts as seer, and his previous experience. But this clear knowledge of Jehovah was completely obscured again by the love for the wages which ruled in his heart. Because he loved Balak, the enemy of Israel, for the sake of the wages, whereas Jehovah loved Israel for His own name's sake; Balaam was opposed to Jehovah in his inmost nature and will, though he knew himself to be in unison with Him by virtue of his natural gift. Consequently he fell into the same blindness of contradiction to which Balak was in bondage" (*Baumgarten*). And in this blindness he hoped to be able to turn Jehovah round to oppose Israel, and favour the wishes of his own and Balak's heart. He therefore told the messengers to wait again, that he might ask Jehovah a second time (ver. 19). And this

¹ Compare the following remarks of *Pliny* (*h. n.* xxviii. 4) concerning this belief among the Romans: "*Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat, in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari Deum, cujus in tutela id oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum. Et durat in Pontificum disciplina id sacrum, constatque ideo occultatum, in cujus Dei tutela Roma esset, ne qui hostium simili modo agerent;*"—and the further explanations of this heathen notion in *Hengstenberg's* Balaam and his Prophecies.

time (ver. 20) God allowed him to go with them, but only on the condition that he should do nothing but what He said to him. The apparent contradiction in His first of all prohibiting Balaam from going (ver. 12), then permitting it (ver. 20), and then again, when Balaam set out in consequence of this permission, burning with anger against him (ver. 22), does not indicate any variableness in the counsels of God, but vanishes at once when we take into account the pedagogical purpose of the divine consent. When the first messengers came and Balaam asked God whether he might go with them and curse Israel, God forbade him to go and curse. But since Balaam obeyed this command with inward repugnance, when he asked a second time on the arrival of the second embassy, God permitted him to go, but on the condition already mentioned, namely, that he was forbidden to curse. God did this not merely because it was His own intention to put blessings instead of curses into the prophet's mouth,—and “the blessings of the celebrated prophet might serve as means of encouraging Israel and discouraging their foes, even though He did not actually stand in need of them” (*Knobel*),—but primarily and principally for the sake of Balaam himself, viz. to manifest to this soothsayer, who had so little susceptibility for higher influences, both His own omnipotence and true deity, and also the divine election of Israel, in a manner so powerful as to compel him to decide either for or against the God of Israel and his salvation. To this end God permitted him to go to Balak, though not without once more warning him most powerfully by the way of the danger to which his avarice and ambition would expose him. This immediate intention in the guidance of Balaam, by which God would have rescued him if possible from the way of destruction, into which he had been led by the sin which ruled in his heart, does not at all preclude the much further-reaching design of God, which was manifested in Balaam's blessings, namely, to glorify His own name among the heathen and in Israel, through the medium of this far-famed soothsayer.

Vers. 22-35. BALAAM'S SPEAKING ASS.—Ver. 22. “*And the anger of God burned, that he was going* (הוֹלֵךְ הוּא): *and the angel of Jehovah placed himself in the way, as an adversary to him.*” From the use of the participle הוֹלֵךְ instead of the imperfect, with which it is not interchangeable, it is evident, on the one hand, that the anger of God was not excited by the fact that Balaam went with the elders of Moab, but by his behaviour either on setting out or

upon the journey;¹ and, on the other hand, that the occurrence which followed did not take place at the commencement, but rather towards the close of, the journey. As it was a longing for wages and honour that had induced the soothsayer to undertake the journey, the nearer he came to his destination, under the guidance of the distinguished Moabitish ambassadors, the more was his mind occupied with the honours and riches in prospect; and so completely did they take possession of his heart, that he was in danger of casting to the winds the condition which had been imposed upon him by God. The wrath of God was kindled against this dangerous enemy of his soul; and as he was riding upon his ass with two attendants, the angel of the Lord stood in his way לִפְנֵי, "as an adversary to him," i.e. to restrain him from advancing farther on a road that would inevitably lead him headlong into destruction (cf. ver. 32). This visible manifestation of God (on the angel of the Lord, see vol. i. pp. 185 sqq.) was seen by the ass; but Balaam the seer was so blinded, that it was entirely hidden from his eye, darkened as it was by sinful lust; and this happened three times before Jehovah brought him to his senses by the speaking of the dumb animal, and thus opened his eyes.² The "drawn sword" in the angel's hand was a manifestation of the wrath of God. The

¹ From a failure to observe the use of the participle in distinction from the preterite, and from a misinterpretation of the words of the angel of the Lord (ver. 32), "I have come out as an adversary, for the way leads headlong to destruction," which have been understood as implying that the angel meant to prohibit the seer from going, whereas he only intended to warn him of the destruction towards which he was going, the critics have invented a contradiction between the account of the speaking ass (vers. 22-35) and the preceding part of the history. And in consequence of this, *A. G. Hoffmann* and others have pronounced the section from ver. 22 to ver. 35 to be a later interpolation; whilst *Baur*, on the other hand (in his *Geschichte d. alttestl. Weissagung*), regards the account of the ass as the original form of the narrative, and the preceding portion as a composition of the Jehovist. But there is no "contradiction" or "evident incongruity," unless we suppose that the only reason for the appearance of the angel of the Lord was, that he might once more forbid the seer to go, and then give him permission, with a certain limitation. The other differences, which *E. v. Ortenberg* adduces, are involved in the very nature of the case. The manifestation of God, in the form of the Angel of Jehovah, was necessarily different in its character from a direct spiritual revelation of the divine will. And lastly, the difference in the expressions used to signify "three times," in chap. xxii. 28, 32, 33, and chap. xxiv. 10, etc., prove nothing more than that king Balak did not mould his style of speaking according to that of the ass.

² "To the great disgrace of the prophet, the glory of the angel was first of all apparent to the ass. . . . He had been boasting before this of extraordinary

ass turned from the road into the field before the threatening sight, and was smitten by Balaam in consequence to turn her or guide her back into the road.—Vers. 24, 25. The angel then stationed himself in a pass of the vineyards where walls (גֵּר, vineyard walls, Isa. v. 5) were on both sides, so that the animal, terrified by the angel, pressed against the wall, and squeezed Balaam's foot against the wall, for which Balaam smote her again.—Vers. 26, 27. The angel moved still farther, and stationed himself in front of him, in so narrow a pass, that there was no room to move either to the right or to the left. As the ass could neither turn aside nor go past this time, she threw herself down. Balaam was still more enraged at this, and smote her with the stick (בִּמְקֵל, which he carried; see Gen. xxxviii. 18).—Vers. 28 sqq. "*Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass, and she said to Balaam, What have I done to thee, that thou hast smitten me now three times?*" But Balaam, enraged at the refractoriness of his ass, replied, "*Because thou hast played me ill (רָחַעְתָּלִי, see Ex. x. 2): if there were only a sword in my hand, verily I should now have killed thee.*" But the ass replied, that she had been ridden by him from a long time back, and had never been accustomed to act in this way towards him. These words of the irrational beast, the truth of which Balaam was obliged to admit, made an impression upon him, and awakened him out of his blindness, so that God could now open his eyes, and he saw the angel of the Lord.

In this miraculous occurrence, which scoffers at the Bible constantly bring forward as a weapon of attack upon the truth of the word of God, the circumstance that the ass perceived the appearance of the angel of the Lord sooner than Balaam did, does not present the slightest difficulty; for it is a well-known fact, that irrational animals have a much keener instinctive presentiment of many natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, storms, etc., than man has with the five senses of his mind. And the fact is equally undeniable, that many animals, *e.g.* horses and cows, see the so-called second sight, and are terrified in consequence.¹ The rock of offence in this narrative is to be found in the rational words of an

visions, and now what was visible to the eyes of a beast was invisible to him. Whence came this blindness, but from the avarice by which he had been so stupefied, that he preferred filthy lucre to the holy calling of God?" (*Calvin.*)

¹ In support of this we will simply cite the following from the remarks made by *Martin* upon this subject, and quoted by *Hengstenberg* in his *Balaam* (p. 385), from *Passavant's* work on animal magnetism and clairvoyance: "That horses see it (the second sight), is also evident from their violent and rapid snorting,

irrational and speechless ass. It is true, that in the actual meaning of the words there is nothing beyond the sensations and feelings to which animals constantly give utterance in gestures and inarticulate sounds, when subjected to cruel treatment. But in this instance the feelings were expressed in the rational words of human language, which an animal does not possess; and hence the question arises, Are we to understand this miracle as being a purely internal fact of an ecstatic nature, or a fact that actually came under the cognizance of the senses? If we examine the arguments which *Hengstenberg* has adduced in favour of the former, and *Kurtz* in support of the latter, there is nothing at all in the circumstance, that the narrative itself says nothing about Balaam being in an ecstasy, nor in the statement that "Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass," nor lastly, in the words of 2 Pet. ii. 16, "The dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet," to furnish conclusive, not to say irresistible, proofs of the assertion, that "as the ass was corporeally and externally visible, its speaking must have been externally and corporeally audible" (*Kurtz*). All that is contained in the two scriptural testimonies is, that the ass spoke in a way that was perceptible to Balaam, and that this speaking was effected by Jehovah as something altogether extraordinary. But whether Balaam heard the words of the animal with the outward, *i.e.* the bodily ear, or with an inward spiritual ear, is not decided by them. On the other hand, neither the fact that Balaam expressed no astonishment at the ass speaking, nor the circumstance that Balaam's companions—viz. his two servants (ver. 22) and the Moabitish messengers, who were also present, according to ver. 35—did not see the angel or hear the ass speaking, leads with certainty to the conclusion, that the whole affair must have been a purely internal one, which Balaam alone experienced in a state of ecstasy, since *argumenta e silentio* confessedly prove but very little. With regard to Balaam, we may say with *Augustine* (*quæst.* 50 in Num.), "he was so carried away by his cupidity, that he was not terrified by this marvellous miracle, and replied just as if he had been speaking to a man, when God, although He did not change the nature of the ass into that of a rational being, made it give utterance to whatever He pleased, for the purpose of restraining his

when their rider has had a vision of any kind either by day or night. And in the case of the horse it may also be observed, that it will refuse to go any farther in the same road until a circuitous course has been taken, and even then it is quite in a sweat."

madness." But with regard to the Moabitish messengers, it is very doubtful whether they were eye-witnesses and auditors of the affair. It is quite possible that they had gone some distance in advance, or were some distance behind, when Balaam had the vision. On the other hand, there was no necessity to mention particularly that they saw the appearance of the angel, and heard the speaking of the animal, as this circumstance was not of the least importance in connection with the main purpose of the narrative. And still less can it be said that "the ass's speaking, if transferred to the sphere of outward reality, would obviously break through the eternal boundary-line which has been drawn in Gen. i. between the human and the animal world." The only thing that would have broken through this boundary, would have been for the words of the ass to have surpassed the feelings and sensations of an animal; that is to say, for the ass to have given utterance to truths that were essentially human, and only comprehensible by human reason. Now that was not the case. All that the ass said was quite within the sphere of the psychical life of an animal.

The true explanation lies between the notion that the whole occurrence was purely internal, and consisted exclusively in ecstasy brought by God upon Balaam, and the grossly realistic reduction of the whole affair into the sphere of the senses and the outward material world. The angel who met the soothsayer in the road, as he was riding upon his ass, and who was seen at once by the ass, though he was not seen by Balaam till Jehovah had opened his eyes, did really appear upon the road, in the outward world of the senses. But the form in which he appeared was not a grossly sensuous or material form, like the bodily frame of an ordinary visible being; for in that case Balaam would inevitably have seen him, when his beast became alarmed and restive again and again and refused to go forward, since it is not stated anywhere that God had smitten him with blindness, like the men of Sodom (Gen. xix. 11), or the people in 2 Kings vi. 18. It rather resembled the appearance of a spirit, which cannot be seen by every one who has healthy bodily eyes, but only by those who have their senses awakened for visions from the spirit-world. Thus, for example, the men who went to Damascus with Paul, saw no one, when the Lord appeared to him in a miraculous light from heaven, and spoke to him, although they also heard the voice¹ (Acts ix. 7). Balaam

¹ Or, strictly speaking, they saw the *light* (Acts xxii. 9), but saw *no man* (Acts ix. 7); and they heard the *sound* (της φωνῆς, the voice or noise generally,

wanted the spiritual sense to discern the angel of the Lord, because his spirit's eye was blinded by his thirst for wealth and honour. This blindness increased to such an extent, with the inward excitement caused by the repeated insubordination of his beast, that he lost all self-control. As the ass had never been so restive before, if he had only been calm and thoughtful himself, he would have looked about to discover the cause of this remarkable change, and would then, no doubt, have discovered the presence of the angel. But as he lost all his thoughtfulness, God was obliged to open the mouth of the dumb and irrational animal, to show a seer by profession his own blindness. "He might have reprovèd him by the words of the angel; but because the rebuke would not have been sufficiently severe without some deep humiliation, He made the beast his teacher" (*Calvin*). The ass's speaking was produced by the omnipotence of God; but it is impossible to decide whether the modulation was miraculously communicated to the animal's voice, so that it actually gave utterance to the human words which fell upon Balaam's ears (*Kurtz*), or whether the cries of the animal were formed into rational discourse in Balaam's soul, by the direct operation of God, so that he alone heard and understood the speech of the animal, whereas the servants who were present heard nothing more than unintelligible cries.¹ In either case Balaam received a deeply humiliating admonition from the mouth of the irrational beast, and that not only to put him to shame, but also to call him to his senses, and render him capable of hearing the voice of God. The seer, who prided himself upon having eyes for divine revelations, was so blind, that he could not discern the appearance of the angel, which even the irrational beast had been able to see.² By this he was taught, that even a beast is more capable of discerning things from the higher world, than a man blinded by sinful desires. It was not till after this humiliation that God opened his eyes, so that

Acts ix. 7), but not the words (τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι, the voice or articulate words of the person speaking, Acts xxii. 9). The construction of ἀκουῶ, with the genitive in the one case and the accusative in the other, is evidently intended to convey this distinct and distinctive meaning.—Tr.

¹ See the analogous case mentioned in John xii. 28, 29, of the voice which came to Jesus from the skies, when some of the people who were standing by said that it only thundered, whilst others said an angel spoke to Him.

² God made use of the voice of an ass, both because it was fitting that a brutish mind should be taught by a brute, and also, as *Nyssenius* says, to instruct and chastise the vanity of the augur (Balaam), who was accustomed to observe the meaning of the braying of the ass and the chirping of birds (*C. a. Lap.*).

he saw the angel of the Lord with a drawn sword standing in his road, and fell upon his face before this fearful sight.

Vers. 32-34. To humble him deeply and inwardly, the Lord held up before him the injustice of his cruel treatment of the ass, and told him at the same time that it had saved his life by turning out of the way. "*I have come out,*" said the angel of the Lord, "*as an adversary; for the way leads headlong into destruction before me;*" i.e. the way which thou art going is leading thee, in my eyes, in my view, into destruction. יִרַט, to plunge, sc. into destruction, both here, and also in Job xvi. 11, the only other passage in which it occurs.—Ver. 33. The angel of the Lord sought to preserve Balaam from the destruction which threatened him, by standing in his way; but he did not see him, though his ass did. אֲחִי נִמְצְאָה וְגו', "*perhaps it turned out before me; for otherwise I should surely have killed thee, and let her live.*" The first clause is to be regarded, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, as an aposiopesis. The angel does not state positively what was the reason why perhaps the ass had turned out of the way: he merely hints at it lightly, and leaves it to Balaam to gather from the hint, that the faithful animal had turned away from affection to its master, with a dim foreboding of the danger which threatened him, and yet for that very reason, as it were as a reward for its service of love, had been ill-treated by him. The traditional rendering, "if the ass had not turned aside, surely," etc., cannot be defended according to the rules of the language; and there is not sufficient ground for any such alteration of the text as *Knobel* suggests, viz. into לִי. These words made an impression, and Balaam made this acknowledgment (ver. 34): "*I have sinned, for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me; and now, if it displease thee, I will get me back again.*" The angel of the Lord replied, however (ver. 35): "*Go with the men; but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that shalt thou speak.*" This was sufficient to show him, that it was not the journey in itself that was displeasing to God, but the feelings and intentions with which he had entered upon it. The whole procedure was intended to sharpen his conscience and sober his mind, that he might pay attention to the word which the Lord would speak to him. At the same time the impression which the appearance and words of the angel of the Lord made upon his heart, enveloped in mist as it was by the thirst for gold and honour, was not a deep one, nor one that led him to a thorough knowledge of his own heart; otherwise, after such a warning, he would never have continued his journey.

Vers. 36-41. RECEPTION OF BALAAM BY THE KING OF THE MOABITES.—Vers. 36, 37. As soon as Balak heard of Balaam's coming, he went to meet him at a city on the border of the Arnon, which flowed at the extreme (north) boundary (of the Moabitish territory), viz. at *Areopolis* (see at chap. xxi. 15), probably the capital of the kingdom at one time, but now reduced to a frontier town, since Sihon the Amorite had taken all the land as far as the Arnon; whilst *Rabbah*, which was farther south, had been selected as the residence of the king. By coming as far as the frontier of his kingdom to meet the celebrated soothsayer, Balak intended to do him special honour. But he could not help receiving him with a gentle reproof for not having come at his first invitation, as if he, the king, had not been in a condition to honour him according to his merits.—Ver. 38. But Balaam, being still mindful of the warning which he had just received from God, replied, "*Lo, I am come unto thee now: have I then any power to speak anything (sc. of my own accord)? The word which God puts into my mouth, that will I speak.*" With this reply he sought, at the very outset, to soften down the expectations of Balak, inasmuch as he concluded at once that his coming was a proof of his willingness to curse (*Hengstenberg*). As a matter of fact, Balaam did not say anything different to the king from what he had explained to his messengers at the very first (cf. ver. 18). But just as he had not told them the whole truth, but had concealed the fact that Jehovah, his God, had forbidden the journey at first, on the ground that he was not to curse the nation that was blessed (ver. 12), so he could not address the king in open, unambiguous words.—Vers. 39, 40. He then went with Balak to *Kirjath-Chuzoth*, where the king had oxen and sheep slaughtered in sacrifice, and sent flesh to Balaam as well as to the princes that were with him for a sacrificial meal, to do honour to the soothsayer thereby. The sacrifices were not so much thank-offerings for Balaam's happy arrival, as supplicatory offerings for the success of the undertaking before them. "This is evident," as *Hengstenberg* correctly observes, "from the place and time of their presentation; for the place was not that where Balak first met with Balaam, and they were only presented on the eve of the great event." Moreover, they were offered unquestionably not to the Moabitish idols, from which Balak expected no help, but to Jehovah, whom Balak wished to draw away, in connection with Balaam, from His own people (Israel), that he might secure His favour to the Moabites. The situation of *Kirjath-Chuzoth*, which is only men-

tioned here, cannot be determined with absolute certainty. As Balak went with Balaam to Bamoth-Baal on the morning following the sacrificial meal, which was celebrated there, Kirjath-Chuzoth cannot have been very far distant. *Knobel* conjectures, with some probability, that it may have been the same as *Kerioth* (Jer. xlviii. 24), *i.e.* *Kereijat* or *Körriat*, at the foot of Jebel Attarus, at the top of which Bamoth-Baal was situated (see at chap. xxi. 19).—Ver. 41. But Balak conducted the soothsayer to *Bamoth-Baal*, not because it was consecrated to Baal, but because it was the first height on the way to the steppes of Moab, from which they could see the camp of Israel, or at all events, “the end of the people,” *i.e.* the outermost portion of the camp. For “Balak started with the supposition, that Balaam must necessarily have the Israelites in view if his curse was to take effect” (*Hengstenberg*).

Chap. xxiii. 1-24. BALAAM'S FIRST WORDS.—Vers. 1-3. *Preparations* for the first act, which was performed at Bamoth-Baal. At Balaam's command Balak built seven altars, and then selected seven bullocks and seven rams, which they immediately sacrificed, namely, one bullock and one ram upon each altar. The nations of antiquity generally accompanied all their more important undertakings with sacrifices, to make sure of the protection and help of the gods; but this was especially the case with their ceremonies of adjuration. According to *Diod. Sic.* ii. 29, the Chaldeans sought to avert calamity and secure prosperity by sacrifices and adjurations. The same thing is also related of other nations (see *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 392). Accordingly, Balaam also did everything that appeared necessary, according to his own religious notions, to ensure the success of Balak's undertaking, and bring about the desired result. The erection of *seven* altars, and the sacrifice of *seven* animals of each kind, are to be explained from the sacredness acquired by this number, through the creation of the world in seven days, as being the stamp of work that was well-pleasing to God. The sacrifices were burnt-offerings, and were offered by themselves to Jehovah, whom Balaam acknowledged as his God.—Vers. 3, 4. After the offering of the sacrifices, Balaam directed the king to stand by his burnt-offering, *i.e.* by the sacrifices that had been offered for him upon the seven altars, that he might go out for auguries. The meaning of the words, “*I will go, peradventure Jehovah will come to meet me,*” is apparent from chap. xxiv. 1: and “*he went no more to meet with the auguries*” (נִחַיִּים, see at Lev. xix.

26). Balaam went out to look for a manifestation of Jehovah in the significant phenomena of nature. The word which Jehovah should show to him, he would report to Balak. We have here what is just as characteristic in relation to Balaam's religious stand-point, as it is significant in its bearing upon the genuine historical character of the narrative, namely, an admixture of the religious ideas of both the Israelites and the heathen, inasmuch as Balaam hoped to receive or discover, in the phenomena of nature, a revelation from Jehovah. Because heathenism had no "sure word of prophecy," it sought to discover the will and counsel of God, which are displayed in the events of human history, through various signs that were discernible in natural phenomena, or, as *Chrysippus* the Stoic expresses it in *Cicero de divin.* ii. 63, "*Signa quæ a Diis hominibus portendantur.*"¹ To look for a word of Jehovah in this way, Balaam betook himself to a "*bald height.*" This is the only meaning of רָשָׁע, from רָשַׁע, to rub, to scrape, to make bare, which is supported by the usage of the language; it is also in perfect harmony with the context, as the heathen augurs were always accustomed to select elevated places for their auspices, with an extensive prospect, especially the towering and barren summits of mountains that were rarely visited by men (see *Hengstenberg, ut sup.*). *Ewald*, however, proposes the meaning "alone," or "to spy," for which there is not the slightest grammatical foundation.—Ver. 4. "*And God came to meet Balaam,*" who thought it necessary, as a true *hariolus*, to call the attention of God to the altars which had been built for Him, and the sacrifices that had been offered upon them. And God made known His will to him, though not in a natural sign of doubtful signification. He put a very distinct and unmistakeable word into his mouth, and commanded him to make it known to the king.

¹ See the remarks of *Nägelsbach* and *Hartung* on the nature of the heathen auspices, in *Hengstenberg's* Balaam and his Prophecies (pp. 396-7). *Hartung* observes, for example: "As the gods did not live outside the world, or separated from it, but the things of time and space were filled with their essence, it followed, as a matter of course, that the signs of their presence were sought and seen in all the visible and audible occurrences of nature, whether animate or inanimate. Hence all the phenomena which affected the senses, either in the elements or in the various creatures, whether sounds or movements, natural productions or events, of a mechanical or physical, or voluntary or involuntary kind, might serve as the media of revelation." And again (p. 397): "The sign in itself is useless, if it be not observed. It was therefore necessary that man and God should come to meet one another, and that the sign should not merely be given, but should also be received."

Vers. 7-10. Balaam's *first* saying.—Having come back to the burnt-offering, Balaam commenced his utterance before the king and the assembled princes. מִשָּׁל, *lit.* a simile, then a proverb, because the latter consists of comparisons and figures, and lastly a sentence or saying. The application of this term to the announcements made by Balaam (vers. 7, 18, xxiv. 3, 15, 20), whereas it is never used of the prophecies of the true prophets of Jehovah, but only of certain songs and similes inserted in them (cf. Isa. xiv. 4; Ezek. xvii. 2, xxiv. 3; Micah ii. 4), is to be accounted for not merely from the poetic form of Balaam's utterances, the predominance of poetical imagery, the sustained *parallelism*, the construction of the whole discourse in brief pointed sentences, and other peculiarities of poetic language (*e.g.* בְּנֵי, chap. xxiv. 3, 15), but it points at the same time to the difference which actually exists between these utterances and the predictions of the true prophets. The latter are orations addressed to the congregation, which deduce from the general and peculiar relation of Israel to the Lord and to His law, the conduct of the Lord towards His people either in their own or in future times, proclaiming judgment upon the ungodly and salvation to the righteous. "Balaam's mental eye," on the contrary, as *Hengstenberg* correctly observes, "was simply fixed upon what he saw; and this he reproduced without any regard to the impression that it was intended to make upon those who heard it." But the very first utterance was of such a character as to deprive Balak of all hope that his wishes would be fulfilled.—Ver. 7. "*Balak, the king of Moab, fetches me from Aram, from the mountains of the East,*" *i.e.* of Mesopotamia, which was described, as far back as Gen. xxix. 1, as the land of the sons of the East (cf. chap. xxii. 5). Balaam mentions the mountains of his home in contradistinction to the mountains of the land of the Moabites upon which he was then standing. "*Come, curse me Jacob, and come threaten Israel.*" Balak had sent for him for this purpose (see chap. xxii. 11, 17). וְעָמָה, for וְעָמָה, imperative (see *Ewald*, § 228, *b.*). וְעָם, to be angry, here to give utterance to the wrath of God, synonymous with וְנָקַם or וְקָבַץ, to curse. *Jacob*: a poetical name for the nation, equivalent to *Israel*.—Ver. 8. "*How shall I curse whom God does not curse, and how threaten whom Jehovah does not threaten?*" Balak imagined, like all the heathen, that Balaam, as a *goetes* and magician, could distribute blessings and curses according to his own will, and put such constraint upon his God as to make Him subservient to his own will (see at chap. xxii. 6). The seer opposes this delusion:

The God of Israel does not curse His people, and therefore His servant cannot curse them. The following verses (vers. 9 and 10) give the reason why: "*For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him. Lo, it is a people that dwelleth apart, and is not numbered among the heathen. Who determines the dust of Jacob, and in number the fourth part of Israel? Let my soul die the death of the righteous, and my end be like his!*" There were two reasons which rendered it impossible for Balaam to curse Israel: (1) Because they were a people both outwardly and inwardly different from other nations, and (2) because they were a people richly blessed and highly favoured by God. From the top of the mountains Balaam looked down upon the people of Israel. The outward and earthly height upon which he stood was the substratum of the spiritual height upon which the Spirit of God had placed him, and had so enlightened his mental sight, that he was able to discern all the peculiarities and the true nature of Israel. In this respect the first thing that met his view was the fact that this people dwelt alone. Dwelling alone does not denote a quiet and safe retirement, as many commentators have inferred from Deut. xxxiii. 28, Jer. xlix. 31, and Micah vii. 14; but, according to the parallel clause, "it is not reckoned among the nations," it expresses the separation of Israel from the rest of the nations. This separation was manifested outwardly to the seer's eye in the fact that "the host of Israel dwelt by itself in a separate encampment upon the plain. In this his spirit discerned the inward and essential separation of Israel from all the heathen" (*Baumgarten*). This outward "dwelling alone" was a symbol of their inward separation from the heathen world, by virtue of which Israel was not only saved from the fate of the heathen world, but could not be overcome by the heathen; of course only so long as they themselves should inwardly maintain this separation from the heathen, and faithfully continue in covenant with the Lord their God, who had separated them from among the nations to be His own possession. As soon as Israel lost itself in heathen ways, it also lost its own external independence. This rule applies to the Israel of the New Testament as well as the Israel of the Old, to the congregation or Church of God of all ages. **לֹא יִתְחַשֵּׁב**, "*it does not reckon itself among the heathen nations,*" i.e. it does not share the lot of the other nations, because it has a different God and protector from the heathen (cf. Deut. iv. 8, xxxiii. 29). The truth of this has been so marvelously realized in the history of the Israelites, notwithstanding their

falling short of the idea of their divine calling, "that whereas all the mightier kingdoms of the ancient world, Egypt, Assyria, Babel, etc., have perished without a trace, Israel, after being rescued from so many dangers which threatened utter destruction under the Old Testament, still flourishes in the Church of the New Testament, and continues also to exist in that part which, though rejected now, is destined one day to be restored" (*Hengstenberg*).

In this state of separation from the other nations, Israel rejoiced in the blessing of its God, which was already visible in the innumerable multitude into which it had grown. "*Who has ever determined the dust of Jacob?*" As the dust cannot be numbered, so is the multitude of Israel innumerable. These words point back to the promise in Gen. xiii. 16, and applied quite as much to the existing state as to the future of Israel. The beginning of the miraculous fulfilment of the promise given to the patriarchs of an innumerable posterity, was already before their eyes (cf. Deut. x. 22). Even now the fourth part of Israel is not to be reckoned. Balaam speaks of the fourth part with reference to the division of the nation into four camps (chap. ii.), of which he could see only one from his point of view (chap. xxii. 41), and therefore only the fourth part of the nation. מִסְפָּר is an accusative of definition, and the subject and verb are to be repeated from the first clause; so that there is no necessity to alter מִסְפָּר into מִי סָפַר.—But Israel was not only visibly blessed by God with an innumerable increase; it was also inwardly exalted into a people of יִשְׂרָאֵל, righteous or honourable men. The predicate יִשְׂרָאֵל is applied to Israel on account of its divine calling, because it had a God who was just and right, a God of truth and without iniquity (Deut. xxxii. 4), or because the God of Israel was holy, and sanctified His people (Lev. xx. 7, 8; Ex. xxxi. 13) and made them into a *Jeshurun* (Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26). Righteousness, probity, is the idea and destination of this people, which has never entirely lost it, though it has never fully realized it. Even in times of general apostasy from the Lord, there was always an *ἐκλογὴ* in the nation, of which probity and righteousness could truly be predicated (cf. 1 Kings xix. 18). The righteousness of the Israelites was "a product of the institutions which God had established among them, of the revelation of His holy will which He had given them in His law, of the forgiveness of sins which He had linked on to the offering of sacrifices, and of the communication of His Spirit, which was ever living and at work in His Church, and in it alone" (*Hengstenberg*). Such a people Balaam could not

curse; he could only wish that the end of his own life might resemble the end of these righteous men. Death is introduced here as the end and completion of life. "Balaam desires for himself the entire, full, indestructible, and inalienable blessedness of the Israelite, of which death is both the close and completion, and also the seal and attestation" (*Kurtz*). This desire did not involve the certain hope of a blessed life beyond the grave, which the Israelites themselves did not then possess; it simply expressed the thought that the death of a pious Israelite was a desirable good. And this it was, whether viewed in the light of the past, the present, or the future. In the hour of death the pious Israelite could look back with blessed satisfaction to a long life, rich "in traces of the beneficent, forgiving, delivering, and saving grace of God;" he could comfort himself with the delightful hope of living on in his children and his children's children, and in them of participating in the future fulfilment of the divine promises of grace; and lastly, when dying in possession of the love and grace of God, he could depart hence with the joyful confidence of being gathered to his fathers in Sheol (*Gen. xxv. 8*).

Vers. 11-17. Balak reproached Balaam for this utterance, which announced blessings to the Israelites instead of curses. But he met his reproaches with the remark, that he was bound by the command of Jehovah. The infinitive absolute, בָּרַךְ, after the finite verb, expresses the fact that Balaam had continued to give utterance to nothing but blessings. שָׁמַר לְדַבֵּר, to observe to speak; שָׁמַר, to notice carefully, as in *Deut. v. 1, 29*, etc. But Balak thought that the reason might be found in the unfavourable locality; he therefore led the seer to "*the field of the watchers, upon the top of Pisgah,*" whence he could see the whole of the people of Israel. The words 'אֲשֶׁר תִּרְאֶנּוּ וְגו' (*ver. 13*) are to be rendered, "*whence thou wilt see it (Israel); thou seest only the end of it, but not the whole of it*" (*sc. here upon Bamoth-Baal*). This is required by a comparison of the verse before us with *chap. xxii. 41*, where it is most unquestionably stated, that upon the top of Bamoth-Baal Balaam only saw "the end of the people." For this reason Balak regarded that place as unfavourable, and wished to lead the seer to a place from which he could see the people, without any limitation whatever. Consequently, notwithstanding the omission of כִּי (for), the words אֲפָם קִצְהוּ can only be intended to assign the reason why Balak supposed the first utterances of Balaam to have been unfavourable. קִצְהוּ הָעָם = קִצְהוּ הָעָם, the end of the people (*chap. xxii. 41*), cannot possibly signify the whole nation,

or, as *Marck, de Geer, Gesenius*, and *Kurtz* suppose, “the people from one end to the other,” in which case קֵצֵה הָעָם (the end of the people) would signify the very opposite of קֵצֵהוּ (the end of it); for קֵצֵה הָעָם is not interchangeable, or to be identified, with כָּל-הָעָם מִקְצֵהָ (Gen. xix. 4), “the whole people, from the end or extremity of it,” or from its last man; in other words, “to the very last man.” Still less does אַפְסֵי קֵצֵה הָעָם signify “the uttermost end of the whole people, the end of the entire people,” notwithstanding the fact that *Kurtz* regards the expression, “the end of the end of the people,” as an intolerable tautology. קִבְּנוּ, imperative with *nun epenth.*, from קָבַב. The “field of the watchers,” or “spies (*zophim*), upon the top of *Pisgah*,” corresponds, no doubt, to “the field of Moab, upon the top of *Pisgah*,” on the west of Heshbon (see at chap. xxi. 20). Mount *Nebo*, from which Moses surveyed the land of Canaan in all its length and breadth, was one summit, and possibly the summit of *Pisgah* (see Deut. iii. 27, xxxiv. 1). The field of the spies was very probably a tract of table-land upon *Nebo*; and so called either because watchers were stationed there in times of disturbance, to keep a look-out all round, or possibly because it was a place where augurs made their observations of the heavens and of birds (*Knobel*). The locality has not been thoroughly explored by travellers; but from the spot alluded to, it must have been possible to overlook a very large portion of the *Arboth Moab*. Still farther to the north, and nearer to the camp of the Israelites in these *Arboth*, was the summit of *Peor*, to which Balak afterwards conducted Balaam (ver. 28), and where he not only saw the whole of the people, but could see distinctly the camps of the different tribes (chap. xxiv. 2). —Vers. 14b–17. Upon *Pisgah*, Balak and Balaam made the same preparations for a fresh revelation from God as upon *Bamoth-Baal* (vers. 1–6). כֹּה in ver. 15 does not mean “here” or “yonder,” but “so” or “thus,” as in every other case. The thought is this: “Do thou stay (*sc.* as thou art), and I will go and meet thus” (*sc.* in the manner required). אֶקְרָה (I will go and meet) is a technical term here for going out for auguries (chap. xxiv. 1), or for a divine revelation.

Vers. 18–24. The second saying.—“Up, Balak, and hear! Hearken to me, son of Zippor!” קוּם, “stand up,” is a call to mental elevation, to the perception of the word of God; for Balak was standing by his sacrifice (ver. 17). הִשָּׁמֶעַ with עַר, as in Job xxxii. 11, signifies a hearing which presses forward to the speaker, *i.e.* in keen and minute attention (*Hengstenberg*). בְּנִי, with the antiquated union vowel for בְּנִי; see at Gen. i. 24.—Ver. 19. “God

is not a man, that He should lie ; nor a son of man, that He should repent : hath He said, and should He not do it? and spoken, and should not carry it out?"—Ver. 20. "*Behold, I have received to bless : and He hath blessed ; and I cannot turn it.*" Balaam meets Balak's expectation that he will take back the blessing that he has uttered, with the declaration, that God does not alter His purposes like changeable and fickle men, but keeps His word unalterably, and carries it into execution. The unchangeableness of the divine purposes is a necessary consequence of the unchangeableness of the divine nature. With regard to His own counsels, God repents of nothing ; but this does not prevent the repentance of God, understood as an anthropopathic expression, denoting the pain experienced by the love of God, on account of the destruction of its creatures (see at Gen. vi. 6, and Ex. xxxii. 14). The ה before הוּא (ver. 19) is the interrogative ה (see Ges. § 100, 4). The two clauses of ver. 19b, "*Hath He spoken,*" etc., taken by themselves, are no doubt of universal application ; but taken in connection with the context, they relate specially to what God had spoken through Balaam, in his first utterance with reference to Israel, as we may see from the more precise explanation in ver. 20, "*Behold, I have received to bless*" (לָקַח, taken, accepted), etc. הָשִׁיב, to lead back, to make a thing retrograde (Isa. xliii. 13). Samuel afterwards refused Saul's request in these words of Balaam (ver. 19a), when he entreated him to revoke his rejection on the part of God (1 Sam. xv. 29).—Ver. 21. After this decided reversal of Balak's expectations, Balaam carried out still more fully the blessing which had been only briefly indicated in his first utterance. "*He beholds not wickedness in Jacob, and sees not suffering in Israel : Jehovah his God is with him, and the shout (jubilation) of a king in the midst of him.*" The subject in the first sentence is God (see Hab. i. 3, 13). God sees not רָעָה, worthlessness, wickedness, and עָמַל, tribulation, misery, as the consequence of sin, and therefore discovers no reason for cursing the nation. That this applied to the people solely by virtue of their calling as the holy nation of Jehovah, and consequently that there is no denial of the sin of individuals, is evident from the second hemistich, which expresses the thought of the first in a positive form : so that the words, "*Jehovah his God is with him,*" correspond to the words, "*He beholds not wickedness ;*" and "*the shout of a king in the midst of it,*" to His not seeing suffering. Israel therefore rejoiced in the blessing of God only so long as it remained faithful to the idea of its divine calling, and continued in

covenant fellowship with the Lord. So long the power of the world could do it no harm. The "shout of a king" in Israel is the rejoicing of Israel at the fact that Jehovah dwells and rules as King in the midst of it (cf. Ex. xv. 18; Deut. xxxiii. 5). Jehovah had manifested Himself as King, by leading them out of Egypt.—Ver. 22. "*God brings them out of Egypt; his strength is like that of a buffalo.*" $\text{לֵא}^{\text{ל}}$ is God as the strong, or mighty one. The participle מֹצִיאֲם is not used for the preterite, but designates the leading out as still going on, and lasting till the introduction into Canaan. The plural suffix, ם , is used *ad sensum*, with reference to Israel as a people. Because God leads them, they go forward with the strength of a buffalo. וַיִּעֲבֹת , from עָבָה , to weary, signifies that which causes weariness, exertion, the putting forth of power; hence the fulness of strength, ability to make or bear exertions. רֶאֱם is the buffalo or wild ox, an indomitable animal, which is especially fearful on account of its horns (Job xxxix. 9-11; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xxii. 22).—Ver. 23. The fellowship of its God, in which Israel rejoiced, and to which it owed its strength, was an actual truth. "*For there is no augury in Jacob, and no divination in Israel. At the time it is spoken to Jacob, and to Israel what God doeth.*" כִּי does not mean, "so that, as an introduction to the sequel," as *Knobel* supposes, but "*for,*" as a causal particle. The fact that Israel was not directed, like other nations, to the uncertain and deceitful instrumentality of augury and divination, but enjoyed in all its concerns the immediate revelation of its God, furnished the proof that it had its God in the midst of it, and was guided and endowed with power by God Himself. נְחִישׁ and קֶסֶם , οἰωνισμός and μαντεία , *augurium et divinatio* (LXX., *Vulg.*), were the two means employed by the heathen for looking into futurity. The former (see at Lev. xix. 26) was the unfolding of the future from signs in the phenomena of nature, and inexplicable occurrences in animal and human life; the latter, prophesying from a pretended or supposed revelation of the Deity within the human mind. בְּעֵת , "according to the time," *i.e.* at the right time, God revealed His acts, His counsel, and His will to Israel in His word, which He had spoken at first to the patriarchs, and afterwards through Moses and the prophets. In this He revealed to His people in truth, and in a way that could not deceive, what the heathen attempted in vain to discover through augury and divination (cf. Deut. xviii. 14-19).¹—Ver. 24. Through

¹ "What is here affirmed of Israel, applies to the Church of all ages, and also to every individual believer. The Church of God knows from His word what

the power of its God, Israel was invincible, and would crush all its foes. "*Behold, it rises up, a people like the lioness, and lifts itself up like the lion. It lies not down till it eats dust, and drinks the blood of the slain.*" What the patriarch Jacob prophesied of Judah, the ruler among his brethren, in Gen. xlix. 9, Balaam here transfers to the whole nation, to put to shame all the hopes indulged by the Moabitish king of the conquest and destruction of Israel.

Chap. xxiii. 25-xxiv. 25. BALAAM'S LAST WORDS.—Vers. 25-30. Balak was not deterred, however, from making another attempt. At first, indeed, he exclaimed in indignation at these second sayings of Balaam: "*Thou shalt neither curse it, nor even bless.*" The double ׀ with ׀ signifies "neither—nor;" and the rendering, "if thou do not curse it, thou shalt not bless it," must be rejected as untenable. In his vexation at the second failure, he did not want to hear anything more from Balaam. But when he replied again, that he had told him at the very outset that he could do nothing but what God should say to him (cf. chap. xxii. 38), he altered his mind, and resolved to conduct Balaam to another place with this hope: "*peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.*" Clericus observes upon this passage, "It was the opinion of the heathen, that what was not obtained through the first, second, or third victim, might nevertheless be secured through a fourth;" and he adduces proofs from *Suetonius, Curtius, Gellius*, and others.—Ver. 29. He takes the seer "*to the top of Peor, which looks over the face of the desert*" (*Jeshimon*: see at chap. xxi. 20), and therefore was nearer to the camp of the Israelites. Mount *Peor* was one peak of the northern part of the mountains of *Abarim* by the town of *Beth-peor*, which afterwards belonged to the *Reubenites* (*Josh. xiii. 20*), and opposite to which the Israelites were encamped in the steppes of *Moab* (*Deut. iii. 29, iv. 46*). According to *Eusebius* (*Onom. s. v. Φογώρ*), *Peor* was above *Libias* (i.e. *Bethharam*),¹ which was situated in the valley of the *Jordan*; and according to the account given under

God does, and what it has to do in consequence. The wisdom of this world resembles augury and divination. The Church of God, which is in possession of His word, has no need of it, and it only leads its followers to destruction, from inability to discern the will of God. To discover this with certainty, is the great privilege of the Church of God" (*Hengstenberg*).

¹ Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς νῦν Λιβιάδος καλουμένης. *Jerome* has "*in supercilio Libiados.*"

Araboth Moab,¹ it was close by the Arboth Moab, opposite to Jericho, on the way from Libias to Heshbon. *Peor* was about seven Roman miles from Heshbon, according to the account given *s. v. Danaba*; and *Beth-peor* (*s. v. Bethphozor*) was near Mount *Peor*, opposite to Jericho, six Roman miles higher than Libias, *i.e.* to the east of it (see *Hengstenberg*, *Balaam*, p. 538).—Vers. 29, 30. The sacrifices offered in preparation for this fresh transaction were the same as in the former cases (ver. 14, and vers. 1, 2).

Chap. xxiv. 1–9. The *third* saying.—Vers. 1 and 2. From the two revelations which he had received before, Balaam saw, *i.e.* perceived, that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel. This induced him not to go out for auguries, as on the previous occasions. כְּפַעַם-בְּפַעַם, “as time after time,” *i.e.* as at former times (chap. xxiii. 3 and 15). He therefore turned his face to the desert, *i.e.* to the steppes of Moab, where Israel was encamped (chap. xxii. 1). And when he lifted up his eyes, “*he saw Israel encamping according to its tribes; and the Spirit of God came over him.*” The impression made upon him by the sight of the tribes of Israel, served as the subjective preparation for the reception of the Spirit of God to inspire him. Of both the earlier utterances it is stated that “Jehovah put a word into his mouth” (chap. xxiii. 5 and 16); but of this third it is affirmed that “the Spirit of God came over him.” The former were communicated to him, when he went out for a divine revelation, without his being thrown into an ecstatic state; he heard the voice of God within him telling him what he was to say. But this time, like the prophets in their prophesyings, he was placed by the Spirit of God in a state of ecstatic sight; so that, with his eyes closed as in clairvoyance, he saw the substance of the revelation from God with his inward mental eye, which had been opened by the Spirit of God. Thus not only does he himself describe his own condition in vers. 3 and 4, but his description is in harmony with the announcement itself, which is manifestly the result both in form and substance of the intuition effected within him by the Spirit of God.—Vers. 3 and 4 contain the preface to the prophecy: “*The divine saying of Balaam the son of Beor, the divine saying of the man with closed eye, the divine saying of the hearer of divine words, who sees the vision of the Almighty, falling down and with opened eyes.*” For the participial noun מִשְׁנֵי the meaning divine saying (*effatum*, not *inspiratum*, *Domini*) is undoubtedly established

¹ Καὶ ἔστι τόπος εἰς δεῦρο δεικνύμενος παρὰ τῷ ὄρει Φογῶρ, ὁ παράκειται ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Λιβιάδος ἐπὶ Ἑσσεβούς (*i.e.* Heshbon) τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀντικρὺ Ἱεριχώ.

by the expression נִאֲמָה יְהוָה, which recurs in chap. xiv. 28 and Gen. xxii. 16, and is of constant use in the predictions of the prophets; and this applies even to the few passages where a human author is mentioned instead of Jehovah, such as vers. 3, 4, and 15, 16; also 2 Sam. xxiii. 1; Prov. xxx. 1; and Ps. xxxvi. 2, where a נִאֲמָה is ascribed to the personified wickedness. Hence, when Balaam calls the following prophecy a נִאֲמָה, this is done for the purpose of designating it as a divine revelation received from the Spirit of God. He had received it, and now proclaimed it as a man שָׂתֵם הָעֵין, with closed eye. שָׂתֵם does not mean to open, a meaning in support of which only one passage of the *Mishnah* can be adduced, but to close, like סָתֵם in Dan. viii. 26, and שָׂתֵם in Lam. iii. 8, with the ש softened into ס or ש (see *Roediger in Ges. thes.*, and *Dietrich's Hebrew Lexicon*). "Balaam describes himself as the man with closed eye with reference to his state of ecstasy, in which the closing of the outer senses went hand in hand with the opening of the inner" (*Hengstenberg*). The cessation of all perception by means of the outer senses, so far as self-conscious reflection is concerned, was a feature that was common to both the vision and the dream, the two forms in which the prophetic gift manifested itself (chap. xii. 6), and followed from the very nature of the inward intuition. In the case of prophets whose spiritual life was far advanced, inspiration might take place without any closing of the outward senses. But upon men like Balaam, whose inner religious life was still very impure and undeveloped, the Spirit of God could only operate by closing their outward senses to impressions from the lower earthly world, and raising them up to visions of the higher and spiritual world.¹ What Balaam heard in this ecstatic condition was אִמְרֵי אֵל, the sayings of God, and what he saw מַחְזֵה שְׂדֵי, the vision of the Almighty. The Spirit of God came upon him with such power that he fell down (נָפַל), like Saul in 1 Sam. xix. 24; not merely "prostrating himself with reverential awe at seeing and hearing the things of God" (*Knobel*), but thrown to the ground by the Spirit of God, who "came like an armed man upon the seer," and that in such a way that as he fell his (spirit's)

¹ Hence, as *Hengstenberg* observes (*Balaam*, p. 449), we have to picture Balaam as giving utterance to his prophecies with the eyes of his body closed; though we cannot argue from the fact of his being in this condition, that an Isaiah would be in precisely the same. Compare the instructive information concerning analogous phenomena in the sphere of natural *mantik* and ecstasy in *Hengstenberg* (pp. 449 sqq.), and *Tholuck's Propheten*, pp. 49 sqq.

eyes were opened. This introduction to his prophecy is not an utterance of boasting vanity; but, as *Calvin* correctly observes, "the whole preface has no other tendency than to prove that he was a true prophet of God, and had received the blessing which he uttered from a celestial oracle."

The blessing itself in vers. 5 sqq. contains two thoughts: (1) the glorious prosperity of Israel, and the exaltation of its kingdom (vers. 5-7); (2) the terrible power, so fatal to all its foes, of the people which was set to be a curse or a blessing to all the nations (vers. 8, 9).—Vers. 5-7. "*How beautiful are thy tents, O Jacob! thy dwellings, O Israel! Like valleys are they spread out, like gardens by the stream, like aloes which Jehovah has planted, like cedars by the waters. Water will flow out of his buckets, and his seed is by many waters. And loftier than Agag be his king, and his kingdom will be exalted.*" What Balaam had seen before his ecstasy with his bodily eyes, formed the substratum for his inward vision, in which the dwellings of Israel came before his mental eye adorned with the richest blessing from the Lord. The description starts, it is true, from the time then present, but it embraces the whole future of Israel. In the blessed land of Canaan the dwellings of Israel will spread out like valleys. נְחָלִים does not mean brooks here, but valleys watered by brooks. נָטָה, to extend oneself, to stretch or spread out far and wide. Yea, "like gardens by the stream," which are still more lovely than the grassy and flowery valleys with brooks. This thought is carried out still further in the two following figures. אֶהָלִים are aloe-trees, which grow in the East Indies, in Siam, in Cochin China, and upon the Moluccas, and from which the aloe-wood was obtained, that was so highly valued in the preparation of incense, on account of its fragrance. As the aloes were valued for their fragrant smell, so the cedars were valued on account of their lofty and luxuriant growth, and the durability of their wood. The predicate, "which Jehovah hath planted," corresponds, so far as the actual meaning is concerned, to עָלֵי מֵיִם, "by water;" for this was "an expression used to designate trees that, on account of their peculiar excellence, were superior to ordinary trees" (*Calvin*; cf. Ps. civ. 16).—Ver. 7. And not only its dwellings, but Israel itself would also prosper abundantly. It would have an abundance of water, that leading source of all blessing and prosperity in the burning East. The nation is personified as a man carrying two pails overflowing with water. דְּלִי is the dual דְּלִיִּם. The dual is generally used in connection with objects

which are arranged in pairs, either naturally or artificially (Ges. § 88, 2). "*His seed*" (*i.e.* his posterity, not his sowing corn, the introduction of which, in this connection, would, to say the least, be very feeble here) "*is*," *i.e.* grows up, "*by many waters*," that is to say, enjoys the richest blessings (comp. Deut. viii. 7 and xi. 10 with Isa. xlv. 4, lxv. 23). יָרָם (optative), "*his king be high before* (higher than) *Agag*." *Agag* (אַגַּג, the fiery) is not the proper name of the Amalekite king defeated by Saul (1 Sam. xv. 8), but the title (*nomen dignitatis*) of the Amalekite kings in general, just as all the Egyptian kings had the common name of *Pharaoh*, and the Philistine kings the name of *Abimelech*.¹ The reason for mentioning the king of the Amalekites was, that he was selected as the impersonation of the enmity of the world against the kingdom of God, which culminated in the kings of the heathen; the Amalekites having been the first heathen tribe that attacked the Israelites on their journey to Canaan (Ex. xvii. 8). The introduction of one particular king would have been neither in keeping with the context, nor reconcilable with the general character of Balaam's utterances. Both before and afterward, Balaam predicts in great general outlines the good that would come to Israel; and how is it likely that he would suddenly break off in the midst to compare the kingdom of Israel with the greatness of one particular king of the Amalekites? Even his fourth and last prophecy merely announces in great general terms the destruction of the different nations that rose up in hostility against Israel, without entering into special details, which, like the conquest of the Amalekites by Saul, had no material or permanent influence upon the attitude of the heathen towards the people of God; for after the defeat inflicted upon this tribe by Saul, they very speedily invaded the Israelitish territory again, and proceeded to plunder and lay it waste in just the same

¹ See *Hengstenberg* (Dissertations, ii. 250; and *Balaam*, p. 458). Even *Gesenius* could not help expressing some doubt about there being any reference in this prophecy to the event described in 1 Sam. xv. 8 sqq., "unless," he says, "you suppose the name *Agag* to have been a name that was common to the kings of the Amalekites" (*thes.* p. 19). He also points to the name *Abimelech*, of which he says (p. 9): "It was the name of several kings in the land of the Philistines, as of the king of Gerar in the times of Abraham (Gen. xx. 2, 3, xxi. 22, 23), and of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 1, 2), and also of the king of Gath in the time of David (Ps. xxxiv. 1; coll. 1 Sam. xxi. 10, where the same king is called *Achish*). It seems to have been the common name and title of those kings, as Pharaoh was of the early kings of Egypt, and Cæsar and Augustus of the emperors of Rome."

manner as before (cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, xxx. 1 sqq.; 2 Sam. viii. 12).¹ מֶלֶכּוֹ, his king, is not any one particular king of Israel, but quite generally the king whom the Israelites would afterwards receive. For מֶלֶכּוֹ is substantially the same as the parallel מַלְכֻתוֹ, the kingdom of Israel, which had already been promised to the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 6, xxxv. 11), and in which the Israelites were first of all to obtain that full development of power which corresponded to its divine appointment; just as, in fact, the development of any people generally culminates in an organized kingdom.—The king of Israel, whose greatness was celebrated by Balaam, was therefore neither the Messiah exclusively, nor the earthly kingdom without the Messiah, but the kingdom of Israel that was established by David, and was exalted in the Messiah into an everlasting kingdom, the enemies of which would all be made its footstool (Ps. ii. and cx.).

In vers. 8 and 9, Balaam proclaims still further: “*God leads him out of Egypt; his strength is as that of a buffalo: he will devour nations his enemies, and crush their bones, and dash them in pieces with his arrows. He has encamped, he lies down like a lion, and like a lioness: who can drive him up? Blessed be they who bless thee, and cursed they who curse thee!*” The fulness of power that dwelt in the people of Israel was apparent in the force and prowess with which their God brought them out of Egypt. This fact Balaam repeats from the previous saying (chap. xxiii. 22), for the purpose of linking on to it the still further announcement of the manner in which the power of the nation would show itself upon its foes in time to come. The words, “he will devour nations,” call up the image of a lion, which is employed in ver. 9 to depict the indomitable heroic power of Israel, in words taken from Jacob’s blessing in Gen. xlix. 9. The *Piel* גָּרַם is a *denom.* verb from גָּרַם, with the meaning to destroy, crush the bones, like שָׁרַשׁ, to root out (cf. *Ges.* § 52, 2; *Ewald*, § 120, *e.*). מַחֲזֵן is not the object to מָחַץ; for מָחַץ, to dash to pieces, does not apply to arrows, which may be broken in pieces, but not dashed to pieces; and the singular suffix in מַחֲזֵנִי can only apply to the singular idea in the verse, *i.e.* to Israel, and not to

¹ Even on the supposition (which is quite at variance with the character of all the prophecies of Balaam) that in the name of Agag, the contemporary of Saul, we have a *vaticinium ex eventu*, the allusion to this particular king would be exceedingly strange, as the Amalekites did not perform any prominent part among the enemies of Israel in the time of Saul; and the command to exterminate them was given to Saul, not because of any special harm that they had done to Israel at that time, but on account of what they had done to Israel on their way out of Egypt (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 2 with Ex. xvii. 8).

its enemies, who are spoken of in the plural. *Arrows* are singled out as representing weapons in general.¹ Balaam closes this utterance, as he had done the previous one, with a quotation from Jacob's blessing, which he introduces to show to Balak, that, according to words addressed by Jehovah to the Israelites through their own tribe-father, they were to overcome their foes so thoroughly, that none of them should venture to rise up against them again. To this he also links on the word with which Isaac had transferred to Jacob in Gen. xxvii. 29 the blessing of Abraham in Gen. xii. 3, for the purpose of warning Balak to desist from his enmity against the chosen people of God.

Vers. 10-14. This repeated blessing of Israel threw Balak into such a violent rage, that he smote his hands together, and advised Balaam to fly to his house: adding, "*I said, I will honour thee greatly* (cf. xxii. 17 and 37); *but, behold, Jehovah has kept thee back from honour.*" "Smiting the hands together" was either a sign of horror (Lam. ii. 15) or of violent rage; it is in the latter sense that it occurs both here and in Job xxvii. 33. In the words, "Jehovah hath kept thee back from honour," the irony with which Balak scoffs at Balaam's confidence in Jehovah is unmistakeable.—Ver. 12. But Balaam reminds him, on the other hand, of the declaration which he made to the messengers at the very outset (chap. xxii. 18), that he could not on any account speak in opposition to the command of Jehovah, and then adds, "*And now, behold, I go to my people. Come, I will tell thee advisedly what this people will do to thy people at the end of the days.*" יִצְיָ, to advise; here it denotes an announcement, which includes advice. The announcement of what Israel would do to the Moabites in the future, contains the advice to Balak, what attitude he should assume towards Israel, if this people was to bring a blessing upon his own people and not a curse. On "*the end of the days,*" see at Gen. xlix. 1.

Vers. 15-24. Balaam's *fourth* and last prophecy is distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that, according to the announcement in ver. 14, it is occupied exclusively with the future, and foretells the victorious supremacy of Israel over all its foes, and the

¹ The difficulty which many feel in connection with the word יִצְיָ cannot be removed by alterations of the text. The only possible conjecture יִצְיָ (his loins) is wrecked upon the singular suffix, for the dashing to pieces of the loins of Israel is not for a moment to be thought of. *Knobel's* proposal, viz. to read קָמִי, has no support in Deut. xxxiii. 11, and is much too violent to reckon upon any approval.

destruction of all the powers of the world. This prophecy is divided into four different prophecies by the fourfold repetition of the words, "he took up his parable" (vers. 15, 20, 21, and 23). The *first* of these refers to the two nations that were related to Israel, viz. Edom and Moab (vers. 17–19); the *second* to Amalek, the arch-enemy of Israel (ver. 20); the *third* to the Kenites, who were allied to Israel (vers. 21 and 22); and the *fourth* proclaims the overthrow of the great powers of the world (vers. 23 and 24).—The introduction in vers. 15 and 16 is the same as that of the previous prophecy in vers. 3 and 4, except that the words, "*he which knew the knowledge of the Most High,*" are added to the expression, "*he that heard the words of God,*" to show that Balaam possessed the knowledge of the Most High, *i.e.* that the word of God about to be announced had already been communicated to him, and was not made known to him now for the first time; though without implying that he had received the divine revelation about to be uttered at the same time as those which he had uttered before.—Ver. 17. The prophecy itself commences with a picture from the "end of the days," which rises up before the mental eye of the seer. "*I see Him, yet not now; I behold Him, but not nigh. A star appears out of Jacob, and a sceptre rises out of Israel, and dashes Moab in pieces on both sides, and destroys all the sons of confusion.*" The suffixes to אֲרָאֵנִי and אִשְׁרֵנִי refer to the star which is mentioned afterwards, and which Balaam sees in spirit, but "not now," *i.e.* not as having already appeared, and "not nigh," *i.e.* not to appear immediately, but to come forth out of Israel in the far distant future. "A star is so natural an image and symbol of imperial greatness and splendour, that it has been employed in this sense in almost every nation. And the fact that this figure and symbol are so natural, may serve to explain the belief of the ancient world, that the birth and accession of great kings was announced by the appearance of stars" (*Hengstenberg*, who cites *Justini hist.* xxxvii. 2; *Plinii h. n.* ii. 23; *Sueton. Jul. Cæs.* c. 78; and *Dio Cass.* xlv. p. 273). If, however, there could be any doubt that the rising star represented the appearance of a glorious ruler or king, it would be entirely removed by the parallel, "a sceptre arises out of Israel." The sceptre, which was introduced as a symbol of dominion even in Jacob's blessing (*Gen.* xlix. 10), is employed here as the figurative representation and symbol of the future ruler in Israel. This ruler would destroy all the enemies of Israel. *Moab* and (*ver.* 18) *Edom* are the first of these that are mentioned, viz. the two nations

that were related to Israel by descent, but had risen up in hostility against it at that time. Moab stands in the foremost rank, not merely because Balaam was about to announce to the king of Moab what Israel would do to his people in the future, but also because the hostility of the heathen to the people of God had appeared most strongly in Balak's desire to curse the Israelites. פְּאַתֵי מוֹאָב, "the two corners or sides of Moab," equivalent to Moab on both sides, from one end to the other. For קִרְקַר, the *inf. Pilp.* of קִיר or קִיר, the meaning to destroy is fully established by the parallel מְחִיץ, and by Isa. xxii. 5, whatever may be thought of its etymology and primary meaning. And neither the Samaritan text nor the passage in Isaiah (xlvi. 45), which is based upon this prophecy, at all warrants an alteration of the reading קִרְקַר into קִרְקִר (the crown of the head), since Jeremiah almost invariably uses earlier writings in this free manner, viz. by altering the expressions employed, and substituting in the place of unusual words either more common ones, or such as are similar in sound (cf. *Küper, Jerem. libror. ss. interpretes atque vindex*, pp. xiii. sqq. and p. 43).—כָּל־בְּנֵי־יֶשֶׁת does not mean "all the sons of Seth," i.e. all mankind, as the human race is never called by the name of Seth; and the idea that the ruler to arise out of Israel would destroy all men, would be altogether unsuitable. It signifies rather "all the sons of confusion," by which, according to the analogy of Jacob and Israel (ver. 17), Edom and Seir (ver. 18), the Moabites are to be understood as being men of wild, warlike confusion. יֶשֶׁת is a contraction of יִשְׁעֶת (Lam. iii. 47), and derived from יִשְׁעָה; and in Jer. xlviii. 45 it is correctly rendered בְּנֵי יִשְׁעֹן.¹

In the announcement of destruction which is to fall upon the enemies of Israel through the star and sceptre out of the midst of

¹ On the other hand, the rendering, "all the sons of the drinker, i.e. of Lot," which *Hiller* proposed, and *v. Hofmann* and *Kurtz* have renewed, is evidently untenable. For, in the first place, the fact related in Gen. xix. 32 sqq. does not warrant the assumption that Lot ever received the name of the "drinker," especially as the word used in Gen. xix. is not יִשְׁתָּה, but יִשְׁתָּה. Moreover, the allusion to "all the sons of Lot," i.e. the Moabites and Ammonites, neither suits the thoroughly synonymous parallelism in the saying of Balaam, nor corresponds to the general character of his prophecies, which announced destruction primarily only to those nations that rose up in hostility against Israel, viz. Moab, Edom, and Amalek, whereas hitherto the Ammonites had not assumed either a hostile or friendly attitude towards them. And lastly, all the nations doomed to destruction are mentioned by name. Now the Ammonites were not a branch of the Moabites by descent, nor was their territory enclosed within the Moabish territory, so that it could be included, as *Hofmann* supposes, within the "four corners of Moab."

it, Moab is followed by “its southern neighbour Edom.”—Ver. 18. “*And Edom becomes a possession, and Seir becomes a possession, its enemies; but Israel acquires power.*” Whose possession Edom and Seir are to become, is not expressly stated; but it is evident from the context, and from אֹיְבֵי (its enemies), which is not a genitive dependent upon *Seir*, but is in apposition to *Edom* and *Seir*, just as צָרִי in ver. 8 is in apposition to גֹּיִם. Edom and Seir were his, i.e. Israel’s enemies; therefore they were to be taken by the ruler who was to arise out of Israel. *Edom* is the name of the people, *Seir* of the country, just as in Gen. xxxii. 4; so that *Seir* is not to be understood as relating to the præ-Edomitish population of the land, which had been subjugated by the descendants of Esau, and had lost all its independence a long time before. In Moses’ days the Israelites were not allowed to fight with the Edomites, even when they refused to allow them to pass peaceably through their territory (see chap. xx. 21), but were commanded to leave them in their possessions as a brother nation (Deut. ii. 4, 5). In the future, however, their relation to one another was to be a very different one; because the hostility of Edom, already in existence, grew more and more into obstinate and daring enmity, which broke up all the ties of affection that Israel was to regard as holy, and thus brought about the destruction of the Edomites.—The fulfilment of this prophecy commenced with the subjugation of the Edomites by David (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16; 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13), but it will not be completed till “the end of the days,” when all the enemies of God and His Church will be made the footstool of Christ (Ps. cx. 1 sqq.). That David did not complete the subjugation of Edom is evident, on the one hand, from the fact that the Edomites revolted again under Solomon, though without success (1 Kings xi. 14 sqq.); that they shook off the yoke imposed upon them under Joram (2 Kings viii. 20); and notwithstanding their defeat by Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11) and Uzziah (2 Kings xiv. 22; 2 Chron. xxvi. 2), invaded Judah a second time under Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 17), and afterwards availed themselves of every opportunity to manifest their hostility to the kingdom of Judah and the Jews generally,—as for example at the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (Ezek. xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 5; Obad. 10 and 13), and in the wars between the Maccabees and the Syrians (1 Macc. v. 3, 65; 2 Macc. x. 15, xii. 38 sqq.),—until they were eventually conquered by John Hyrcanus in the year B.C. 129, and compelled to submit to circumcision, and incorporated in

the Jewish state (*Josephus, Ant.* xiii. 9, 1, xv. 7, 9; Wars of the Jews, iv. 5, 5). But notwithstanding this, they got the government over the Jews into their own hands through *Antipater* and *Herod* (*Josephus, Ant.* xiv. 8, 5), and only disappeared from the stage of history with the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans. On the other hand, the declarations of the prophets (*Amos* ix. 12; *Obad.* 17 sqq.), which foretell, with an unmistakeable allusion to this prophecy, the possession of the remnant of Edom by the kingdom of Israel, and the announcements in *Isa.* xxxiv. and lxiii. 1-6, *Jer.* xlix. 7 sqq., *Ezek.* xxv. 12 sqq. and 35, comp. with *Ps.* cxxxvii. 7 and *Lam.* iv. 21, 22, prove still more clearly that Edom, as the leading foe of the kingdom of God, will only be utterly destroyed when the victory of the latter over the hostile power of the world has been fully and finally secured.—Whilst Edom falls, Israel will acquire power. עָצָה חַיִּל, to acquire ability or power (*Deut.* viii. 17, 18; *Ruth* iv. 11), not merely to show itself brave or strong. It is rendered correctly by *Onkelos*, “*prosperabitur in opibus*,” and *Jonathan*, “*prævalebunt in opibus et possidebunt eos*.”—Ver. 19. “*And a ruler shall come out of Jacob, and destroy what is left out of cities*.” The subject to יִרְדֵּה is indefinite, and to be supplied from the verb itself. We have to think of the ruler foretold as star and sceptre. The abbreviated form יִרְדֵּה is not used for the future יִרְדֶּה, but is jussive in its force. One out of Jacob shall rule. מְעִיר is employed in a collected and general sense, as in *Ps.* lxxii. 16. Out of every city in which there is a remnant of Edom, it shall be destroyed. שָׂרִיר is equivalent to שְׂאֲרֵית אֶדוֹם (*Amos* ix. 12). The explanation, “destroy the remnant out of the city, namely, out of the holy city of Jerusalem” (*Ewald* and *Baur*), is forced, and cannot be sustained from the parallelism.

Ver. 20. The *second* saying in this prophecy relates to the *Amalekites*. Balaam sees them, not with the eyes of his body, but in a state of ecstasy, like the star out of Jacob. “*Beginning of the heathen is Amalek, and its end is destruction*.” Amalek is called the beginning of the nations, not “as belonging to the most distinguished and foremost of the nations in age, power, and celebrity” (*Knobel*),—for in all these respects this Bedouin tribe, which descended from a grandson of Esau, was surpassed by many other nations,—but as the first heathen nation which opened the conflict of the heathen nations against Israel as the people of God (see at *Ex.* xvii. 8 sqq.). As its beginning had been enmity against Israel, its end would be “even to the perishing” (עַד אֵיבָר) (*עַד אֵיבָר*), i.e. reaching the position of one

who was perishing, falling into destruction, which commenced under Saul and was completed under Hezekiah (see vol. i. p. 324).

Vers. 21 and 22. The third *saying* relates to the *Kenites*, whose origin is involved in obscurity (see at Gen. xv. 19), as there are no other Kenites mentioned in the whole of the Old Testament, with the exception of Gen. xv. 19, than the Kenites who went to Canaan with Hobab the brother-in-law of Moses (chap. x. 29 sqq.: see Judg. i. 16, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29); so that there are not sufficient grounds for the distinction between Canaanitish and Midianitish Kenites, as *Michaelis*, *Hengstenberg*, and others suppose. The hypothesis that Balaam is speaking of Canaanitish Kenites, or of the Kenites as representatives of the Canaanites, is as unfounded as the hypothesis that by the Kenites we are to understand the Midianites, or that the Kenites mentioned here and in Gen. xv. 19 are a branch of the supposed aboriginal Amalekites (*Ewald*). The saying concerning the Kenites runs thus: "*Durable is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest laid upon the rock; for should Kain be destroyed until Asshur shall carry thee captive?*" This saying "applies to friends and not to foes of Israel" (*v. Hofmann*), so that it is perfectly applicable to the Kenites, who were friendly with Israel. The antithetical association of the Amalekites and Kenites answers perfectly to the attitude assumed at Horeb towards Israel, on the one hand by the Amalekites, and on the other hand by the Kenites, in the person of Jethro the leader of their tribe (see Ex. xvii. 8 sqq., xviii., and vol. ii. p. 83). The dwelling-place of the Kenites was of lasting duration, because its nest was laid upon a rock (רֹם is a passive participle, as in 2 Sam. xiii. 32, and Obad. 4). This description of the dwelling-place of the Kenites cannot be taken literally, because it cannot be shown that either the Kenites or the Midianites dwelt in inaccessible mountains, as the Edomites are said to have done in Obad. 3, 4; Jer. xlix. 16. The words are to be interpreted figuratively, and in all probability the figure is taken from the rocky mountains of Horeb, in the neighbourhood of which the Kenites led a nomade life before their association with Israel (see at Ex. iii. 1). As *v. Hofmann* correctly observes: "Kain, which had left its inaccessible mountain home in Horeb, enclosed as it was by the desert, to join a people who were only wandering in search of a home, by that very act really placed its rest upon a still safer rock." This is sustained in ver. 22 by the statement that Kain would not be given up to destruction till Asshur carried it away into captivity. כִּי אֲשִׁיׁר does not mean "nevertheless."

It signifies “*unless*” after a negative clause, whether the negation be expressed directly by אֵל, or indirectly by a question; and “*only*” where it is not preceded by either a direct or an indirect negation, as in Gen. xl. 14; Job xlii. 8. The latter meaning, however, is not applicable here, because it is unsuitable to the עַד־מָה (until) which follows. Consequently אֵל can only be understood in the sense of “is it that,” as in 1 Kings i. 27, Isa. xxix. 16, Job xxxi. 16, etc., and as introducing an indirect query in a negative sense: “For is it (the case) that Kain shall fall into destruction until . . . ?”—equivalent to “Kain shall not be exterminated until Asshur shall carry him away into captivity;” Kain will only be overthrown by the Assyrian imperial power. *Kain*, the tribe-father, is used poetically for *the Kenite*, the tribe of which he was the founder. בָּעַר, to exterminate, the sense in which it frequently occurs, as in Deut. xiii. 6, xvii. 7, etc. (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 11; 1 Kings xxii. 47).—For the fulfilment of this prophecy we are not to look merely to the fact that one branch of the Kenites, which separated itself, according to Judg. iv. 11, from its comrades in the south of Judah, and settled in Naphtali near Kadesh, was probably carried away into captivity by Tiglath-Pileser along with the population of Galilee (2 Kings xv. 29); but the name Asshur, as the name of the first great kingdom of the world, which rose up from the east against the theocracy, is employed, as we may clearly see from ver. 24, to designate all the powers of the world which took their rise in Asshur, and proceeded forth from it (see also Ezra vi. 22, where the Persian king is still called king of *Asshur* or Assyria). Balaam did not foretell that this worldly power would oppress Israel also, and lead it into captivity, because the oppression of the Israelites was simply a transitory judgment, which served to refine the nation of God and not to destroy it, and which was even appointed according to the counsel of God to open and prepare the way for the conquest of the kingdoms of the world by the kingdom of God. To the Kenites only did the captivity become a judgment of destruction; because, although on terms of friendship with the people of Israel, and outwardly associated with them, yet, as is clearly shown by 1 Sam. xv. 6, they never entered inwardly into fellowship with Israel and Jehovah’s covenant of grace, but sought to maintain their own independence side by side with Israel, and thus forfeited the blessing of God which rested upon Israel.¹

¹ This simple but historically established interpretation completely removes the objection, “that Balaam could no more foretell destruction to the friends of

Vers. 23, 24. The *fourth* saying applies to *Asshur*, and is introduced by an exclamation of woe: "*Woe! who will live, when God sets this! And ships (come) from the side of Chittim, and press Asshur, and press Eber, and he also perishes.*" The words "*Woe, who will live,*" point to the fearfulness of the following judgment, which went deep to the heart of the seer, because it would fall upon the sons of his own people (see at chap. xxii. 5). The meaning is, "*Who will preserve his life in the universal catastrophe that is coming?*" (*Hengstenberg.*) מִשְׁמֵי, either "*since the setting of it,*" equivalent to "*from the time when God sets (determines) this*" (ὅταν θῇ ταῦτα ὁ Θεός, *quando faciet ista Deus*; LXX., *Vulg.*), or "*on account of the setting of it,*" i.e. because God determines this. שֵׁם, to set, applied to that which God establishes, ordains, or brings to pass, as in Isa. xlv. 7; Hab. i. 12. The suffix in שֵׁמִי is not to be referred to *Asshur*, as *Knobel* supposes, because the prophecy relates not to *Asshur* "*as the mighty power by which everything was crushed and overthrown,*" but to a power that would come from the far west and crush *Asshur* itself. The suffix refers rather to the substance of the prophecy that follows, and is to be understood in a neuter sense. אֱלֹהִים is "*GOD,*" and not an abbreviation of אֱלֹהִים, which is always written with the article in the Pentateuch (אֱלֹהִים, Gen. xix. 8, 25, xxvi. 3, 4; Lev. xviii. 27; Deut. iv. 42, vii. 22, xix. 11), and only occurs once without the article, viz. in 1 Chron. xx. 8. צִיִּים, from צִי (Isa. xxxiii. 21), signifies ships, like צִיִּים in the passage in Dan. xi. 30, which is founded upon the prophecy before us. מִן, from the side, as in Ex. ii. 5, Deut. ii. 37, etc. כִּתִּיִּים is *Cyprus* with the capital *Citium* (see at Gen. x. 4), which is mentioned as intervening between Greece and Phœnicia, and the principal station for the maritime commerce of Phœnicia, so that all the fleets passing from the west to the east necessarily took *Cyprus* in their way (Isa. xxiii. 1). The nations that would come across the sea from the side of *Cyprus* to humble *Asshur*, are not mentioned by name, because this lay beyond the range of *Balaam's* vision. He simply gives utterance to the thought, "*A power comes from Chittim over the sea, to which Asshur and Eber, the eastern and the western Shem, will both succumb*" (*v. Hofmann*). *Eber* neither refers to the Israelites merely as Hebrews (LXX.,

Israel than to Israel itself," by which *Kurtz* would preclude the attempt to refer this prophecy to the Kenites, who were in alliance with Israel. His further objections to *v. Hofmann's* view are either inconclusive, or at any rate do not affect the explanation that we have given.

Vulg.), nor to the races beyond the Euphrates, as *Onkelos* and others suppose, but, like "all the sons of Eber" in Gen. x. 21, to the posterity of Abraham who descended from Eber through Peleg, and also to the descendants of Eber through Joktan: so that *Asshur*, as the representative of the Shemites who dwelt in the far east, included Elam within itself; whilst *Eber*, on the other hand, represented the western Shemites, the peoples that sprang from Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram (Gen. x. 21). "*And he also shall perish for ever:*" these words cannot relate to Asshur and Eber, for their fate is already announced in the word עָנָה (afflict, press), but only to the new western power that was to come over the sea, and to which the others were to succumb. "Whatever powers might rise up in the world of peoples, the heathen prophet of Jehovah sees them all fall, one through another, and one after another; for at last he loses in the distance the power to discern whence it is that the last which he sees rise up is to receive its fatal blow" (*v. Hofmann*, p. 520). The overthrow of this last power of the world, concerning which the prophet Daniel was the first to receive and proclaim new revelations, belongs to "the end of the days," in which the star out of Jacob is to rise upon Israel as a "bright morning star" (Rev. xxii. 16).

Now if according to this the fact is firmly established, that in this last prophecy of Balaam, "the judgment of history even upon the imperial powers of the *West*, and the final victory of the King of the kingdom of God were proclaimed, though in fading outlines, more than a thousand years before the events themselves," as *Tholuck* has expressed it in his *Propheten und ihre Weissagung*; the announcement of the star out of Jacob, and the sceptre out of Israel, *i.e.* of the King and Ruler of the kingdom of God, who was to dash Moab to pieces and take possession of Edom, cannot have received its complete fulfilment in the victories of David over these enemies of Israel; but will only be fully accomplished in the future overthrow of all the enemies of the kingdom of God. By the "end of days," both here and everywhere else, we are to understand the Messianic era, and that not merely at its commencement, but in its entire development, until the final completion of the kingdom of God at the return of our Lord to judgment. In the "star out of Jacob," Balaam beholds not David as the one king of Israel, but the Messiah, in whom the royalty of Israel promised to the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11) attains its fullest realization. The star and sceptre are symbols not of "Israel's royalty personified"

(*Hengstenberg*), but of the real King in a concrete form, as He was to arise out of Israel at a future day. It is true that Israel received the promised King in David, who conquered and subjugated the Moabites, Edomites, and other neighbouring nations that were hostile to Israel. But in the person of David and his rule the kingly government of Israel was only realized in its first and imperfect beginnings. Its completion was not attained till the coming of the second David (Hos. iii. 5; Jer. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 24, xxxvii. 24, 25), the Messiah Himself, who breaks in pieces all the enemies of Israel, and founds an everlasting kingdom, to which all the kingdoms and powers of this world are to be brought into subjection (2 Sam vii. 12-16; Ps. ii., lxxii., and cx.).¹

If, however, the star out of Jacob first rose upon the world in Christ, the star which showed the wise men from the east the way to the new-born "King of the Jews," and went before them, till it stood above the manger at Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 1-11), is intimately related to our prophecy. Only we must not understand the allusion as being so direct, that Balaam beheld the very star which appeared to the wise men, and made known to them the birth of the Saviour of the world. The star of the wise men was rather an embodiment of the star seen by Balaam, which announced to them the fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy,—a visible sign by which God revealed to them the fact, that the appearance of the star which

¹ The application of the star out of Jacob to the Messiah is to be found even in *Onkelos*; and this interpretation was so widely spread among the Jews, that the pseudo-Messiah who arose under Hadrian, and whom even *R. Akiba* acknowledged, took the name of *Bar Cochba* (son of a star), in consequence of this prophecy, from which the nickname of *Bar Coziba* (son of a lie) was afterwards formed, when he had submitted to the Romans, with all his followers. In the Christian Church also the Messianic explanation was the prevalent one, from the time of *Justin* and *Irenæus* onwards (see the proofs in *Calovii Bibl. ad h. l.*), although, according to a remark of *Theodore*t (*qu. 44 ad Num.*), there were some who did not adopt it. The exclusive application of the passage to David was so warmly defended, first of all by *Grotius*, and still more by *Verschuër*, that even *Hengstenberg* and *Tholuck* gave up the Messianic interpretation. But they both of them came back to it afterwards, the former in his "Balaam" and the second edition of his *Christology*, and the latter in his treatise on "the Prophets." At the present time the Messianic character of the prophecy is denied by none but the supporters of the more vulgar rationalism, such as *Knobel* and others; whereas *G. Baur* (in his *History of Old Testament Prophecy*) has no doubt that the prediction of the star out of Jacob points to the exalted and glorious King, filled with the Holy Spirit, whom *Isaiah* (ch. ix. 5, xi. 1 sqq.) and *Micah* (v. 2) expected as the royal founder of the theocracy. *Reinke* gives a complete history of the interpretation of this passage in his *Beiträge*, iv. 186 sqq.

Balaam beheld in the far distant future had been realized at Bethlehem in the birth of Christ, the King of the Jews.—The “wise men from the east,” who had been made acquainted with the revelations of God to Israel by the Jews of the *diaspora*, might feel themselves specially attracted in their search for the salvation of the world by the predictions of Balaam, from the fact that this seer belonged to their own country, and came “out of the mountains of the east” (ch. xxiii. 7); so that they made his sayings the centre of their expectations of salvation, and were also conducted through them to the Saviour of all nations by means of supernatural illumination. “God unfolded to their minds, which were already filled with a longing for the ‘star out of Jacob’ foretold by Balaam, the meaning of the star which proclaimed the fulfilment of Balaam’s prophecy; He revealed to them, that is to say, the fact that it announced the birth of the ‘King of the Jews.’ And just as Balaam had joyously exclaimed, ‘I see Him,’ and ‘I behold Him,’ they also could say, ‘We have seen His star’” (*Hengstenberg*).

If, in conclusion, we compare Balaam’s prophecy of the star that would come out of Jacob, and the sceptre that would rise out of Israel, with the prediction of the patriarch Jacob, of the sceptre that should not depart from Judah, till the *Shiloh* came whom the nations would obey (Gen. xlix. 10), it is easy to observe that Balaam not only foretold more clearly the attitude of Israel to the nations of the world, and the victory of the kingdom of God over every hostile kingdom of the world; but that he also proclaimed the Bringer of Peace expected by Jacob at the end of the days to be a mighty ruler, whose sceptre would break in pieces and destroy all the enemies of the nation of God. The tribes of Israel stood before the mental eye of the patriarch in their full development into the nation in which all the families of the earth were to be blessed. From this point of view, the salvation that was to blossom in the future for the children of Israel culminated in the peaceful kingdom of the *Shiloh*, in whom the dominion of the victorious lion out of Judah was to attain its fullest perfection. But the eye of Balaam, the seer, which had been opened by the Spirit of God, beheld the nation of Israel encamped, according to its tribes, in the face of its foes, the nations of this world. They were endeavouring to destroy Israel; but according to the counsel of the Almighty God and Lord of the whole world, in their warfare against the nation that was blessed of Jehovah, they were to succumb one after

the other, and be destroyed by the king that was to arise out of Israel. This determinate counsel of the living God was to be proclaimed by Balaam, the heathen seer out of Mesopotamia the centre of the national development of the ancient world: and, first of all, to the existing representatives of the nations of the world that were hostile to Israel, that they might see what would at all times tend to their peace—might see, that is to say, that in their hostility to Israel they were rebelling against the Almighty God of heaven and earth, and that they would assuredly perish in the conflict, since life and salvation were only to be found with the people of Israel, whom God had blessed. And even though Balaam had to make known the purpose of the Lord concerning His people primarily, and in fact solely, to the Moabites and their neighbours, who were like-minded with them, his announcement was also intended for Israel itself, and was to be a pledge to the congregation of Israel for all time of the certain fulfilment of the promises of God; and so to fill them with strength and courage, that in all their conflicts with the powers of this world, they should rely upon the Lord their God with the firmest confidence of faith, should strive with unswerving fidelity after the end of their divine calling, and should build up the kingdom of God on earth, which is to outlast all the kingdoms of the world.—In what manner the Israelites became acquainted with the prophecies of Balaam, so that Moses could incorporate them into the *Thorah*, we are nowhere told, but we can infer it with tolerable certainty from the subsequent fate of Balaam himself.

Ver. 25. At the close of this announcement Balaam and Balak departed from one another. “*Balaam rose up, and went and turned towards his place*” (i.e. set out on the way to his house); “*and king Balak also went his way*.” *יָשַׁב לְמִקְמוֹ* does not mean, “he returned to his place,” into his home beyond the Euphrates (equivalent to *יָשַׁב אֶל־מִקְמוֹ*), but merely “he turned towards his place” (both here and in Gen. xviii. 33). That he really returned home, is not implied in the words themselves; and the question, whether he did so, must be determined from other circumstances. In the further course of the history, we learn that Balaam went to the Midianites, and advised them to seduce the Israelites to unfaithfulness to Jehovah, by tempting them to join in the worship of Peor (chap. xxxi. 16). He was still with them at the time when the Israelites engaged in the war of vengeance against that people, and was slain by the Israelites along with the five princes of Midian (chap. xxxi. 8;

Josh. xiii. 22). At the time when he fell into the hands of the Israelites, he no doubt made a full communication to the Israelitish general, or to Phinehas, who accompanied the army as priest, concerning his blessings and prophecies, probably in the hope of saving his life ; though he failed to accomplish his end.¹

WHOREDOM OF ISRAEL, AND ZEAL OF PHINEHAS.—CHAP. XXV.

Vers. 1-5. The Lord had defended His people Israel from Balaam's curse ; but the Israelites themselves, instead of keeping the covenant of their God, fell into the snares of heathen seduction (vers. 1, 2). Whilst encamped at Shittim, in the steppes of Moab, the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab : they accepted the invitations of the latter to a sacrificial festival of their gods, took part in their sacrificial meals, and even worshipped the gods of the Moabites, and indulged in the licentious worship of *Baal-Peor*. As the princes of Midian, who were allied to Moab, had been the advisers and assistants of the Moabitish king in the attempt to destroy the Israelites by a curse of God ; so now, after the failure of that plan, they were the soul of the new undertaking to weaken Israel and render it harmless, by seducing it to idolatry, and thus leading it into apostasy from its God. But it was Balaam, as is afterwards casually observed in chap. xxxi. 16, who first of all gave this advice. This is passed over here, because the point of chief importance in relation to the object of the narrative, was not Balaam's share in the proposal, but the carrying out of the proposal itself. The daughters of Moab, however, also took part in carrying it out, by forming friendly associations with the Israelites, and then inviting them to their sacrificial festival. They only are mentioned in vers. 1, 2, as being the daughters of the land. The participation of the Midianites appears first of all in the shameless licentiousness of *Cozbi*, the daughter of the Midianitish prince, from which we not only see that the princes of Midian performed their

¹ It is possible, however, as *Hengstenberg* imagines, that after Balaam's departure from Balak, he took his way into the camp of the Israelites, and there made known his prophecies to Moses or to the elders of Israel, in the hope of obtaining from them the reward which Balak had withheld, and that it was not till after his failure to obtain full satisfaction to his ambition and covetousness here, that he went to the Midianites, to avenge himself upon the Israelites, by the proposals that he made to them. The objections made by *Kurtz* to this conjecture are not strong enough to prove that it is inadmissible, though the possibility of the thing does not involve either its probability or its certainty.

part, but obtain an explanation of the reason why the judgment upon the crafty destroyers of Israel was to be executed upon the Midianites.¹ *Shittim*, an abbreviation of *Abel-Shittim* (see at chap. xxii. 1), to which the camp of the Israelites in the steppes of Moab reached (chap. xxxiii. 49), is mentioned here instead of *Arboth-Moab*, because it was at this northern point of the camp that the Israelites came into contact with the Moabites, and that the latter invited them to take part in their sacrificial meals; and in Josh. ii. 1 and iii. 1, because it was from this spot that the Israelites commenced the journey to Canaan, as being the nearest to the place where they were to pass through the Jordan. שִׁטִּים, construed with שָׁם, as in Ezek. xvi. 28, signifies to incline to a person, to attach one's self to him, so as to commit fornication. The word applies to carnal and spiritual whoredom. The lust of the flesh induced the Israelites to approach the daughters of Moab, and form acquaintances and friendships with them, in consequence of which they were invited by them "to the slain-offerings of their gods," i.e. to the sacrificial festivals and sacrificial meals, in connection with which they also "adored their gods," i.e. took part in the idolatrous worship connected with the sacrificial festival. These sacrificial meals were celebrated in honour of the Moabitish god *Baal-Peor*, so that the Israelites joined themselves to him. צִמָּר, in the *Niphal*, to bind one's self to a person. *Baal-Peor* is the *Baal* of *Peor*, who was worshipped in the city of *Beth-Peor* (Deut. iii. 29, iv. 46; see at chap. xxiii. 28), a Moabitish *Priapus*, in honour of whom women and virgins prostituted themselves. As the god of war, he was called *Chemosh* (see at chap. xxi. 29).—Vers. 3–5. And the anger of the Lord burned against the people, so that Jehovah commanded Moses to fetch the heads of the people, i.e. to assemble them together, and to "hang up" the men who had joined themselves to *Baal-Peor* "before the Lord against the sun," that the anger of God might turn away from Israel. The burning of the wrath of God, which was to be turned away from the people by the punishment of the

¹ Consequently there is no discrepancy between vers. 1–5 and 6–18, to warrant the violent hypothesis of *Knobel*, that there are two different accounts mixed together in this chapter,—an Elohistic account in vers. 6–18, of which the commencement has been dropped, and a Jehovistic account in vers. 1–5, of which the latter part has been cut off. The particular points adduced in proof of this fall to the ground, when the history is correctly explained; and such assertions as these, that the name *Shittim* and the allusion to the judges in ver. 5, and to the wrath of Jehovah in vers. 3 and 4, are foreign to the Elohist, are not proofs, but empty assumptions.

guilty, as enjoined upon Moses, consisted, as we may see from vers. 8, 9, in a plague inflicted upon the nation, which carried off a great number of the people, a sudden death, as in chap. xiv. 37, xvii. 11. *הִקְצֵה*, from *קָצַח*, to be torn apart or torn away (*Ges.*, *Winer*), refers to the punishment of crucifixion, a mode of capital punishment which was adopted by most of the nations of antiquity (see *Winer*, *bibl. R. W.* i. p. 680), and was carried out sometimes by driving a stake into the body, and so impaling them (*ἀνασκολοπίζειν*), the mode practised by the Assyrians and Persians (*Herod.* iii. 159, and *Layard's Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 374, and plate on p. 369), at other times by fastening them to a stake or nailing them to a cross (*ἀνασταυροῦν*). In the instance before us, however, the idolaters were not impaled or crucified alive, but, as we may see from the word *הִקְצֵה* in ver. 5, and in accordance with the custom frequently adopted by other nations (see *Herzog's Encyclopædia*), they were first of all put to death, and then impaled upon a stake or fastened upon a cross, so that the impaling or crucifixion was only an aggravation of the capital punishment, like the burning in Lev. xx. 14, and the hanging (*הִלָּךְ*) in Deut. xxi. 22. The rendering adopted by the LXX. and *Vulgate* is *παραδειγματίζειν*, *suspendere*, in this passage, and in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, 9, *ἐξηλιάζειν* (to expose to the sun), and *crucifigere*. *לִיהוָה*, for Jehovah, as satisfaction for Him, *i.e.* to appease His wrath. *אֹתָם* (*them*) does not refer to the heads of the nation, but to the guilty persons, upon whom the heads of the nation were to pronounce sentence.—Ver. 5. The judges were to put to death every one his men, *i.e.* such of the evil-doers as belonged to his forum, according to the judicial arrangements instituted in Ex. xviii. This command of Moses to the judges was not carried out, however, because the matter took a different turn.

Vers. 6-9. Whilst the heads of the people were deliberating on the subject, and the whole congregation was assembled before the tabernacle, weeping on account of the divine wrath, there came an Israelite, a prince of the tribe of Simeon, who brought a Midianitish woman, the daughter of a Midianitish chief (ver. 14), to his brethren, *i.e.* into the camp of the Israelites, before the eyes of Moses and all the congregation, to commit adultery with her in his tent. This shameless wickedness, in which the depth of the corruption that had penetrated into the congregation came to light, inflamed the zeal of *Phinehas*, the son of Eleazar the high priest, to such an extent, that he seized a spear, and rushing into the tent of

the adulterer, pierced both of them through in the very act. **הִקָּבֵה**, *lit.* the arched, or arch, is applied here to the inner or hinder division of the tent, the sleeping-room and women's room in the larger tents of the upper classes.—Vers. 8, 9. Through this judgment, which was executed by Phinehas with holy zeal upon the daring sinners, the plague was restrained, so that it came to an end. The example which Phinehas had made of these sinners was an act of intercession, by which the high priest appeased the wrath of God, and averted the judgment of destruction from the whole congregation (“he was zealous for his God,” **וַיִּכְפֹּר**, ver. 13). The thought upon which this expression is founded is, that the punishment which was inflicted as a purifying chastisement served as a “covering” against the exterminating judgment (see *Herzog's Cyclopædia*).¹—Ver. 9. Twenty-four thousand men were killed by this plague. The Apostle Paul deviates from this statement in 1 Cor. x. 8, and gives the number of those that fell as twenty-three thousand, probably from a traditional interpretation of the schools of the scribes, according to which a thousand were deducted from the twenty-four thousand who perished, as being the number of those who were hanged by the judges, so that only twenty-three thousand would be killed by the plague; and it is to these alone that Paul refers.

Vers. 10–15. For this act of divine zeal the eternal possession of the priesthood was promised to Phinehas and his posterity as Jehovah's covenant of peace. **בְּקִנְיָאִי**, by displaying my zeal in the midst of them (*viz.* the Israelites). **קִנְיָאִי** is not “zeal for me,” but “my zeal,” the zeal of Jehovah with which Phinehas was filled, and impelled to put the daring sinners to death. By doing this he had averted destruction from the Israelites, and restrained the working of Jehovah's zeal, which had manifested itself in the plague. “*I gave him my covenant of peace*” (the suffix is attached to the governing noun, as in Lev. vi. 3). **נָתַן בְּרִית**, as in Gen. xvii. 2, to give, *i.e.* to fulfil the covenant, to grant what was promised in the covenant. The covenant granted to Phinehas consisted in the fact, that an “eternal priesthood” (*i.e.* the eternal possession of the

¹ Upon this act of Phinehas, and the similar examples of Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 33) and Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 24), the later Jews erected the so-called “zealot right,” *jus zelotarum*, according to which any one, even though not qualified by his official position, possessed the right, in cases of any daring contempt of the theocratic institutions, or any daring violation of the honour of God, to proceed with vengeance against the criminals. (See *Salden, otia theol.* pp. 609 sqq., and *Buddeus, de jure zelotarum apud Hebr.* 1699, and in *Oelrich's collect.* T. i. Diss. 5.) The stoning of Stephen furnishes an example of this.

priesthood) was secured to him, not for himself alone, but for his descendants also, as a covenant, *i.e.* in a covenant, or irrevocable form, since God never breaks a covenant that He has made. In accordance with this promise, the high-priesthood which passed from Eleazar to Phinehas (Judg. xx. 28) continued in his family, with the exception of a brief interruption in Eli's days (see at 1 Sam. i.—iii. and xiv. 3), until the time of the last gradual dissolution of the Jewish state through the tyranny of Herod and his successors (see my *Archäologie*, § 38).—In vers. 14, 15, the names of the two daring sinners are given. The father of Cozbi, the Midianitish princess, was named *Zur*, and is described here as “head of the tribes” (אֲשֵׁרֵי הַשִּׁבְטִים, see at Gen. xxv. 16) of a father's house in Midian, *i.e.* as the head of several of the Midianitish tribes that were descended from one tribe-father; in chap. xxxi. 8, however, he is described as a king, and classed among the five kings of Midian who were slain by the Israelites.

Vers. 16–18. The Lord now commanded Moses to show hostility (צָרָר) to the Midianites, and smite them, on account of the stratagem which they had practised upon the Israelites by tempting them to idolatry, “in order that the practical zeal of Phinehas against sin, by which expiation had been made for the guilt, might be adopted by all the nation” (*Baumgarten*). The *inf. abs.* צָרָר, instead of the *imperative*, as in Ex. xx. 8, etc. עַל־דָּבָר פ', in consideration of *Peor*, and indeed, or especially, in consideration of *Cozbi*. The repetition is emphatic. The wickedness of the Midianites culminated in the shameless wantonness of Cozbi the Midianitish princess. “*Their sister*,” *i.e.* one of the members of their tribe.—The 19th verse belongs to the following chapter, and forms the introduction to chap. xxvi. 1.¹

MUSTERING OF ISRAEL IN THE STEPPES OF MOAB.—CHAP. XXVI.

Before taking vengeance upon the Midianites, as they had been commanded, the Israelites were to be mustered as the army of Jehovah, by means of a fresh numbering, since the generation that was mustered at Sinai (chap. i.—iv.) had died out in the wilderness, with the sole exception of Caleb and Joshua (vers. 64, 65). On this ground the command of God was issued, “after the plague,” for a fresh census and muster. For with the plague the last of those who came out of Egypt, and were not to enter Canaan, had

¹ In the English version this division is adopted.—TR.

been swept away, and thus the sentence had been completely executed.—The object of the fresh numbering, however, was not merely to muster Israel for the war with the Midianites, and in the approaching conquest of the promised land with the Canaanites also, but was intended to serve at the same time as a preparation for their settlement in Canaan, viz. for the division of the conquered land among the tribes and families of Israel. For this reason (chap. xxvi.) the families of the different tribes are enumerated here, which was not the case in chap. i.; and general instructions are also given in vers. 52–56, with reference to the division of Canaan.—The numbering was simply extended, as before, to the male population of the age of 20 years and upwards, and was no doubt carried out, like the previous census at Sinai, by Moses and the high priest (Eleazar), with the assistance of the heads of the tribes, although the latter are not expressly mentioned here.—The names of the families correspond—with very few exceptions, which have been already noticed in vol. i. pp. 372–3—to the grandsons and great-grandsons of Jacob mentioned in Gen. xlii.—With regard to the total number of the people, and the number of the different tribes, compare the remarks at pp. 4 sqq.

Vers. 1–51. MUSTERING OF THE TWELVE TRIBES.—Vers. 1–4. The command of God to Moses and Eleazar is the same as in chap. i., ii., and iii., except that it does not enter so much into details.—Ver. 3. “*And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them*” (וַיִּדְבֹּר with the accusative, as in Gen. xxxvii. 4). The pronoun refers to “the children of Israel,” or more correctly, to the heads of the nation as the representatives of the congregation, who were to carry out the numbering. On the *Arloth-Moab*, see at chap. xxii. 1. Only the leading point in their words is mentioned, viz. “from twenty years old and upwards” (*sc.* shall ye take the number of the children of Israel), since it was very simple to supply the words “take the sum” from ver. 2.¹—The words from “the

¹ This is, at all events, easier and simpler than the alterations of the text which have been suggested for the purpose of removing the difficulty. *Knobel* proposes to alter וַיִּדְבֹּר into וַיִּדְבֹּר, and לְאַמֹּר into לְפָקֵד: “Moses and Eleazar arranged the children of Israel when they mustered them.” But הַדְבִּיר does not mean to arrange, but simply to drive in pairs, to subjugate (Ps. xviii. 48, and xlvii. 4),—an expression which, as must be immediately apparent, is altogether inapplicable to the arrangement of the people in families for the purpose of taking a census.

children of Israel" in ver. 4 onwards form the introduction to the enumeration of the different tribes (vers. 5 sqq.), and the verb יָהָיו (were) must be supplied. "*And the children of Israel, who went forth out of Egypt, were Reuben,*" etc.—Vers. 5-11. The families of *Reuben* tally with Gen. xli. 9, Ex. vi. 14, and 1 Chron. v. 3. The plural בָּנָיו (sons), in ver. 8, where only one son is mentioned, is to be explained from the fact, that several sons of this particular son (*i.e.* grandsons) are mentioned afterwards. On *Dathan* and *Abiram*, see at chap. xvi. 1 and 32 sqq. See also the remark made here in vers. 10b and 11, viz. that those who were destroyed with the company of *Korah* were for a sign (סֵמֶן, here a warning); but that the sons of *Korah* were not destroyed along with their father.—Vers. 12-14. The *Simeonites* counted only five families, as *Ohad* (Gen. xli. 10) left no family. *Nemuel* is called *Jemuel* there, as *yod* and *nun* are often interchanged (cf. *Ges. thes.* pp. 833 and 557); and *Zerach* is another name of the same signification for *Zohar* (*Zerach*, the rising of the sun; *Zohar*, candor, splendour).—Vers. 15-18. The *Gadites* are the same as in Gen. xli. 16, except that *Ozni* is called *Ezbon* there.—Vers. 19-22. The sons and families of *Judah* agree with Gen. xli. 12 (cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6 sqq.); also with 1 Chron. ii. 3-5.—Vers. 23-25. The families of *Issachar* correspond to the sons mentioned in Gen. xli. 13, except that the name *Job* occurs there instead of *Jashub*. The two names have the same signification, as *Job* is derived from an Arabic word which signifies to return.—Vers. 26 and 27. The families of *Zebulun* correspond to the sons named in Gen. xli. 14.—Vers. 28-37. The descendants of *Joseph* were classified in two leading families, according to his two sons *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, who were born before the removal of Israel to Egypt, and were raised into founders of tribes in consequence of the patriarch Israel having adopted them as his own sons (Gen. xlviii.).—Vers. 29-34. *Eight families descended from Manasseh*: viz. one from his son *Machir*, the second from *Machir's* son or *Manasseh's* grandson *Gilead*, and the other six from the *six sons of Gilead*. The genealogical accounts in chap. xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 1, and Josh. xvii. 1 sqq., fully harmonize with this, except that *Iezer* (ver. 30) is called *Abiezer* in Josh. xvii. 2; whereas only a part of the names mentioned here occur in the genealogical fragments in 1 Chron. ii. 21-24, and vii. 14-29. In ver. 33, a son of *Hepher*, named *Zelophehad*, is mentioned. He had no sons, but only daughters, whose names are given here to prepare the way for the legal

regulations mentioned in chap. xxvii. and xxxvi., to which this fact gave rise.—Vers. 35–37. There were four families descended from *Ephraim*; three from his sons, and one from his grandson. Of the descendants of *Sutelah* several successive links are given in 1 Chron. vii. 20 sqq.—Vers. 38–41. The children of *Benjamin* formed *seven* families, five of whom were founded by his sons, and two by grandsons. (On the differences which occur between the names given here and those in Gen. xli. 21, see vol. i. pp. 372, 373.) Some of the sons and grandsons of Benjamin mentioned here are also found in the genealogical fragments in 1 Chron. vii. 6–18, and viii. 1 sqq.—Vers. 42 and 43. The descendants of *Dan* formed only *one* family, named from a son of Dan, who is called *Shuham* here, but *Hushim* in Gen. xli. 23; though this family no doubt branched out into several smaller families, which are not named here, simply because this list contains only the leading families into which the tribes were divided.—Vers. 44–47. The families of *Asher* agree with the sons of Asher mentioned in Gen. xli. 17 and 1 Chron. vii. 30, except that *Ishuah* is omitted here, because he founded no family.—Vers. 48–50. The families of *Naphtali* tally with the sons of Naphtali in Gen. xli. 24 and 1 Chron. vii. 30.—Ver. 51. The total number of the persons mustered was 601,730.

Vers. 52–56. INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND.—In vers. 53, 54, the command is given to distribute the land as an inheritance among the twelve tribes (“unto these”), according to the number of the names (chap. i. 2–18), *i.e.* of the persons counted by name in each of their families. To a numerous tribe they were to make the inheritance great; to the littleness, *i.e.* to the tribes and families that contained only a few persons, they were to make it small; to every one according to the measure of its mustered persons (י must be repeated before וְשָׁרָא). In vers. 55, 56, it is still further commanded that the distribution should take place by lot. “According to the names of their paternal tribes shall they (the children of Israel) receive it (the land) for an inheritance.” The meaning of these words can only be, that every tribe was to receive a province of its own for an inheritance, which should be called by its name for ever. The other regulation in ver. 56, “according to the measure of the lot shall its inheritance (the inheritance of every tribe) be divided between the numerous and the small (tribe),” is no doubt to be understood as signifying, that in

the division of the tribe territories, according to the comparative sizes of the different tribes, they were to adhere to that portion of land which fell to every tribe in the casting of the lots. The magnitude and limits of the possessions of the different tribes could not be determined by the lot according to the magnitude of the tribes themselves: all that could possibly be determined was the situation to be occupied by the tribe; so that *R. Bechai* is quite correct in observing that "the casting of the lot took place for the more convenient distribution of the different portions, whether of better or inferior condition, that there might be no occasion for strife and covetousness," though the motive assigned is too partial in its character. The lot was to determine the portion of every tribe, not merely to prevent all occasion for dissatisfaction and complaining, but in order that every tribe might receive with gratitude the possession that fell to its lot as the inheritance assigned it by God, the result of the lot being regarded by almost all nations as determined by God Himself (cf. Prov. xvi. 33, xviii. 18). On this ground not only was the lot resorted to by the Greeks and Romans in the distribution of conquered lands (see the proofs in *Clericus*, *Rosenmüller*, and *Knobel*), but it is still employed in the division of lands. (For further remarks, see at Josh. xiv. 1 sqq.)

Vers. 57-62. MUSTERING OF THE LEVITES.—The enumeration of the different Levitical families into which the three leading families of Levi, that were founded by his three sons Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, were divided, is not complete, but is broken off in ver. 58 after the notice of five different families, for the purpose of tracing once more the descent of Moses and Aaron, the heads not of this tribe only, but of the whole nation, and also of giving the names of the sons of the latter (vers. 59-61). And after this the whole is concluded with a notice of the total number of those who were mustered of the tribe of Levi (ver. 62).—Of the different families mentioned, *Libni* belonged to Gershon (cf. chap. iii. 21), *Hebroni* to Kohath (chap. iii. 27), *Machli* and *Mushi* to Merari (chap. iii. 33), and *Korchi*, i.e. the family of Korah (according to chap. xvi. 1; cf. Ex. vi. 21 and 24), to Kohath. Moses and Aaron were descendants of Kohath (see at Ex. vi. 20 and ii. 1). Some difficulty is caused by the relative clause, "*whom (one) had born to Levi in Egypt*" (ver. 59), on account of the subject being left indefinite. It cannot be Levi's wife, as *Jarchi*, *Abenezra*, and

others suppose; for *Jochebed*, the mother of Moses, was not a daughter of Levi in the strict sense of the word, but only a Levitess or descendant of Levi, who lived about 300 years after Levi; just as her husband *Amram* was not actually the son of Amram, who bore that name (Ex. vi. 18), but a later descendant of this older Amram (see vol. i. pp. 469 sqq.). The missing subject must be derived from the verb itself, viz. either הִילָּךְתָּ or אָמְרָה (her mother), as in 1 Kings i. 6, another passage in which “his mother” is to be supplied (cf. *Ewald*, § 294, b.).—Vers. 60, 61. *Sons of Aaron*: cf. chap. iii. 2 and 4; Ex. vi. 23; Lev. x. 1, 2.—Ver. 62. The Levites were not mustered along with the rest of the tribes of Israel, because the mustering took place with especial reference to the conquest of Canaan, and the Levites were not to receive any territory as a tribe (see at chap. xviii. 20).—Vers. 63–65. Concluding formula with the remark in ver. 65, that the penal sentence which God had pronounced in chap. xiv. 29 and 38 upon the generation which came out of Egypt, had been completely carried out.

THE DAUGHTERS OF ZELOPHEHAD CLAIM TO INHERIT. THE DEATH OF MOSES FORETOLD: CONSECRATION OF JOSHUA AS HIS SUCCESSOR.—CHAP. XXVII.

Vers. 1–11. CLAIMS OF ZELOPHEHAD’S DAUGHTERS TO AN INHERITANCE IN THE PROMISED LAND.—Vers. 1–4. The divine instructions which were given at the mustering of the tribes, to the effect that the land was to be divided among the tribes in proportion to the larger or smaller number of their families (chap. xxvi. 52–56), induced the daughters of *Zelophehad* the Manassite of the family of Gilead, the son of Machir, to appear before the princes of the congregation, who were assembled with Moses and Eleazar at the tabernacle, with a request that they would assign them an inheritance in the family of the father, as he had died in the desert without leaving any sons, and had not taken part in the rebellion of the company of Korah, which might have occasioned his exclusion from any participation in the promised land, but had simply died “through his (own) sin,” i.e. on account of such a sin as every one commits, and such as all who died in the wilderness had committed as well as he. “*Why should the name of our father be cut off* (cease) *from the midst of his family?*” This would have been the case, for example, if no inheritance had been assigned him in the land, because he left no son. In that case his family would have

become extinct, if his daughters had married into other families or tribes. On the other hand, if his daughters received a possession of their own among the brethren of their father, the name of their father would be preserved by it, since they could then marry husbands who would enter upon their landed property, and their father's name and possession would be perpetuated through their children. This wish on the part of the daughters was founded upon an assumption which rested no doubt upon an ancient custom, namely, that in the case of marriages where the wives had brought landed property as their dowry, the sons who inherited the maternal property were received through this inheritance into the family of their mother, *i.e.* of their grandfather on the mother's side. We have an example of this in the case of *Jarha*, who belonged to the pre-Mosaic times (1 Chron. ii. 34, 35). In all probability this took place in every instance in which daughters received a portion of the paternal possessions as their dowry, even though there might be sons alive. This would explain the introduction of *Jair* among the Manassites in chap. xxxii. 41, Deut. iii. 14. His father *Segub* was the son of *Hezron* of the tribe of Judah, but his mother was the daughter of *Machir* the Manassite (1 Chron. ii. 21, 22). We find another similar instance in Ezra ii. 61 and Neh. vii. 63, where the sons of a priest who had married one of the daughters of *Barzillai* the rich Gileadite, are called sons of *Barzillai*.—Vers. 5-7. This question of right (*mishpat*) Moses brought before God, and received instructions in reply to give the daughters of Zelophehad an inheritance among the brethren of their father, as they had spoken right. Further instructions were added afterwards in chap. xxxvi. in relation to the marriage of heiresses.—Vers. 8-11. On this occasion God issued a general law of inheritance, which was to apply to all cases as "a statute of judgment" (or right), *i.e.* a statute determining right. If any one died without leaving a son, his landed property was to pass to his daughter (or daughters); in default of daughters, to his brothers; in the absence of brothers, to his paternal uncles; and if there were none of them, to his next of kin.—On the intention of this law, see my *Archæol.* § 142 (ii. pp. 212, 213); and on the law of inheritance generally, see *J. Selden, de success. ad leges Hebr. in bona defunctorum, Fkft. a. O.* 1695.

Vers. 12-14. THE DEATH OF MOSES FORETOLD.—After these instructions concerning the division of the land, the Lord announced to Moses his approaching end. From the mountains of Abarim

he was to see the land which the Israelites would receive, and then like Aaron to be gathered to his people, because like him he also had sinned at the water of strife at Kadesh. This announcement was made, "that he might go forward to his death with the fullest consciousness, and might set his house in order, that is to say, might finish as much as he could while still alive, and provide as much as possible what would make up after his death for the absence of his own person, upon which the whole house of Israel was now so dependent" (*Baumgarten*). The fulfilment of this announcement is described in Deut. xxxii. 48-52. The particular spot upon the mountains of Abarim from which Moses saw the land of Canaan, is also minutely described there. It was Mount *Nebo*, upon which he also died. The mountains of *Abarim* (cf. chap. xxxiii. 47) are the mountain range forming the Moabitish table-land, which slope off into the steppes of Moab. It is upon this range, the northern portion of which opposite to Jericho bore the name of Pisgah, that we are to look for Mount *Nebo*, which is sometimes described as one of the mountains of *Abarim* (Deut. xxxii. 49), and at other times as the top of *Pisgah* (Deut. iii. 27, xxxiv. 1; see at chap. xxi. 20). *Nebo* is not to be identified with *Jebel Attarus*, but to be sought for much farther to the north, since, according to *Eusebius* (s. v. 'Αβαρεμ), it was opposite to Jericho, between *Livias*, which was in the valley of the Jordan nearly opposite to Jericho, and *Heshbon*; consequently very near to the point which is marked as the "*Heights of Nebo*" on *Van de Velde's* map. The prospect from the heights of *Nebo* must have been a very extensive one. According to *Burckhardt* (*Syr.* ii. pp. 106-7), "even the city of *Heshbon* (*Hhuzban*) itself stood upon so commanding an eminence, that the view extended at least thirty English miles in all directions, and towards the south probably as far as sixty miles." On the expression, "gathered unto thy people," see at Gen. xxv. 8, and on Aaron's death see Num. xx. 28. בְּאַשֶׁר מָרִיתָם: "as ye transgressed My commandment." By the double use of בְּאַשֶׁר (*quomodo*, "as"), the death of Aaron, and also that of Moses, are placed in a definite relation to the sin of these two heads of Israel. As they both sinned at Kadesh against the commandment of the Lord, so they were both of them to die without entering the land of Canaan. On the sin, see at chap. xx. 12, 13, and on the desert of Zin, at chap. xiii. 21.

Vers. 15-23. CONSECRATION OF JOSHUA AS THE SUCCESSOR OF MOSES. — Vers. 15-17. The announcement thus made to

Moses led him to entreat the Lord to appoint a leader of His people, that the congregation might not be like a flock without a shepherd. As "God of the spirits of all flesh," *i.e.* as the giver of life and breath to all creatures (see at chap. xvi. 22), he asks Jehovah to appoint a man over the congregation, who should go out and in before them, and should lead them out and in, *i.e.* preside over and direct them in all their affairs. יֵצֵאת וְבֹא ("go out," and "go in") is a description of the conduct of men in every-day life (Deut. xxviii. 6, xxxi. 2; Josh. xiv. 11). הוֹצִיָא וְהָבֵיָא ("lead out," and "bring in") signifies the superintendence of the affairs of the nation, and is founded upon the figure of a shepherd.—Vers. 18-21. The Lord then appointed Joshua to this office as a man "who had spirit." רוּחַ (*spirit*) does not mean "insight and wisdom" (*Knobel*), but the higher power inspired by God into the soul, which quickens the moral and religious life, and determines its development; in this case, therefore, it was the spiritual endowment requisite for the office he was called to fill. Moses was to consecrate him for entering upon this office by the laying on of hands, or, as is more fully explained in vers. 19 and 20, he was to set him before Eleazar the high priest and the congregation, to command (צִוָּה) him, *i.e.* instruct him with regard to his office before their eyes, and to lay of his eminence (הֵנִיחַ) upon him, *i.e.* to transfer a portion of his own dignity and majesty to him by the imposition of hands, that the whole congregation might hearken to him, or trust to his guidance. The object to שָׁמְעִי (hearken) must be supplied from the context, viz. אֵלָיו (to him), as Deut. xxxiv. 9 clearly shows. The ׀ (of) in ver. 20 is partitive, as in Gen. iv. 4, etc. The eminence and authority of Moses were not to be entirely transferred to Joshua, for they were bound up with his own person alone (cf. chap. xii. 6-8), but only so much of it as he needed for the discharge of the duties of his office. Joshua was to be neither the lawgiver nor the absolute governor of Israel, but to be placed under the judgment of the *Urim*, with which Eleazar was entrusted, so far as the supreme decision of the affairs of Israel was concerned. This is the meaning of ver. 21: "*Eleazar shall ask to him (for him) the judgment of the Urim before Jehovah.*" *Urim* is an abbreviation for *Urim and Thummim* (Ex. xxviii. 30), and denotes the means with which the high priest was entrusted of ascertaining the divine will and counsel in all the important business of the congregation. "*After his mouth*" (*i.e.* according to the decision of the high priest, by virtue of the right of *Urim and Thummim* entrusted

to him), Joshua and the whole congregation were to go out and in, *i.e.* to regulate their conduct and decide upon their undertakings. "All the congregation," in distinction from "all the children of Israel," denotes the whole body of heads of the people, or the college of elders, which represented the congregation and administered its affairs.—Vers. 22, 23. Execution of the divine command.

ORDER OF THE DAILY AND FESTAL OFFERINGS OF THE
CONGREGATION.—CHAP. XXVIII. AND XXIX.

When Israel was prepared for the conquest of the promised land by the fresh numbering and mustering of its men, and by the appointment of Joshua as commander, its relation to the Lord was regulated by a law which determined the sacrifices through which it was to maintain its fellowship with its God from day to day, and serve Him as His people (chap. xxviii. and xxix.). Through this order of sacrifice, the object of which was to form and sanctify the whole life of the congregation into a continuous worship, the sacrificial and festal laws already given in Ex. xxiii. 14–17, xxix. 38–42, xxxi. 12–17, Lev. xxiii., and Num. xxv. 1–12, were completed and arranged into a united and well-ordered whole. "It was very fitting that this law should be issued a short time before the advance into Canaan; for it was there first that the Israelites were in a position to carry out the sacrificial worship in all its full extent, and to observe all the sacrificial and festal laws" (*Knobel*). The law commences with the daily morning and evening burnt-offering (vers. 3–8), which was instituted at Sinai at the dedication of the altar. It is not merely for the sake of completeness that it is introduced here, or for the purpose of including all the national sacrifices that were to be offered during the whole year in one general survey; but also for an internal reason, viz. that the daily sacrifice was also to be offered on the Sabbaths and feast-days, to accompany the general and special festal sacrifices, and to form the common substratum for the whole of these. Then follow in vers. 9–15 the sacrifices to be offered on the Sabbath and at the new moon; and in ver. 16–chap. xxix. 38 the general sacrifices for the different yearly feasts, which were to be added to the sacrifices that were peculiar to each particular festival, having been appointed at the time of its first institution, and being specially adapted to give expression to its specific character, so that, at the yearly feasts, the congregation had to offer their different kinds of sacrifices: (a) the

daily morning and evening sacrifice ; (b) the general sacrifices that were offered on every feast-day ; and (c) the festal sacrifices that were peculiar to each particular feast. This cumulative arrangement is to be explained from the significance of the daily and of the festal sacrifices. In the daily burnt-offering the congregation of Israel, as a congregation of Jehovah, was to sanctify its life, body, soul, and spirit, to the Lord its God ; and on the Lord's feast-days it was to give expression to this sanctification in an intensified form. This stronger practical exhibition of the sanctification of the life was embodied in the worship by the elevation and graduation of the daily sacrifice, through the addition of a second and much more considerable burnt-offering, meat-offering, and drink-offering. The graduation was regulated by the significance of the festivals. On the Sabbaths the daily sacrifice was doubled, by the presentation of a burnt-offering consisting of two lambs. On the other feast-days it was increased by a burnt-offering composed of oxen, rams, and yearling lambs, which was always preceded by a sin-offering.—As the seventh day of the week, being a Sabbath, was distinguished above the other days of the week, as a day that was sanctified to the Lord in a higher degree than the rest, by an enlarged burnt-offering, meat-offering, and drink-offering ; so the seventh month, being a Sabbath-month, was raised above the other months of the year, and sanctified as a festal month, by the fact that, in addition to the ordinary new moon sacrifices of two bullocks, one ram, and seven yearling lambs, a special festal sacrifice was also offered, consisting of one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling lambs (chap. xxix. 2), which was also repeated on the day of atonement, and at the close of the feast of Tabernacles (chap. xxix. 8, 36) ; and also that the feast of Tabernacles, which fell in this month, was to be celebrated by a much larger number of burnt-offerings, as the largest and holiest feast of the congregation of Israel.¹

¹ *Knobel's* remarks as to the difference in the sacrifices are not only erroneous, but likely to mislead, and tending to obscure and distort the actual facts. " On those feast-days," he says, " which were intended as a general festival to Jehovah, viz. the sabbatical portion of the seventh new moon, the day of atonement, and the closing day of the yearly feasts, the sacrifices consisted of one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling lambs (chap. xxix. 2, 8, 36) ; whereas at the older festivals which had a reference to nature, such as the new moons, the days of unleavened bread, and the feast of Weeks, they consisted of two bullocks, one ram, and seven yearling lambs (chap. xxviii. 11, 19, 24, 27 ; xxix. 6), and at the feast of Tabernacles of even a larger number, especially of bullocks (chap. xxix. 12 sqq.). In the last, Jehovah was especially honoured, as having poured

All the feasts of the whole year, for example, formed a cycle of feast-days, arranged according to the number seven, which had its starting-point and centre in the Sabbath, and was regulated according to the division of time established at the creation, into weeks, months, years, and periods of years, ascending from the weekly Sabbath to the monthly Sabbath, the sabbatical year, and the year of jubilee. In this cycle of holy periods, regulated as it was by the number seven, and ever expanding into larger and larger circles, there was embodied the whole revolution of annually recurring festivals, established to commemorate the mighty works of the Lord for the preservation and inspiration of His people. And this was done in the following manner: in the *first* place, the number of yearly feasts amounted to exactly *seven*, of which the two leading feasts (*Mazzoth* and the feast of *Tabernacles*) lasted *seven* days; in the *second* place, in all the feasts, some of which were of only one day's duration, whilst others lasted seven days, there were only *seven* days that were to be observed with sabbatical rest and a holy meeting; and in the *third* place, the seven feasts were formed into two large festal circles, each of which consisted of an introductory feast, the main feast of *seven* days, and a closing feast of one day. The *first* of these festal circles was commemorative of the elevation of Israel into the nation of God, and its subsequent preservation. It commenced on the 14th Abib (Nisan) with the Passover, which was appointed to commemorate the deliverance of Israel from the destroying angel who smote the first-born of Egypt, as the introductory festival. It culminated in the *seven* days' feast of unleavened bread, as the feast of the deliverance of Israel from bondage, and its elevation into the nation of

out His blessing upon nature, and granted a plentiful harvest to the cultivation of the soil. The ox was the beast of agriculture." It was not the so-called "older festivals which had reference to nature" that were distinguished by a larger number of sacrificial animals, above those feast-days which were intended as general festivals to Jehovah, but the feasts of the seventh month alone. Thus the seventh new moon's day was celebrated by a double new moon's sacrifice, viz. with three bullocks, two rams, and fourteen yearling lambs; the feast of atonement, as the introductory festival of the feast of Tabernacles, by a special festal sacrifice, whilst the day of Passover, which corresponded to it in the first festal cycle, as the introductory festival of the feast of unleavened bread, had no general festal sacrifices; and, lastly, the feast of Tabernacles, not only by a very considerable increase in the number of the festal sacrifices on every one of the seven days, but also by the addition of an eighth day, as the octave of the feast, and a festal sacrifice answering to those of the first and seventh days of this month.

God; and closed with the feast of Weeks, Pentecost, or the feast of Harvest, which was kept *seven* weeks after the offering of the sheaf of first-fruits, on the second day of Mazzoth. This festal circle contained only three days that were to be kept with sabbatical rest and a holy meeting (viz. the first and seventh days of Mazzoth and the day of Pentecost). The *second* festal circle fell entirely in the seventh month, and its main object was to inspire the Israelites in their enjoyment of the blessings of their God: for this reason it was celebrated by the presentation of a large number of burnt-offerings. This festal circle opened with the day of atonement, which was appointed for the tenth day of the seventh month, as the introductory feast, culminated in the *seven days'* feast of Tabernacles, and closed with the eighth day, which was added to the seven feast-days as the octave of this festive circle, or the solemn close of all the feasts of the year. This also included only three days that were to be commemorated with sabbatical rest and a holy meeting (the 10th, 15th, and 22d of the month); but to these we have to add the day of trumpets, with which the month commenced, which was also a Sabbath of rest with a holy meeting; and this completes the seven days of rest (see my *Archæologie*, i. § 76).

Chap. xxviii. Ver. 2 contains the general instruction to offer to the Lord His sacrificial gift "at the time appointed by Him." On *corban*, see at Lev. i. 2 (vol. ii. p. 282, comp. with p. 271); on "*the bread of Jehovah*," at Lev. iii. 11; on the "*sacrifice made by fire*," and "*a sweet savour*," at Lev. i. 9; and on "*moed*," at Lev. xxiii. 2, 4.—Vers. 3–8. *The daily sacrifice*: as it had already been instituted at Sinai (Ex. xxix. 38–42).—Ver. 7. "*In the sanctuary*," i.e. *περὶ τὸν βωμόν* (round about the altar), as *Josephus* paraphrases it (Ant. iii. 10); not "with (in) holy vessels," as *Jonathan* and others interpret it. "*Pour out a drink-offering, as שֵׁכָר for Jehovah*." *Shecar* does not mean intoxicating drink here (see at Lev. x. 9), but *strong drink*, in distinction from water as simple drink. The drink-offering consisted of wine only (see at chap. xv. 5 sqq.); and hence *Onkelos* paraphrases it, "of old wine."—Vers. 9, 10. The *Sabbath-offering*, which was to be added to the daily sacrifice (עַל, upon it), consisted of two yearling lambs as a burnt-offering, with the corresponding meat-offering and drink-offering, according to the general rule laid down in chap. xv. 3 sqq., and is appointed here for the first time; whereas the sabbatical feast had already been instituted at Ex. xx. 8–11 and Lev. xxiii. 3. "*The burnt-offering of the Sabbath on its Sabbath*," i.e. as often as the Sabbath occurred, every Sabbath.—

Vers. 11-15. At the beginnings of the month, *i.e.* at the *new moons*, a larger burnt-offering was to be added to the daily or continual burnt-offering, consisting of two bullocks (young oxen), one ram, and seven yearling lambs, with the corresponding meat and drink-offerings, as the "month's burnt-offering in its (*i.e.* every) month with regard to the months of the year," *i.e.* corresponding to them. To this there was also to be added a sin-offering of a shaggy goat (see at Lev. iv. 23). The custom of distinguishing the beginnings of the months or new moon's days by a peculiar festal sacrifice, without their being, strictly speaking, festal days, with sabbatical rest and a holy meeting,¹ arose from the relation in which the month stood to the single day. "If the congregation was to sanctify its life and labour to the Lord every day by a burnt-offering, it could not well be omitted at the commencement of the larger division of time formed by the month; on the contrary, it was only right that the commencement of a new month should be sanctified by a special sacrifice. Whilst, then, a burnt-offering, in which the idea of expiation was subordinate to that of consecrating surrender to the Lord, was sufficient for the single day; for the whole month it was necessary that, in consideration of the sins that had been committed in the course of the past month, and had remained without expiation, a special sin-offering should be offered for their expiation, in order that, upon the ground of the forgiveness and reconciliation with God which had been thereby obtained, the lives of the people might be sanctified afresh to the Lord in the burnt-offering. This significance of the new moon sacrifice was still further intensified by the fact, that during the presentation of the sacrifice the priests sounded the silver trumpets, in order that it might be to the congregation for a memorial before God (chap. x. 10). The trumpet blast was intended to bring before God the prayers of the congregation embodied in the sacrifice, that God might remember them in mercy, granting them the forgiveness of their sins and power for sanctification, and quickening them again in the fellowship of His saving grace" (see my *Archæologie*, i.

¹ In later times, however, the new moon grew more and more into a feast-day, trade was suspended (Amos viii. 5), the pious Israelite sought instruction from the prophets (2 Kings iv. 23), many families and households presented yearly thank-offerings (1 Sam. xx. 6, 29), and at a still later period the most devout abstained from fasting (Judith viii. 6); consequently it is frequently referred to by the prophets as a feast resembling the Sabbath (Isa. i. 13; Hos. ii. 13; Ezek. xlvi. 1).

p. 369).—Vers. 16–25. The same number of sacrifices as at the new moon were to be offered on every one of the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread (*Mazzoth*), from the 15th to the 21st of the month, whereas there was no general festal offering on the day of the Passover, or the 14th of the month (Ex. xii. 3–14). With regard to the feast of *Mazzoth*, the rule is repeated from Ex. xii. 15–20 and Lev. xxiii. 6–8, that on the first and seventh day there was to be a Sabbath rest and holy meeting.—Vers. 23, 24. The festal sacrifices of the seven days were to be prepared “in addition to the morning burnt-offering, which served as the continual burnt-offering.” This implies that the festal sacrifices commanded were to be prepared and offered every day after the morning sacrifice.—Vers. 26–31. The same number of sacrifices is appointed for the day of the first-fruits, *i.e.* for the *feast of Weeks* or *Harvest feast* (cf. Lev. xxiii. 15–22). The festal burnt-offering and sin-offering of this one day was independent of the supplementary burnt-offering and sin-offering of the wave-loaves appointed in Lev. xxiii. 18, and was to be offered before these and after the daily morning sacrifice.

Chap. xxix. 1–6. The festal sacrifice for the *new moon of the seventh month* consisted of a burnt-offering of one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling lambs, with the corresponding meat-offerings and drink-offerings, and a sin-offering of a he-goat, “besides” (*i.e.* in addition to) the monthly and daily burnt-offering, meat-offering, and drink-offering. Consequently the sacrifices presented on the seventh new moon’s day were, (1) a yearling lamb in the morning and evening, with their meat-offering and drink-offering; (2) in the morning, after the daily sacrifice, the ordinary new moon’s sacrifice, consisting of two bullocks, one ram, and seven yearling lambs, with their corresponding meat-offerings and drink-offerings (see at ver. 11); (3) the sin-offering of the he-goat, together with the burnt-offering of one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling lambs, with their proper meat-offerings and drink-offerings, the meaning of which has been pointed out at Lev. xxiii. 23 sqq.—Vers. 7–11. On the *day of atonement*, on the tenth of the seventh month, a similar festal sacrifice was to be offered to the one presented on the seventh new moon’s day (a burnt-offering and sin-offering), in addition to the sin-offering of atonement prescribed at Lev. xvi., and the daily burnt-offerings. For a more minute description of this festival, see at Lev. xvi. and xxiii. 26–32.—Vers. 12–34. The *feast of Tabernacles*, the special regulations for the celebration of which are contained in Lev. xxiii. 34–36 and 39–43, was distin-

guished above all the other feasts of the year by the great number of burnt-offerings, which raised it into the greatest festival of joy. On the seven feast-days, the first of which was to be celebrated with sabbatical rest and a holy meeting, there were to be offered, in addition to the daily burnt-offering, every day a he-goat for a sin-offering, and seventy oxen in all for a burnt-offering during the seven days, as well as every day two rams and fourteen yearling lambs, with the requisite meat-offerings and drink-offerings. Whilst, therefore, the number of rams and lambs was double the number offered at the Passover and feast of Pentecost, the number of oxen was fivefold; for, instead of fourteen, there were seventy offered during the seven days. This multiplication of the oxen was distributed in such a way, that instead of there being ten offered every day, there were thirteen on the first day, twelve on the second, and so on, deducting one every day, so that on the seventh day there were exactly seven offered; the arrangement being probably made for the purpose of securing the holy number seven for this last day, and indicating at the same time, through the gradual diminution in the number of sacrificial oxen, the gradual decrease in the festal character of the seven festal days. The reason for this multiplication in the number of burnt-offerings is to be sought for in the nature of the feast itself. Their living in booths had already visibly represented to the people the defence and blessing of their God; and the foliage of these booths pointed out the glorious advantages of the inheritance received from the Lord. But this festival followed the completion of the ingathering of the fruits of the orchard and vineyard, and therefore was still more adapted, on account of the rich harvest of splendid and costly fruits which their inheritance had yielded, and which they were about to enjoy in peace now that the labour of agriculture was over, to fill their hearts with the greatest joy and gratitude towards the Lord and Giver of them all, and to make this festival a speaking representation of the blessedness of the people of God when resting from their labours. This blessedness which the Lord had prepared for His people, was also expressed in the numerous burnt-offerings that were sacrificed on every one of the seven days, and in which the congregation presented itself soul and body to the Lord, upon the basis of a sin-offering, as a living and holy sacrifice, to be more and more sanctified, transformed, and perfected by the fire of His holy love (see my *Archäol.* i. p. 416).—Vers. 35–38. The *eighth* day was to be *azereth*, a closing feast, and only belonged to the feast of Tabernacles so far as the

Sabbath rest and holy meeting of the seventh feast-day were transferred to it; whilst, so far as its sacrifices were concerned, it resembled the seventh new moon's day and the day of atonement, and was thus shown to be the octave or close of the second festal circle (see at Lev. xxiii. 36).—Ver. 39. The sacrifices already mentioned were to be presented to the Lord on the part of the congregation, in addition to the burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, drink-offerings, and peace-offerings which individuals or families might desire to offer either spontaneously or in consequence of vows. On the vowing of burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, see chap. xv. 3, 8; Lev. xxii. 18, 21.—Ver. 40 forms the conclusion of the list of sacrifices in chap. xxviii. and xxix.

INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE FORCE OF VOWS.—CHAP. XXX.

The rules by which vows were to be legally regulated, so far as their objects and their discharge were concerned, has been already laid down in Lev. xxvii.; but the chapter before us contains instructions with reference to the force of vows and renunciations. These are so far in place in connection with the general rules of sacrifice, that vows related for the most part to the presentation of sacrifices; and even vows of renunciation partook of the character of worship. The instructions in question were addressed (ver. 1) to "the heads of the tribes," because they entered into the sphere of civil rights, namely, into that of family life.—Ver. 2. At the head there stands the general rule, "*If any one vow a vow to Jehovah, or swear an oath, to bind his soul to abstinence, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that has gone out of his mouth:*" i.e. he shall keep or fulfil the vow, and the promise of abstinence, in perfect accordance with his word. נָדָר is a positive vow, or promise to give or sanctify any part of one's property to the Lord. אָסַר, from אָסַר, to bind or fetter, the negative vow, or vow of abstinence. אָסַר אָסַר עַל־נַפְשׁוֹ, to take an abstinence upon his soul. In what such abstinence consisted is not explained, because it was well understood from traditional customs; in all probability it consisted chiefly in fasting and other similar abstinence from lawful things. The Nazarite's vow, which is generally reckoned among the vows of abstinence, is called *neder* in chap. vi. 2 sqq., not *issar*, because it consisted not merely in abstinence from the fruit of the vine, but also in the positive act of permitting the hair to grow freely in honour of the Lord. The expression "swear an oath" (ver. 2; cf.

ver. 13) shows that, as a rule, they bound themselves to abstinence by an oath. The *inf. constr.*, הִשָּׁבַע, is used here, as in other places, for the *inf. abs.* (cf. *Ges.* § 131, 4, note 2). יָחַל, from חָלַל, for יָחַל, as in *Ezek.* xxxix. 7 (cf. *Ges.* § 67, note 8), to desecrate (his word), *i.e.* to leave it unfulfilled or break it.—Vers. 3–15 contain the rules relating to positive and negative vows made by a woman, and four different examples are given. The first case (vers. 3–5) is that of a woman in her youth, while still unmarried, and living in her father's house. If she made a vow of performance or abstinence, and her father heard of it and remained silent, it was to stand, *i.e.* to remain in force. But if her father held her back when he heard of it, *i.e.* forbade her fulfilling it, it was not to stand or remain in force, and Jehovah would forgive her because of her father's refusal. Obedience to a father stood higher than a self-imposed religious service.—The *second* case (vers. 6–8) was that of a vow of performance or abstinence, made by a woman before her marriage, and brought along with her (עָלֶיהָ, “upon herself”) into her marriage. In such a case the husband had to decide as to its validity, in the same way as the father before her marriage. In the day when he heard of it he could hold back his wife, *i.e.* dissolve her vow; but if he did not do this at once, he could not hinder its fulfilment afterwards. מִבֶּטֶן שִׁפְתֶיהָ, gossip of her lips, that which is uttered thoughtlessly or without reflection (cf. *Lev.* v. 4). This expression implies that vows of abstinence were often made by unmarried women without thought or reflection.—The *third* case (ver. 9) was that of a vow made by a widow or divorced woman. Such a vow had full force, because the woman was not dependent upon a husband.—The *fourth* case (vers. 10–12) was that of a vow made by a wife in her married state. Such a vow was to remain in force if her husband remained silent when he heard of it, and did not restrain her. On the other hand, it was to have no force if her husband dissolved it at once. After this there follows the general statement (vers. 13–16), that a husband could establish or dissolve every vow of performance or abstinence made by his wife. If, however, he remained silent “from day to day,” he confirmed it by his silence; and if afterwards he should declare it void, he was to bear his wife's iniquity. עֲוֹנָהּ, the sin which the wife would have had to bear if she had broken the vow of her own accord. This consisted either in a sin-offering to expiate her sin (*Lev.* v. 4 sqq.); or if this was omitted, in the punishment which God suspended over the sin (*Lev.* v. 1).—Ver. 16, concluding formula.

WAR OF REVENGE AGAINST THE MIDIANITES.—CHAP. XXXI.

Vers. 1-12. The *Campaign*.—After the people of Israel had been mustered as the army of Jehovah, and their future relation to the Lord had been firmly established by the order of sacrifice that was given to them immediately afterwards, the Lord commanded Moses to carry out that hostility to the Midianites which had already been commanded in chap. xxv. 16-18. Moses was to revenge (*i.e.* to execute) the revenge of the children of Israel upon the Midianites, and then to be gathered to his people, *i.e.* to die, as had already been revealed to him (chap. xxvii. 13). “The revenge of the children of Israel” was revenge for the wickedness which the tribes of the Midianites who dwelt on the east of Moab (see at chap. xxii. 4) had practised upon the Israelites, by seducing them to the idolatrous worship of Baal Peor. This revenge is called the “revenge of Jehovah” in ver. 3, because the seduction had violated the divinity and honour of Jehovah. The daughters of Moab had also taken part in the seduction (chap. xxv. 1, 2); but they had done so at the instigation of the Midianites (see p. 203), and not of their own accord, and therefore the Midianites only were to atone for the wickedness.—Vers. 3-6. To carry out this revenge, Moses had 1000 men of each tribe delivered (מִסְפָּרָם, see at ver. 16) from the families (*alaphim*, see chap. i. 16) of the tribes, and equipped for war; and these he sent to the army (into the war) along with Phinehas the son of Eleazar the high priest, who carried the holy vessels, viz. the alarm-trumpets, in his hand. *Phinehas* was attached to the army, not as the leader of the soldiers, but as the high priest with the holy trumpets (chap. x. 9), because the war was a holy war of the congregation against the enemies of themselves and their God. *Phinehas* had so distinguished himself by the zeal which he had displayed against the idolaters (chap. xxv. 7), that it was impossible to find any other man in all the priesthood to attach to the army, who would equal him in holy zeal, or be equally qualified to inspire the army with zeal for the holy conflict. “The holy vessels” cannot mean the ark of the covenant on account of the plural, which would be inapplicable to it; nor the Urim and Thummim, because *Phinehas* was not yet high priest, and the expression כִּלְיֹת would also be unsuitable to these. The allusion can only be to the trumpets mentioned immediately afterwards, the ו before הַצִּצְרוֹת being the ו *explic.*, “and in fact.” *Phinehas* took these in his hand, because the Lord had assigned them

to His congregation, to bring them into remembrance before Him in time of war, and to ensure His aid (chap. x. 9).—Vers. 7–10. Of the campaign itself, the results are all that is recorded. No doubt it terminated with a great battle, in which the Midianites were taken unawares and completely routed. As it was a war of vengeance of Jehovah, the victors slew all the males, *i.e.* all the adult males, as the sequel shows, without quarter; and “upon those that were slain,” *i.e.* in addition to them, the five Midianitish kings and Balaam, who first advised the Midianites, according to ver. 16, to tempt the Israelites to idolatry. The five kings were chiefs of the larger or more powerful of the Midianitish tribes, as *Zur* is expressly said to have been in chap. xxv. 15. In Josh. xiii. 21 they are called “vassals of Sihon,” because Sihon had subjugated them and made them tributary when he first conquered the land. The women and children of the Midianites were led away prisoners; and their cattle (*behemah*, beasts of draft and burden, as in Ex. xx. 10), their flocks, and their goods taken away as spoil. The towns in their dwellings, and all their villages (*tiroth*, tent-villages, as in Gen. xxv. 16), were burnt down. The expression “*towns in their dwellings*” leads to the conclusion that the towns were not the property of the Midianites themselves, who were a nomad people, but that they originally belonged in all probability to the Moabites, and had been taken possession of by the Amorites under Sihon. This is confirmed by Josh. xiii. 21, according to which these five Midianitish vassals of Sihon dwelt in the land, *i.e.* in the kingdom of Sihon. This also serves to explain why the conquest of their country is not mentioned in the account before us, although it is stated in Joshua (*l.c.*), that it was allotted to the Reubenites with the kingdom of Sihon.—Vers. 11, 12. All this booty (*shalal*, booty in goods), and all the prey in man and beast (*malkoach*), was brought by the conquerors to Moses and Eleazar and the congregation, into the camp in the steppes of Moab. In ver. 12, שְׁבִי applies to the women and children who were taken prisoners, מִלִּקְחָם to the cattle taken as booty, and שְׁאֵר to the rest of the prey.

Vers. 13–18. *Treatment of the Prisoners.*—When Moses went out to the front of the camp with Eleazar and the princes of the congregation to meet the returning warriors, he was angry with the commanders, because they had left all the women alive, since it was they who had been the cause, at Balaam’s instigation, of the falling away of the Israelites from Jehovah to worship Peor; and

he commanded all the male children to be slain, and every woman who had lain with a man, and only the young girls who had hitherto had no connection with a man to be left alive. פְּקִידֵי הַחַיִּל, *lit.* the appointed persons, *i.e.* the officers of the army, who were then divided into princes (captains) over thousands and hundreds. —“Which came from the battle,” *i.e.* who had returned. The question in ver. 15, “Have ye left all the women alive?” is an expression of dissatisfaction, and reproof for their having done this. לְמַסֵּר-מַעַל . . . הָיוּ, “they have become to the Israelites to work unfaithfulness towards Jehovah,” *i.e.* they have induced them to commit an act of unfaithfulness towards Jehovah. The word מַסֵּר, which only occurs in this chapter, viz. in vers. 5 and 16, appears to be used in the sense of giving, delivering, and then, like נָתַן, doing, making, effecting. On the fact itself, see chap. xxv. 6 sqq. The object of the command to put all the male children to death, was to exterminate the whole nation, as it could not be perpetuated in the women. Of the female sex, all were to be put to death who had known the lying with a man, and therefore might possibly have been engaged in the licentious worship of Peor (chap. xxv. 2), to preserve the congregation from all contamination from that abominable idolatry.

Vers. 19-24. *Purification of the Warriors, the Prisoners, and the Booty.*—Moses commanded the men of war to remain for seven days outside the camp of the congregation, to carry out upon the third and seventh day the legal purification of such persons and things as had been rendered unclean through contact with dead bodies. Every one who had slain a soul (person), or touched one who had been slain, was to be purified, whether he were a warrior or a prisoner. And so also were all the clothes, articles of leather, materials of goats’ hair, and all wooden things.—Vers. 21-24. To this end Eleazar, whose duty it was as high priest to see that the laws of purification were properly observed, issued fuller instructions with reference to the purification of the different articles, in accordance with the law in chap. xix. הַבָּאִים לְמִלְחָמָה, those who came to the war, *i.e.* who went into the battle (see at chap. x. 9). “The ordinance of the law:” as in chap. xix. 2. The metal (gold, silver, copper, tin, lead), all that usually comes into the fire, *i.e.* that will bear the fire, was to be drawn through the fire, that it might become clean, and was then to be sprinkled with water of purification (chap. xix. 9); but everything that would not bear the fire was to be drawn through water.—The washing of clothes

on the seventh day was according to the rule laid down in chap. xix. 19.

Vers. 25-47. *Distribution of the Booty*.—God directed Moses, with Eleazar and the heads of the fathers' houses ("fathers" for "fathers' houses:" see at Ex. vi. 14) of the congregation, to take the whole of the booty in men and cattle, and divide it into two halves: one for the men of war (הַפָּזִי הַמִּלְחָמָה, those who grasped at war, who engaged in war), the other for the congregation, and to levy a tribute upon it (מַכָּס = מִכָּסָה, *computatio*, a certain amount: see Ex. xii. 4) for Jehovah. Of the half that came to the warriors, one person and one head of cattle were to be handed over to Eleazar the priest out of every 500 (*i.e.* one-fifth per cent.), as a heave-offering for Jehovah; and of the other half that was set apart for the children of Israel, *i.e.* for the congregation, one out of every fifty (*i.e.* 2 per cent.) was to be taken for the Levites. וְהִנָּח, laid hold of, *i.e.* snatched out of the whole number during the process of counting; not seized or touched by the lot, as in 1 Chron. xxiv. 6, as there was no reason for resorting to the lot in this instance. The division of the booty into two equal halves, one of which was given to the warriors, and the other to the congregation that had taken no part in the war, was perfectly reasonable and just. As the 12,000 warriors had been chosen out of the whole congregation to carry on the war on their behalf, the congregation itself could properly lay claim to its share of the booty. But as the 12,000 had had all the trouble, hardships, and dangers of the war, they could very properly reckon upon some reward for their service; and this was granted them by their receiving quite as much as the whole of the congregation which had taken no part in the war,—in fact, more, because the warriors only gave one-fifth per cent. of their share as a thank-offering for the victory that had been granted them, whilst those who remained at home had to give 2 per cent. of their share to Jehovah for the benefit of the priests and Levites. The arrangement, however, was only made for this particular case, and not as a law for all times, although it was a general rule that those who remained at home received a share of the booty brought back by the warriors (cf. Josh. xxii. 8; 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25; 2 Macc. viii. 28, 30).—Vers. 31 sqq. The booty, viz. "the rest of the booty, which the men of war had taken," *i.e.* all the persons taken prisoners that had not been put to death, and all the cattle taken as booty that had not been consumed during the march home, amounted to 675,000 head of small cattle, 72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, and 32,000 maidens.

Each half, therefore, consisted of 337,500 head of small cattle, 36,000 oxen, 30,500 asses, and 16,000 maidens (vers. 36 and 43-46). Of the one half the priests received 675 head of small cattle, 72 oxen, 61 asses, and 32 maidens for Jehovah; and these Moses handed over to Eleazar, in all probability for the maintenance of the priests, in the same manner as the tithes (chap. xviii. 26-28, and Lev. xxvii. 30-33), so that they might put the cattle into their own flocks (chap. xxxv. 3), and slay oxen or sheep as they required them, whilst they sold the asses, and made slaves of the girls; and not in the character of a vow, in which case the clean animals would have had to be sacrificed, and the unclean animals, as well as the human beings, to be redeemed (Lev. xxvii. 2-13). Of the other half, the Levites received the fiftieth part (vers. 43-47), that is to say, 6750 head of small cattle, 720 oxen, 610 asses, and 320 girls. The מִחְצִית וְנִי ("the half," etc.), in ver. 42, is resumed in ver. 47, and the enumeration of the component parts of this half in vers. 43-46 is to be regarded as parenthetical.

Vers. 48-54. *Sacred Oblations of the Officers*.—When the officers reviewed the men of war who were "in their hand," i.e. who had fought the battle under their command, and found not a single man missing, they felt constrained to give a practical expression to their gratitude for this miraculous preservation of the whole of the men, by presenting a sacrificial gift to Jehovah; they therefore brought all the golden articles that they had received as booty, and offered them to the Lord "for the expiation of their souls" (see at Lev. i. 4), namely, with the feeling that they were not worthy of any such grace, and not "because they had done wrong in failing to destroy all the enemies of Jehovah" (*Knobel*). This gift, which was offered as a heave-offering for Jehovah, consisted of the following articles of gold: אֶזְרָעֶרָה, "arm-rings," according to 2 Sam. i. 10 (LXX. χελιδῶνα; *Suidas*: χελιδόναί κοσμοὶ περὶ τοὺς βραχιόνας, καλοῦνται δὲ βραχιάλια); צַמִּיד, bands, generally armlets (Gen. xxiv. 22, etc.); טַבַּעַת, signet-rings; עֲנִיל, hoops,—according to Ezek. xvi. 12, ear-rings; and בּוֹמָז, gold balls (Ex. xxxv. 22). They amounted in all to 16,750 shekels; and the men of war had received their own booty in addition to this. This gift, presented on the part of the officers, was brought into the tabernacle "as a memorial of the children of Israel before Jehovah" (cf. Ex. xxx. 16); that is to say, it was placed in the treasury of the sanctuary.

The fact that the Israelites did not lose a single man in the battle, is certainly a striking proof of the protection of God; but it

is not so marvellous as to furnish any good ground for calling in question the correctness of the narrative.¹ The Midianites were a nomad tribe, who lived by rearing flocks and herds, and therefore were not a warlike people. Moreover, they were probably attacked quite unawares, and being unprepared, were completely routed and cut down without quarter. The quantity of booty brought home is also not so great as to appear incredible. Judging from the 32,000 females who had never lain with a man, the tribes governed by the five kings may have numbered about 130,000 or 150,000, and therefore not have contained much more than 35,000 fighting men, who might easily have been surprised by 12,000 brave warriors, and entirely destroyed. And again, there is nothing in the statement that 675,000 sheep and goats, 72,000 oxen, and 61,000 asses were taken as booty from these tribes, to astonish any one who has formed correct notions of the wealth of nomad tribes in flocks and herds. The only thing that could appear surprising is, that there are no camels mentioned. But it is questionable, in the first place, whether the Midianites were in the habit of rearing camels; and, in the second place, if they did possess them, it is still questionable whether the Israelitish army took them away, and did not rather put to death all that they found, as being of no value to the Israelites in their existing circumstances. Lastly, the quantity of jewellery seized as booty is quite in harmony with the well-known love of nomads, and even of barbarous tribes, for ornaments of this kind; and the peculiar liking of the Midianites for such things is confirmed by the account in *Judg.* viii. 26, according to which Gideon took as much as 1700 shekels in weight of golden rings from the Midianites alone, beside ornaments of other kinds. If we take the golden shekel at 10 thalers (30 shillings: see vol. ii. p. 250), the value of the ornaments taken by the officers under Moses would be about 167,500 thalers (L.25,125). It is quite possible that the kings and other chiefs, together with their wives, may have possessed as much as this.

¹ *Rosenmüller* has cited an example from *Tacitus* (*Ann.* xiii. 39), of the Romans having slaughtered all the foe without losing a single man on the capture of a Parthian castle; and another from *Strabo* (xvi. 1128), of a battle in which 1000 Arabs were slain, and only 2 Romans. And *Hävernicks* mentions a similar account from the life of Saladin in his *Introduction* (i. 2, p. 452).

DIVISION OF THE CONQUERED LAND BEYOND THE JORDAN AMONG
THE TRIBES OF REUBEN, GAD, AND HALF-MANASSEH.—CHAP.
XXXII.¹

Vers. 1-5. The Reubenites and Gadites, who had very large flocks and herds, petitioned Moses, Eleazar, and the princes of the congregation, to give them the conquered land of Gilead for a possession, as a land that was peculiarly adapted for flocks, and not to make them pass over the Jordan. עָצוּם מְאֹד, “very strong,” is an apposition introduced at the close of the sentence to give emphasis to the גָּד. The land which they wished for, they called the “land of *Jaëzer* (see chap. xxi. 32), and the land of *Gilead*.” They put *Jaëzer* first, probably because this district was especially rich in excellent pasture land. *Gilead* was the land to the south and north of the Jabbok (see at Deut. iii. 10), the modern provinces of *Belka* in the south between the Jabbok and the Arnon, and *Jebel Ajlun* to the north of the Jabbok, as far as the Mandhur. Ancient Gilead still shows numerous traces of great fertility even in its present desolation, covered over as it is with hundreds of ruins of old towns and hamlets. *Belka* is mountainous towards the north, but in the south as far as the Arnon it is for the most part table-land; and in the mountains, as *Buckingham* says, “we find on every hand a pleasant shade from fine oaks and wild pistachio-trees, whilst the whole landscape has more of a European character. The pasturage

¹ This chapter is also cut in pieces by *Knobel*: vers. 1, 2, 16-19, 24, 28-30, and 33-38, being assigned to the Elohist; and the remainder, viz. vers. 3-5, 6-15, 20-23, 25-27, 31, 32, and 39-42, to the Jehovist. But as the supposed Elohist portions are fragmentary, inasmuch as it is assumed, for example, in ver. 19, that the tribes of Reuben and Gad had already asked for the land of the Jordan and been promised it by Moses, whereas there is nothing of the kind stated in vers. 1 and 2, the Elohist account is said to have been handed down in a fragmentary state. The main ground for this violent hypothesis is the fancy of the critic, that the tribes mentioned could not have been so shameless as to wish to remain on the eastern side of the Jordan, and leave the conquest of Canaan to the other tribes, and that the willingness to help their brethren to conquer Canaan which they afterwards express in vers. 16 sqq., is irreconcilable with their previous refusal to do this,—arguments which need no refutation for an unprejudiced reader of the Bible who is acquainted with the selfishness of the natural heart. The arguments founded upon the language employed are also all weak. Because there are words in vers. 1 and 29, which the critics pronounce to be Jehovistic, they must proceed, both here and elsewhere, to remove all that offends them with their critical scissors, in order that they may uphold the full force of their *dicta*!

in *Belka* is much better than it is anywhere else throughout the whole of southern Syria, so that the Bedouins say, 'You can find no country like Belka.' The oxen and sheep of this district are considered the very best" (see *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 82). The mountains of Gilead on both sides of the Jabbok are covered for the most part with glorious forests of oak. "*Jebel Ajlun*," says *Robinson* (Pal. App. 162), "presents the most charming rural scenery that I have seen in Syria. A continued forest of noble trees, chiefly the ever-green oak (Sindiân), covers a large part of it, while the ground beneath is covered with luxuriant grass, which we found a foot or more in height, and decked with a rich variety of flowers" (see *v. Raumer*, *ut sup.*). This also applies to the ancient *Basan*, which included the modern plains of *Jaulan* and *Hauran*, that were also covered over with ruins of former towns and hamlets. The plain of *Hauran*, though perfectly treeless, is for all that very fertile, rich in corn, and covered in some places with such luxuriant grass that horses have great difficulty in making their way through it; for which reason it is a favourite resort of the Bedouins (*Burckhardt*, p. 393). "The whole of *Hauran*," says *Ritter* (*Erdkunde*, xv. pp. 988, 989), "stretches out as a splendid, boundless plain, between Hermon on the west, *Jebel Hauran* on the east, and *Jebel Ajlun* to the south; but there is not a single river in which there is water throughout the whole of the summer. It is covered, however, with a large number of villages, every one of which has its cisterns, its ponds, or its *birket*; and these are filled in the rainy season, and by the winter torrents from the snowy *Jebel Hauran*. Wherever the soil, which is everywhere black, deep, dark brown, or ochre-coloured, and remarkably fertile, is properly cultivated, you find illimitable corn-fields, and chiefly golden fields of wheat, which furnish Syria in all directions with its principal food. By far the larger part of this plain, which was a luxuriant garden in the time of the Romans, is now uncultivated, waste, and without inhabitants, and therefore furnishes the Bedouins of the neighbourhood with the desired paradise for themselves and their flocks." On its western slope *Jebel Hauran* is covered with splendid forests of oak, and rich in meadow land for flocks (*Burckhardt*, pp. 152, 169, 170, 173, 358; *Wetstein*, *Reiseber.* pp. 39 sqq. and 88). On the nature of the soil of *Hauran*, see at Deut. iii. 4. The plain of *Jaulan* appears in the distance like the continuation of *Hauran* (*Robinson*, App. 162); it has much bush-land in it, but the climate is not so healthy as in *Hauran* (*Seetzen*, i. pp. 353, 130, 131). "In general, *Hauran*, *Jaulan*, el

Botthin, el Belka, and Ejlun, are the paradise of nomads, and in all their wanderings eastwards they find no pasture like it" (*Seetzen*, i. p. 364). מְקוֹם, a locality, or district. אֶרֶץ מְקֵנָה = מְקוֹם מְקֵנָה (ver. 4), a district adapted for grazing. In ver. 3 the country is more distinctly defined by the introduction of the names of a number of important towns, whilst the clause "the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel," in which the defeat of Sihon is referred to, describes it as one that was without a ruler, and therefore could easily be taken possession of. For more minute remarks as to the towns themselves, see at vers. 34 sqq. On the construction יָתֵן אֵת, see at Gen. iv. 18.—The words, "*let us not go over the Jordan,*" may be understood as expressing nothing more than the desire of the speakers not to receive their inheritance on the western side of the Jordan, without their having any intention of withdrawing their help from the other tribes in connection with the conquest of Canaan, according to their subsequent declaration (vers. 16 sqq.); but they may also be understood as expressing a wish to settle at once in the land to the east of the Jordan, and leave the other tribes to conquer Canaan alone. Moses understood them in the latter sense (vers. 6 sqq.), and it is probable that this was their meaning, as, when Moses reproved them, the speakers did not reply that they had not cherished the intention attributed to them, but simply restricted themselves to the promise of co-operation in the conquest of Canaan. But even in this sense their request did not manifest "a shamelessness that would hardly be historically true" (*Knobel*). It may very well be explained from the opinion which they cherished, and which is perfectly intelligible after the rapid and easy defeat of the two mighty kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, that the remaining tribes were quite strong enough to conquer the land of Canaan on the west of the Jordan. But for all that, the request of the Reubenites and Gadites did indicate an utter want of brotherly feeling, and complete indifference to the common interests of the whole nation, so that they thoroughly deserved the reproof which they received from Moses.

Vers. 6-15. Moses first of all blames their want of brotherly feeling: "*Shall your brethren go into the war, and ye sit here?*" He then calls their attention to the fact, that by their disinclination they would take away the courage and inclination of the other tribes to cross over the Jordan and conquer the land, and would bring the wrath of God upon Israel even more than their fathers who were sent from Kadesh to spy out the land, and who led away

the heart of the people into rebellion through their unfavourable account of the inhabitants of Canaan, and brought so severe a judgment upon the congregation. הָנִיָּא אֶת־לֵב כֵּן, to hold away the heart, *i.e.* render a person averse to anything. The Keri תְּנִיאֵן, as in ver. 9, is unquestionably to be preferred to the Kal תְּנוֹאֵן, in the *Kethib* of ver. 7.—In vers. 8–13, Moses reminds them of the occurrences described in chap. xiii. and xiv. On the expression, “*wholly followed Jehovah*,” cf. chap. xiv. 24. The words, “*He drove them about in the desert*,” caused them to wander backwards and forwards in it for forty years, point back to chap. xiv. 33–35.—Ver. 14. “*Behold, ye rise up instead of your fathers*,” *i.e.* ye take their place, “*an increase* (תְּרִבּוּת, from רָבָה; equivalent to a brood) *of sinners, to augment yet the burning of the wrath of Jehovah against Israel*.” כִּפָּה עַל, to add to, or increase.—Ver. 15. “*If ye draw back behind Him*,” *i.e.* resist the fulfilment of the will of God, to bring Israel to Canaan, “*He will leave it (Israel) still longer in the desert, and ye prepare destruction for all this nation*.”

Vers. 16–27. The persons thus reproved came near to Moses, and replied, “*We will build sheep-folds here for our flocks, and towns for our children; but we will equip ourselves hastily* (הֲשִׁים, part. pass. hasting) *before the children of Israel, till we bring them to their place*” (*i.e.* to Canaan). גִּדְרֹת צֹאן, folds or pens for flocks, that were built of stones piled up one upon another (1 Sam. xxiv. 4).¹ By the building of towns, we are to understand the rebuilding and fortification of them. טָף, the children, including the women, and such other defenceless members of the family as were in need of protection (see at Ex. xii. 37). When their families were secured in fortified towns against the inhabitants of the land, the men who could bear arms would not return to their houses till the children of Israel, *i.e.* the rest of the tribes, had all received their inheritance: for they did not wish for an inheritance on the other side of Jordan and farther on, if (פִּי) their inheritance was assigned them on this side Jordan towards the east. The application of the expression הָיָרֶדֶן הַמֶּעֱבֵר to the land on the east of the Jordan, as well as to that on the west, points to a time when the Israelites had not

¹ According to *Wetstein* (*Reiseber.* p. 29), it is a regular custom with the nomads in *Leja*, to surround every place, where they pitch their tents, with a *Sira*, *i.e.* with an enclosure of stones about the height of a man, that the flocks may not be scattered in the night, and that they may know at once, from the noise made by the falling of the smaller stones which are laid at the top, if a wolf attempts to enter the enclosure during the night.

yet obtained a firm footing in Canaan. At that time the land to the west of the river could very naturally be spoken of as "*beyond the Jordan*," from the subjective stand-point of the historian, who was then on the east of the river; whereas, according to the objective and geographical usage, the land "*beyond Jordan*" signifies the country to the east of the river. But in order to prevent misunderstanding, in this particular instance the expression עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן is defined more precisely as מִזְרָחָהּ, "*towards the east*," when it is intended to apply to the land on the east of the Jordan.—Vers. 20-24. Upon this declaration Moses absolves them from all guilt, and promises them the desired land for a possession, on condition that they fulfil their promise; but he reminds them again of the sin that they will commit, and will have to atone for, if their promise is not fulfilled, and closes with the admonition to build towns for their families and pens for their flocks, and to do what they have promised. Upon this they promise again (vers. 25-27), through their spokesman (as the singular וַיֹּאמֶר in ver. 25, and the suffix in אֶרְנִי in ver. 27, clearly show), that they will fulfil his command. The use of the expression "*before Jehovah*," in the words, "*go armed before Jehovah to war*," in vers. 20 and 21, may be explained from the fact, that in the war which they waged at the command of their God, the Israelites were the army of Jehovah, with Jehovah in the midst. Hence the ark of the covenant was taken into the war, as the vehicle and substratum of the presence of Jehovah; whereas it remained behind in the camp, when the people wanted to press forward into Canaan of their own accord (chap. xiv. 44). But if this is the meaning of the expression "*before Jehovah*," we may easily understand why the Reubenites and Gadites do not make use of it in ver. 17, namely, because they only promise to go equipped "*before the children of Israel*," *i.e.* to help their brethren to conquer Canaan. In ver. 32 they also adopt the expression, after hearing it from the mouth of Moses (ver. 20).¹ נָקִים, innocent, "*free from guilt before Jehovah and before Israel*." By drawing back from participation in the war against the Canaanites, they would not only sin against Jehovah, who had promised Canaan to all Israel, and commanded them to take it, but also against Israel

¹ This completely sets aside the supposed discrepancy which *Knobel* adduces in support of his fragmentary hypothesis, viz. that the Elohist writes "*before Israel*" in vers. 17 and 29, when the Jehovist would write "*before Jehovah*,"—a statement which is not even correct; since we find "*before Jehovah*" in ver. 29, which *Knobel* is obliged to erase from the text in order to establish his assertion.

itself, *i.e.* against the rest of the tribes, as is more fully stated in vers. 7–15. In ver. 22*b*, “before Jehovah” signifies according to the judgment of Jehovah, with divine approval. וְדָעוּ הַטָּאתְכֶם, “*ye will know your sin,*” which will overtake (מִצָּרִי) or smite you, *i.e.* ye will have to make atonement for them.

Vers. 28–33. Moses thereupon commanded Eleazar, Joshua, and the heads of the tribes of Israel, *i.e.* the persons entrusted in chap. xxxiv. 17 sqq. with the division of the land of Canaan, to give the Gadites and Reubenites the land of Gilead for a possession, after the conquest of Canaan, if they should go along with them across the Jordan equipped for battle. But if they should not do this, they were to be made possessors (*i.e.* to be settled; נִאֲחֲזוּ in a passive sense, whereas in Gen. xxxiv. 10, xlvii. 27, it is reflective, to fix oneself firmly, to settle) in the land of Canaan along with the other tribes. In the latter case, therefore, they were not only to receive no possession in the land to the east of the Jordan, but were to be compelled to go over the Jordan with their wives and children, and to receive an inheritance there for the purpose of preventing a schism of the nation.—Ver. 31. The Gadites and Reubenites repeated their promise once more (ver. 25), and added still further (ver. 32): “*We will pass over armed before Jehovah into the land of Canaan, and let our inheritance be with us (i.e. remain to us) beyond the Jordan.*”—Ver. 33. Moses then gave to the sons of Gad and Reuben, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, namely, “*the land according to its towns, in (its) districts, (namely) the towns of the land round about,*” *i.e.* the whole of the land with its towns and the districts belonging to them, or surrounding the towns. It appears strange that the half-tribe of Manasseh is included here for the first time at the close of the negotiations, whereas it is not mentioned at all in connection with the negotiations themselves. This striking fact may easily be explained, however, on the supposition that it was by the two tribes of Reuben and Gad alone that the request was made for the land of Gilead as a possession; but that when Moses granted this request, he did not overlook the fact, that some of the families of Manasseh had conquered various portions of Gilead and Bashan (ver. 39), and therefore gave these families, at the same time, the districts which they had conquered, for their inheritance, that the whole of the conquered land might be distributed at once. As *O. v. Gerlach* observes, “the participation of this half-tribe in the possession is accounted for in ver. 39.” Moses

restricted himself, however, to a general conveyance of the land that had been taken on the east of the Jordan to these two and a half tribes for their inheritance, without sharing it amongst them, or fixing the boundaries of the territory of each particular tribe. That was left to the representatives of the nation mentioned in ver. 28, and was probably not carried out till the return of the fighting men belonging to these tribes, who went with the others over the Jordan. In the verses which follow, we find only those towns mentioned which were fortified by the tribes of Gad and Reuben, and in which they constructed sheep-folds (vers. 34-38), and the districts which the families of Manasseh had taken and received as their possession (vers. 39-42).

Vers. 34-36. The *Gadites* built, *i.e.* restored and fortified, the following places. *Dibon*, also called *Dibon Gad*, an hour's journey to the north of the central Arnon (see p. 149). *Ataroth*, probably preserved in the extensive ruins of *Attarus*, on *Jebel Attarus*, between *el Körriath* (*Kureyat*) and *Mkaur*, *i.e.* *Machaerus* (see *Seetzen*, ii. p. 342). *Aroer*, not the *Aroer* before *Rabbah*, which was allotted to the *Gadites* (*Josh.* xiii. 25), as *v. Raumer* supposes; but the *Aroer of Reuben* in the centre of the valley of the Arnon (*Josh.* xii. 2, xiii. 9, 16), which is still to be seen in the ruins of *Araayr*, on the edge of the lofty rocky wall which bounds the *Modjeb* (*Burckhardt*, p. 633). *Atroth Shophan*: only mentioned here; situation unknown. *Jaezer*: probably to be sought for in the ruins of *es Szir*, to the west of *Ammân* (see at chap. xxi. 32). *Jogbehah*: only mentioned again in *Judg.* viii. 11, and preserved in the ruins of *Jebeiha*, about two hours to the north-west of *Ammân* (*Burckhardt*, p. 618; *Robinson*, App. p. 168). *Beth-Nimrah*, contracted into *Nimrah* (ver. 3), according to *Josh.* xiii. 27, in the valley of the Jordan, and according to the *Onomast.* (*s. v. Βηθναβράν*) *Beth-amnaram*, five Roman miles to the north of *Libias* (*Bethharam*), now to be seen in the ruins of *Nimrein* or *Nemrin*, where the *Wady Shaib* enters the Jordan (*Burckhardt*, pp. 609, 661; *Robinson*, ii. p. 279), in a site abounding in water and pasturage (*Seetzen*, ii. pp. 318, 716). *Beth-Haran*, or *Beth-Haram* (*Josh.* xiii. 27): *Beth-ramphtha*, according to *Josephus*, *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1, which was called *Julias*, in honour of the wife of Augustus. According to the *Onomast.* it was called *Beth-Ramtha* by the Syrians (בֵּית רַמְתָּה, the form of the *Aramæan stat. emphat.*), and was named *Livias* by *Herod Antipas*, in honour of *Livia*, the wife of Augustus. It has been preserved in the ruins of *Rameh*, not far from the mouth of the

Wady Hesbân (*Burckhardt*, p. 661, and *Robinson*, ii. 305). The words 'מְבָצָר וְגו' in ver. 36 are governed by וְיָבִנּוּ in ver. 34: "they built them as fortified cities and folds for flocks," i.e. they fortified them, and built folds in them.

Vers. 37 and 38. The *Reubenites* built *Heshbon*, the capital of king Sihon (see chap. xxi. 16), which was allotted to the tribe of Reuben (*Josh.* xiii. 17), but relinquished to the Gadites, because it was situated upon the border of their territory, and given up by them to the Levites (*Josh.* xxi. 39; 1 *Chron.* vi. 66). It stood almost in the centre between the Arnon and Jabbok, opposite to Jericho, and, according to the *Onomast.*, twenty Roman miles from the Jordan, where the ruins of a large town of about a mile in circumference are still to be seen, with deep bricked wells, and a large reservoir, bearing the ancient name of *Hesban* or *Hüshan* (*Seetzen*; *Burckhardt*, p. 623; *Robinson*, Pal. ii. 278; cf. *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 262; and *Ritter's Erdkunde*, xv. p. 1176).—*Elealeh*: half-an-hour's journey to the north-east of Heshbon, now called *el Aal*, i.e. the height, upon the top of a hill, from which you can see the whole of southern Belka; it is now in ruins with many cisterns, pieces of wall, and foundations of houses (*Burckhardt*, p. 623).—*Kirjathaim*, probably to the south-west of Medeba, where the ruins of *el Teym* are now to be found (see at *Gen.* xiv. 5). *Nebo*, on Mount Nebo (see at chap. xxvii. 12). The *Onomast.* places the town eight Roman miles to the south of Heshbon, whilst the mountain is six Roman miles to the west of that town. *Baal-Meon*, called *Beon* in ver. 3, *Beth-Meon* in *Jer.* xlviii. 23, and more fully *Beth-Baal-Meon* in *Josh.* xiii. 17, is probably to be found, not in the ruins of *Maein* discovered by *Seetzen* and *Legh*, an hour's journey to the south-west of *Tueme* (*Teim*), and the same distance to the north of *Habbis*, on the north-east of *Jebel Attarus*, and nine Roman miles to the south of Heshbon, as most of the modern commentators from *Rosenmüller* to *Knobel* suppose; but in the ruins of *Myun*, mentioned by *Burckhardt* (p. 624), three-quarters of an hour to the south-east of Heshbon, where we find it marked upon *Kiepert's* and *Van de Velde's* maps.¹ *Shibmah* (ver. 3, *Shebam*), which was only 500 paces from Heshbon, according to *Jerome* (on *Isa.* xiv. 8),

¹ Although *Baal-Meon* is unquestionably identified with *Maein* in the *Onom.* (see *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 259), 1 *Chron.* v. 8 is decidedly at variance with this. It is stated there that "*Bela dwelt in Aroer, and even unto Nebo and Baal-Meon*," a statement which places *Baal-Meon* in the neighbourhood of *Nebo*, like the passage before us, and is irreconcilable with the supposition that it was

has apparently disappeared, without leaving a trace behind.¹ Thus all the places built by the Reubenites were but a short distance from Heshbon, and surrounded this capital; whereas those built by the Gadites were some of them to the south of it, on the Arnon, and others to the north, towards Rabbath-Ammon. It is perfectly obvious from this, that the restoration of these towns took place before the distribution of the land among these tribes, without any regard to their possession afterwards. In the distribution, therefore, the southernmost of the towns built by the Gadites, viz. Aroer, Dibon, and Ataroth, fell to the tribe of Reuben; and Heshbon, which was built by the Reubenites, fell to the tribe of Gad. The words מוֹסַבֵּת שֵׁם, "changed of name," are governed by בָּנִי: "they built the towns with an alteration of their names," *mutatis nominibus* (for קָבַב, in the sense of changing, see Zech. xiv. 10). There is not sufficient ground for altering the text, שֵׁם into שִׁיר (*Knobel*), according to the περικυκλωμένης of the LXX., or the περιτετευχισμένης of *Symmachus*. The Masoretic text is to be found not only in the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Vulgate, and the Saadic versions, but also in the Samaritan. The expression itself, too, cannot be justly described as "awkward," nor is it a valid objection that the naming is mentioned afterwards; for altering the name of a town and giving it a new name are not tautological. The insertion of the words, "their names being changed," before Shibmah, is an indication that the latter place did not receive any other name. Moreover, the new names which the builders gave to these towns did not continue in use long, but were soon pressed out by the old ones again. "And they called by names the names of the towns:" this is a

identical with *Maein* in the neighbourhood of *Attarus*. In the case of *Seetzen*, however, the identification of *Maein* with *Baal-Meon* is connected with the supposition, which is now generally regarded as erroneous, namely, that *Nebo* is the same as the *Jebel Attarus*. (See, on the other hand, *Hengstenberg*, *Balaam*; and *Ritter's Erdkunde*, xv. pp. 1187 sqq.)

¹ The difference in the forms *Shibmah*, *Baal-Meon* (ver. 38), and *Beth-Nimrah* (ver. 36), instead of *Shebam*, *Beon*, and *Nimrah* (ver. 3), is rendered useless as a proof that ver. 3 is Jehovistic, and vers. 36-38 Elohist, from the simple fact that *Baal-Meon* itself is a contraction of *Beth-Baal-Meon* (Josh. xiii. 17). If the Elohist could write this name fully in one place and abbreviated in another, he could just as well contract it still further, and by exchanging the labials call it *Beon*; and so also he could no doubt omit the *Beth* in the case of *Nimrah*, and use the masculine form *Shebam* in the place of *Shibmah*. The contraction of the names in ver. 3 is especially connected with the fact, that diplomatic exactness was not required for an historical account, but that the abbreviated forms in common use were quite sufficient.

roundabout way of saying, they called the towns by (other, or new) names : cf. 1 Chron. vi. 50.

Vers. 39–42. Moses gave the *Manassites* the land which was conquered by them ; in fact, the whole of the kingdom of *Bashan*, including not only the province of *Bashan*, but the northern half of Gilead (see at chap. xxi. 33, 34). Of this the *sons of Machir* received Gilead, the modern *Jebel Ajlun*, between the *Jabbok* (*Zerka*) and the *Mandhur* (Hieromax, *Jarmuk*), because they had taken it and driven out the Amorites and destroyed them (see Deut. iii. 13). The imperfects in ver. 39 are to be understood in the sense of pluperfects, the different parts being linked together by *consec.* according to the simple style of the Semitic historical writings explained in the note on Gen. ii. 19, and the leading thought being preceded by the clauses which explain it, instead of their being logically subordinated to it. “*The sons of Machir went to Gilead and took it . . . and Moses gave,*” etc., instead of “Moses gave Gilead to the sons of Machir, who had gone thither and taken it . . .” The words *וַיֵּשֶׁב בָּהּ*, “Machir dwelt therein (in Gilead),” do not point to a later period than the time of Moses, but simply state that the Machirites took possession of Gilead. As soon as Moses had given them the conquered land for their possession, they no doubt brought their families, like the Gadites and Reubenites, and settled them in fortified towns, that they might dwell there in safety, whilst the fighting men helped the other tribes to conquer Canaan. *וַיֵּשֶׁב* signifies not merely “to dwell,” but literally to place oneself, or settle down (e.g. Gen. xxxvi. 8, etc.), and is even applied to the temporary sojourn of the Israelites in particular encampments (chap. xx. 1). —*Machir* (ver. 40) : for the sons of Machir, or Machirites (chap. xxvi. 29). But as *Gilead* does not mean the whole of the land with this name, but only the northern half, so the sons of Machir are not the whole of his posterity, but simply those who formed the family of Machirites which bore its father’s name (chap. xxvi. 29), i.e. the seven fathers’ houses or divisions of the family, the heads of which are named in 1 Chron. v. 24. The other descendants of *Machir* through Gilead, who formed the six families of Gilead mentioned in chap. xxvi. 29–33, and Josh. xvii. 2, received their inheritance in Canaan proper (Josh. xvii.).—Ver. 41. The family of Manasseh named after Machir included “*Jair* the son (i.e. descendant) of Manasseh.” *Jair*, that is to say, was the grandson of a daughter of Machir the son of Manasseh, and therefore a great-grandson of Manasseh on the mother’s side. His father Segub was the son of

Hezron of the tribe of Judah, who had married a daughter of Manasseh (1 Chron. ii. 21, 22); so that Jair, or rather Segub, had gone over with his descendants into the maternal tribe, contrary to the ordinary rule, and probably because Machir had portioned his daughter with a rich dowry like an heiress. *Jair* took possession of the whole of the province of *Argob* in Bashan, *i.e.* in the plain of Jaulan and Hauran (Deut. iii. 4 and 14), and gave the conquered towns the name of *Havvoth Jair*, *i.e.* *Jair's-lives* (see at Deut. iii. 14). —Ver. 42. *Nobah*, whose family is never referred to, but who probably belonged, like *Jair*, to one of the families of Machirites, took the town of *Kenath* and its daughters, *i.e.* the smaller towns dependent upon it (see chap. xxi. 25), and gave it his own name *Nobah*. The name has not been preserved, and is not to be sought, as *Kurtz* supposes, in the village of *Nowa* (*Neue*), in Jotan, which is mentioned by *Burckhardt* (p. 443), and was once a town of half an hour's journey in circumference. For *Kenath*, which is only mentioned again in 1 Chron. ii. 23 as having been taken from the Israelites by Gesur and Aram, is *Kávaθα*, which *Josephus* (*de bell. Jud.* i. 19, 2) and *Ptolemy* speak of as belonging to Cœlesyria, and *Pliny* (h. n. 5, 16) to Decapolis, and which was situated, according to *Jerome*, “in the region of Trachonitis, near to Bostra.” The ruins are very extensive even now, being no less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles in circumference, and containing magnificent remains of palaces from the times of Trajan and Hadrian. It is on the western slope of Jebel Hauran, and is only inhabited by a few families of Druses. The present name is *Kanuat*. (For descriptions, see *Seetzen*, i. pp. 78 sqq.; *Burckhardt*, pp. 157 sqq.; cf. *Ritter*, *Erdk.*)

LIST OF ISRAEL'S ENCAMPMENTS.—CHAP. XXXIII. 1-49.

As the Israelites had ended their wanderings through the desert, when they arrived in the steppes of Moab by the Jordan opposite to Jericho (chap. xxii. 1), and as they began to take possession when the conquered land beyond Jordan was portioned out (chap. xxxii.), the history of the desert wandering closes with a list of the stations which they had left behind them. This list was written out by Moses “at the command of Jehovah” (ver. 2), as a permanent memorial for after ages, as every station which Israel left behind on the journey from Egypt to Canaan “through the great and terrible desert,” was a memorial of the grace and faithfulness with which the Lord led His people safely “in the

desert land and in the waste howling wilderness, and kept him as the apple of His eye, as an eagle fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings" (Ex. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 10 sqq.).

Vers. 1-15. The first and second verses form the heading: "*These are the marches of the children of Israel, which they marched out,*" i.e. the marches which they made from one place to another, on going out of Egypt. מַסֵּעַ does not mean a station, but the breaking up of a camp, and then a train, or march (see at Ex. xii. 37, and Gen. xiii. 3). לְצִבְאוֹתָם (see Ex. vii. 4). בְּיָד, under the guidance, as in chap. iv. 28, and Ex. xxxviii. 21. מוֹצְאֵיהֶם לְמַסְעֵיהֶם, "*their goings out* (properly, their places of departure) *according to their marches,*" is really equivalent to the clause which follows: "*their marches according to their places of departure.*" The march of the people is not described by the stations, or places of encampment, but by the particular spots from which they set out. Hence the constant repetition of the word וַיִּסַּע, "*and they broke up.*" In vers. 3-5, the departure is described according to Ex. xii. 17, 37-41. On the judgments of Jehovah upon the gods of Egypt, see at Ex. xii. 12. "With an high hand:" as in Ex. xiv. 8.—The places of encampment from Succoth to the desert of Sinai (vers. 5-15) agree with those in the historical account, except that the stations at the Red Sea (ver. 10) and those at Dophkah and Alush (vers. 13 and 14) are passed over there. For Raemeses, see at Ex. xii. 37. Succoth and Etham (Ex. xiii. 20). Pihahiroth (Ex. xiv. 2). "*The wilderness*" (ver. 8) is the desert of Shur, according to Ex. xv. 22. Marah, see Ex. xv. 23. Elim (Ex. xv. 27). For the Red Sea and the wilderness of Sin, see Ex. xvi. 1. For Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim, see Ex. xvii. 1; and for the wilderness of Sinai, Ex. xix. 2.

In vers. 16-36 there follow twenty-one names of places where the Israelites encamped from the time that they left the wilderness of Sinai till they encamped in the wilderness of Zin, i.e. Kadesh. The description of the latter as "*the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh,*" which agrees almost word for word with Num. xx. 1, and still more the agreement of the places mentioned in vers. 37-49, as the encampments of Israel after leaving Kadesh till their arrival in the steppes of Moab, with the march of the people in the fortieth year as described in chap. xx. 22-xxii. 1, put it beyond all doubt that the encampment in the wilderness of Zin, i.e. Kadesh (ver. 36), is to be understood as referring to the second arrival in

Kadesh after the expiration of the thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert to which the congregation had been condemned. Consequently the twenty-one names in vers. 16-36 contain not only the places of encampment at which the Israelites encamped in the second year of their march from Sinai to the desert of *Paran* at Kadesh, whence the spies were despatched into Canaan, but also those in which they encamped for a longer period during the thirty-eight years of punishment in the wilderness. This view is still further confirmed by the fact that the two first of the stations named after the departure from the wilderness of Sinai, viz. *Kibroth-hattaavah* and *Hazeroth*, agree with those named in the historical account in chap. xi. 34 and 35. Now if, according to chap. xii. 16, when the people left *Hazeroth*, they encamped in the desert of *Paran*, and despatched the spies thence out of the desert of *Zin* (chap. xiii. 21), who returned to the congregation after forty days "into the desert of *Paran* to *Kadesh*" (chap. xiii. 26), it is as natural as it well can be to seek for this place of encampment in the desert of *Paran* or *Zin* at Kadesh under the name of *Rithmah*, which follows *Hazeroth* in the present list (ver. 18). This natural supposition reaches the highest degree of probability, from the fact that, in the historical account, the place of encampment, from which the sending out of the spies took place, is described in so indefinite a manner as the "desert of *Paran*," since this name does not belong to a small desert, just capable of holding the camp of the Israelites, but embraces the whole of the large desert plateau which stretches from the central mountains of Horeb in the south to the mountains of the Amorites, which really form part of Canaan, and contains no less than 400 (? 10,000 English) square miles (see pp. 57-8). In this desert the Israelites could only pitch their camp in one particular spot, which is called *Rithmah* in the list before us; whereas in the historical account the passage is described, according to what the Israelites performed and experienced in this encampment, as near to the southern border of Canaan, and is thus pointed out with sufficient clearness for the purpose of the historical account. To this we may add the coincidence of the name *Rithmah* with the Wady *Abu Retemat*, which is not very far to the south of Kadesh, "a wide plain with shrubs and *retem*," i.e. broom (*Robinson*, i. p. 279), in the neighbourhood of which, and behind the chalk formation which bounds it towards the east, there is a copious spring of sweet water called *Ain el Kudeirât*. This spot was well adapted for a place of en-

campment for Israel, which was so numerous that it might easily stretch into the desert of Zin, and as far as Kadesh.

The seventeen places of encampment, therefore, that are mentioned in vers. 19-36 between *Rithmah* and *Kadesh*, are the places at which Israel set up camps during the thirty-seven years of their wandering about in the desert, from their return from Kadesh into the "desert of the way to the Red Sea" (chap. xiv. 25), till the reassembling of the whole congregation in the desert of Zin at Kadesh (chap. xx. 1).¹ Of all the seventeen places not a single one is known, or can be pointed out with certainty, except *Eziongeber*. Only the four mentioned in vers. 30-33, *Moseroth*, *Bene-Jaakan*, *Hor-hagidgad*, and *Jotbathah*, are referred to again, viz. in Deut. x. 6, 7, where Moses refers to the divine protection enjoyed by the Israelites in their wandering in the desert, in these words: "And the children of Israel took their journey from *Beeroth-bene-Jaakan* to *Mosera*; there Aaron died, and there he was buried. . . . From thence they journeyed unto *Gudgodah*, and from *Gudgodah* to *Jotbathah*, a land of water-brooks." Of the identity of the places mentioned in the two passages there can be no doubt whatever. *Bene Jaakan* is simply an abbreviation of *Beeroth-bene-Jaakan*, wells of the children of Jaakan. Now if the children of *Jaakan* were the same as the Horite family of *Jakan* mentioned in Gen.

¹ The different hypotheses for reducing the journey of the Israelites to a few years, have been refuted by *Kurtz* (iii. § 41) in the most conclusive manner possible, and in some respects more elaborately than was actually necessary. Nevertheless *Knobel* has made a fresh attempt, in the interest of his fragmentary hypothesis, to explain the twenty-one places of encampment given in vers. 16-37 as twenty-one marches made by Israel from Sinai till their first arrival at Kadesh. As the whole distance from Sinai to Kadesh by the straight road through the desert consists of only an eleven days' journey, *Knobel* endeavours to bring his twenty-one marches into harmony with this statement, by reckoning only five hours to each march, and postulating a few detours in addition, in which the people occupied about a hundred hours or more. The objection which might be raised to this, namely, that the Israelites made much longer marches than these on their way from Egypt to Sinai, he tries to set aside by supposing that the Israelites left their flocks behind them in Egypt, and procured fresh ones from the Bedouins at Sinai. But this assertion is so arbitrary and baseless an idea, that it is not worth while to waste a single word upon the subject (see Ex. xii. 38). The reduction of the places of encampment to simple marches is proved to be at variance with the text by the express statement in chap. x. 33, that when the Israelites left the wilderness of Sinai they went a three days' journey, until the cloud showed them a resting-place. For it is perfectly evident from this, that the march from one place to another cannot be understood without further ground as being simply a day's march of five hours.

xxxvi. 27,—and the reading יַעַן for יַעֲנֵן in 1 Chron. i. 42 seems to favour this,—the wells of *Jaakan* would have to be sought for on the mountains that bound the *Arabah* on either the east or west. *Gudgodah* is only a slightly altered and abbreviated form of *Horhagidgad*, the cave of *Gidgad* or *Gudgodah*; and lastly, *Moseroth* is simply the plural form of *Mosera*. But notwithstanding the identity of these four places, the two passages relate to different journeys. Deut. x. 6 and 7 refers to the march in the fortieth year, when the Israelites went from Kadesh through the Wady *Murreh* into the *Arabah* to Mount *Hor*, and encamped in the *Arabah* first of all at the wells of the children, and then at *Mosera*, where Aaron died upon Mount *Hor*, which was in the neighbourhood, and whence they travelled still farther southwards to *Gudgodah* and *Jotbathah*. In the historical account in chap. xx. and xxi. the three places of encampment, *Bene-Jaakan*, *Gudgodah*, and *Jotbathah*, are not mentioned, because nothing worthy of note occurred there. *Gudgodah* was perhaps the place of encampment mentioned in chap. xxi. 4, the name of which is not given, where the people were punished with fiery serpents; and *Jotbathah* is probably to be placed before *Zalmonah* (ver. 41). The clause, “a land of water-brooks” (Deut. x. 7), points to a spot in or near the southern part of the *Arabah*, where some wady, or valley with a stream flowing through it, opened into the *Arabah* from either the eastern or western mountains, and formed a green oasis through its copious supply of water in the midst of the arid steppe. But the Israelites had encamped at the very same places once before, namely, during their thirty-seven years of wandering, in which the people, after returning from Kadesh to the Red Sea through the centre of the great desert of *et Tih*, after wandering about for some time in the broad desert plateau, went through the Wady *el Jerafeh* into the *Arabah* as far as the eastern border of it on the slopes of Mount *Hor*, and there encamped at *Mosera* (*Moseroth*) somewhere near *Ain et Taiyibeh* (on *Robinson’s* map), and then crossed over to *Bene-Jaakan*, which was probably on the western border of the *Arabah*, somewhere near *Ain el Ghamr* (*Robinson*), and then turning southwards passed along the Wady *el Jeib* by *Hor-gidgad* (*Gudgodah*), *Jotbathah*, and *Abronah* to *Eziongeber* on the Red Sea; for there can be no doubt whatever that the *Eziongeber* in vers. 35, 36, and that in Deut. ii. 8, are one and the same town, viz. the well-known port at the northern extremity of the Elanitic Gulf, where the Israelites in the time of Solomon and

Jehoshaphat built a fleet to sail to *Ophir* (1 Kings ix. 26, xxii. 49). It was not far from *Elath* (i.e. *Akaba*), and is supposed to have been "the large and beautiful town of *Asziun*," which formerly stood, according to *Makrizi*, near to *Aila*, where there were many dates, fields, and fruit-trees, though it has now long since entirely disappeared.

Consequently the Israelites passed twice through a portion of the Arabah in a southerly direction towards the Red Sea, the second time from Wady Murreh by Mount Hor, to go round the land of Edom, not quite to the head of the gulf, but only to the Wady *el Ithm*, through which they crossed to the eastern side of Edomitis (p. 142); the first time during the thirty-seven years of wandering from Wady el Jerafeh to Moseroth and Bene Jaakan, and thence to Eziongeber.—Ver. 36. "*And they removed from Eziongeber, and encamped in the desert of Zin, that is Kadesh:*" the return to Kadesh towards the end of the thirty-ninth year is referred to here. The fact that no places of encampment are given between Eziongeber and Kadesh, is not to be attributed to the "plan of the author, to avoid mentioning the same places of encampment a second time," for any such plan is a mere conjecture; but it may be simply and perfectly explained from the fact, that on this return route—which the whole of the people, with their wives, children, and flocks, could accomplish without any very great exertion in ten or fourteen days, as the distance from Aila to Kadesh through the desert of Paran is only about a forty hours' journey upon camels, and *Robinson* travelled from Akabah to the Wady Retemath, near Kadesh, in four days and a half—no formal camp was pitched at all, probably because the time of penal wandering came to an end at Eziongeber, and the time had arrived when the congregation was to assemble again at Kadesh, and set out thence upon its journey to Canaan.—Hence the eleven names given in vers. 19–30, between *Rithmah* and *Moseroth*, can only refer to those stations at which the congregation pitched their camp for a longer or shorter period during the thirty-seven years of punishment, on their slow return from Kadesh to the Red Sea, and previous to their entering the Arabah and encamping at Moseroth.

This number of stations, which is very small for thirty-seven years (only seventeen from Rithmah or Kadesh to Eziongeber), is a sufficient proof that the congregation of Israel was not constantly wandering about during the whole of that time, but may have remained in many of the places of encampment, probably those which furnished an abundant supply of water and pasturage, not

only for weeks and months, but even for years, the people scattering themselves in all directions round about the place where the tabernacle was set up, and making use of such means of support as the desert afforded, and assembling together again when this was all gone, for the purpose of travelling farther and seeking somewhere else a suitable spot for a fresh encampment. Moreover, the words of Deut. i. 46, "ye abode in Kadesh many days," when compared with chap. ii. 1, "then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness of the way to the Red Sea," show most distinctly, that after the sentence passed upon the people in Kadesh (chap. xiv.), they did not begin to travel back at once, but remained for a considerable time in Kadesh before going southwards into the desert. With regard to the direction which they took, all that can be said, so long as none of the places of encampment mentioned in vers. 19-29 are discovered, is that they made their way by a very circuitous route, and with many a wide detour, to Eziongeber, on the Red Sea.¹

Vers. 37-49. The places of encampment on the journey of the fortieth year from Kadesh to Mount Hor, and round Edom and Moab into the steppes of Moab, have been discussed at chap. xx. and xxi. On Mount Hor, and Aaron's death there, see at chap. xx. 22. For the remark in ver. 40 concerning the Canaanites of Arad,

¹ We agree so far, therefore, with the view adopted by *Fries*, and followed by *Kurtz* (History of Old Covenant, iii. 306-7) and *Schultz* (Deut. pp. 153-4), that we regard the stations given in vers. 19-35, between *Rithmah* and *Eziongeber*, as referring to the journeys of Israel, after its condemnation in Kadesh, during the thirty-seven years of its wandering about in the desert. But we do not regard the view which these writers have formed of the marches themselves as being well founded, or in accordance with the text,—namely, that the people of Israel did not really come a second time in full procession from the south to Kadesh, but that they had never left Kadesh entirely, inasmuch as when the nation was rejected in Kadesh, the people divided themselves into larger and smaller groups, and that portion which was estranged from Moses, or rather from the Lord, remained in Kadesh even after the rest were scattered about; so that, in a certain sense, Kadesh formed the standing encampment and meeting-place of the congregation even during the thirty-seven years. According to this view, the removals and encampments mentioned in vers. 19-36 do not describe the marches of the whole nation, but are to be understood as the circuit made by the headquarters during the thirty-seven years, with Moses at the head and the sanctuary in the midst (*Kurtz*), or else as showing "that Moses and Aaron, with the sanctuary and the tribe of Levi, altered their resting-place, say from year to year, thus securing to every part of the nation in turn the nearness of the sanctuary, in accordance with the signals appointed by God (Num. x. 11, 12), and thus passed over the space between Kadesh and Eziongeber within the first eighteen years, and then, by a similar change of place,

see at chap. xxi. 1. On *Zalmonah*, *Phunon*, and *Oboth*, see at chap. xxi. 10; on *Ijje Abarim*, at chap. xxi. 11; on *Dibon Gad*, *Almon Diblathaim*, and the mountains of *Abarim*, before *Nebo*, chap. xxi. 16-20 (see p. 149). On *Arboth Moab*, see at chap. xxii. 1.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE CONQUEST AND DISTRIBUTION OF
CANAAN.—CHAP. XXXIII. 50—CHAP. XXXVI. 13.

These instructions, with which the eyes of the Israelites were directed to the end of all their wandering, viz. the possession of the promised land, are arranged in two sections by longer introductory formulas (chap. xxxiii. 50 and xxxv. 1). The *former* contains the divine commands (*a*) with regard to the extermination of the Canaanites and their idolatry, and the division of the land among the tribes of Israel (chap. xxxiii. 50-56); (*b*) concerning the boundaries of Canaan (chap. xxxiv. 1-15); (*c*) concerning the men who were to divide the land (chap. xxxiv. 16-29). The second contains commands (*a*) respecting the towns to be given up to the Levites (chap. xxxv. 1-8); (*b*) as to the setting apart of cities of refuge gradually drew near to Kadesh during the remaining eighteen or nineteen years, and at length in the last year summoned the whole nation (all the congregation) to assemble together at this meeting-place." Now we cannot admit that in this view "we find all the different and scattered statements of the Pentateuch explained and rendered intelligible." In the first place, it does not do justice even to the list of stations; for if the constantly repeated expression, "and they (the children of Israel, ver. 1) removed . . . and encamped," denotes the removal and encamping of the whole congregation in vers. 3-18 and 37-49, it is certainly at variance with the text to explain the same words in vers. 19-36 as signifying the removal and encamping of the headquarters only, or of Moses, with Aaron and the Levites, and the tabernacle. Again, in all the laws that were given and the events that are described as occurring between the first halt of the congregation in Kadesh (chap. xiii. and xiv.) and their return thither at the commencement of the fortieth year (chap. xx.), the presence of the whole congregation is taken for granted. The sacrificial laws in chap. xv., which Moses was to address to the children of Israel (ver. 1), were given to "the whole congregation" (cf. vers. 24, 25, 26). The man who gathered wood on the Sabbath was taken out of the camp and stoned by "all the congregation" (chap. xv. 36). "All the congregation" took part in the rebellion of the company of Korah (chap. xvi. 19, xvii. 6, 21 sqq.). It is true this occurrence is supposed by Kurtz to have taken place "during the halt in Kadesh," but the reasons given are by no means conclusive (p. 105). Besides, if we assign everything that is related in chap. xv.-xix. to the time when the whole congregation abode in Kadesh, this deprives the hypothesis of its chief support in Deut. i. 46, "and ye abode in Kadesh a long time, according to the days that ye abode." For in that case the long abode in Kadesh would include the period of the laws

for unintentional manslaughter, and the course to be adopted in relation to such manslaughter (chap. xxxv. 9-34); and (c) a law concerning the marrying of heiresses within their own tribes (chap. xxxvi.).—The careful dovetailing of all these legal regulations by separate introductory formulas, is a distinct proof that the section chap. xxxiii. 50-56 is not to be regarded, as *Baumgarten*, *Knobel*, and others suppose, in accordance with the traditional division of the chapters, as an appendix or admonitory conclusion to the list of stations, but as the general legal foundation for the more minute instructions in chap. xxxiv.-xxxvi.

Chap. xxxiii. 50-56. COMMAND TO EXTERMINATE THE CANAANITES, AND DIVIDE THEIR LAND AMONG THE FAMILIES OF ISRAEL.—Vers. 51-53. When the Israelites passed through the Jordan into the land of Canaan, they were to exterminate all the inhabitants of the land, and to destroy all the memorials of their idolatry; to take possession of the land and dwell therein, for Jehovah had given it to them for a possession. הוֹרִישׁ, to take possession of (vers. 53, etc.), then to drive out of their possession, to

and incidents recorded in chap. xv.-xix., and yet, after all, "the whole congregation" went away. In no case, in fact, can the words be understood as signifying that a portion of the nation remained there during the thirty-seven years. Nor can this be inferred in any way from the fact that their departure is not expressly mentioned; for, at all events, the statement in chap. xx. 1, "and the children of Israel, the whole congregation, came into the desert of Zin," presupposes that they had gone away. And the "inconceivable idea, that in the last year of their wanderings, when it was their express intention to cross the Jordan and enter Canaan from the east, they should have gone up from Eziongeber to the southern boundary of Canaan, which they had left thirty-seven years before, merely to come back again to the neighbourhood of Eziongeber, after failing in their negotiations with the king of Edom, which they might have carried on from some place much farther south, and to take the road from that point to the country on the east of the Jordan after all" (*Fries*), loses all the surprising character which it apparently has, if we only give up the assumption upon which it is founded, but which has no support whatever in the biblical history, viz. that during the thirty-seven years of their wandering in the desert, Moses was acquainted with the fact that the Israelites were to enter Canaan from the east, or at any rate that he had formed this plan for some time. If, on the contrary, when the Lord rejected the murmuring nation (chap. xiv. 26), He decided nothing with reference to the way by which the generation that would grow up in the desert was to enter Canaan,—and it was not till after the return to Kadesh that Moses was informed by God that they were to advance into Canaan from the east and not from the south,—it was perfectly natural that when the time of punishment had expired, the Israelites should assemble in Kadesh again, and start from that point upon their journey onward.

exterminate (ver. 52 ; cf. chap. xiv. 12, etc.). On ver. 52, see Ex. xxxiv. 13. מִשְׁכֵּית, an idol of stone (cf. Lev. xxvi. 1). צִלְמֵי מַסֶּכֶת, idols cast from brass. *Massekah*, see at Ex. xxxii. 4. *Bamoth*, altars of the Canaanites upon high places (see Lev. xxvi. 30).—Ver. 54. The command to divide the land by lot among the families is partly a verbal repetition of chap. xxvi. 53–56. אֶל-אִשֶּׁר יֵצֵא לוֹ וְגו': literally, "into that, whither the lot comes out to him, shall be to him" (*i.e.* to each family); in other words, it is to receive that portion of land to which the lot that comes out of the urn shall point it. "According to the tribes of your fathers:" see at chap. xxvi. 55.—The command closes in vers. 55, 56, with the threat, that if they did not exterminate the Canaanites, not only would such as were left become "thorns in their eyes and stings in their sides," *i.e.* inflict the most painful injuries upon them, and make war upon them in the land; but Jehovah would also do the very same things to the Israelites that He had intended to do to the Canaanites, *i.e.* drive them out of the land and destroy them. This threat is repeated by Joshua in his last address to the assembled congregation (Josh. xxiii. 13).

Chap. xxxiv. 1–15. BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND OF CANAAN.—Ver. 2. "*When ye come into the land of Canaan, this shall be the land which will fall to you as an inheritance, the land of Canaan according to its boundaries:*" *i.e.* ye shall receive the land of Canaan for an inheritance, within the following limits.—Vers. 3–5. The southern boundary is the same as that given in Josh. xv. 2–4 as the boundary of the territory of the tribe of Judah. We have first the general description, "*The south side shall be to you from the desert of Zin on the sides of Edom onwards,*" *i.e.* the land was to extend towards the south as far as the desert of Zin on the sides of Edom. עַל-יָדַי, "on the sides," differs in this respect from עַל-יָד, "on the side" (Ex. ii. 5; Josh. xv. 46; 2 Sam. xv. 2), that the latter is used to designate contact at a single point or along a short line; the former, contact for a long distance or throughout the whole extent (= בְּלִיַד, Deut. ii. 37). "*On the sides of Edom*" signifies, therefore, that the desert of Zin stretched along the side of Edom, and Canaan was separated from Edom by the desert of Zin. From this it follows still further, that Edom in this passage is not the mountains of Edom, which had their western boundary on the Arabah, but the country to the south of the desert of Zin or Wady *Murreh* (see p. 87), viz. the mountain land of the Azazimeh, which

still bears the name of *Seir* or *Serr* among the Arabs (see *Seetzen* and *Rowland* in *Ritter's Erdk.* xiv. pp. 840 and 1087). The statement in Josh. xv. 1 also agrees with this, viz. that Judah's inheritance was "to the territory of Edom, the desert of Zin towards the south," according to which the desert of Zin was also to divide the territory of Edom from that of the tribe of Judah (see the remarks on chap. xiv. 45). With ver. 3b the more minute description of the southern boundary line commences: "*The south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward,*" i.e. start from "the tongue which turns to the south" (Josh. xv. 2), from the southern point of the Dead Sea, where there is now a salt marsh with the salt mountain at the south-west border of the lake. "*And turn to the south side (מִנְיָב) of the ascent of Akrabbim*" (*ascensus scorpionum*), i.e. hardly "the steep pass of *es Sufah*, 1434 feet in height, which leads in a south-westerly direction from the Dead Sea along the northern side of *Wady Fikreh*, a wady three-quarters of an hour's journey in breadth, and over which the road from Petra to Heshbon passes,"¹ as *Knobel* maintains; for the expression נָסַב (turn), in ver. 4, according to which the southern border turned at the height of Akrabbim, that is to say, did not go any farther in the direction from N.E. to S.W. than from the southern extremity of the Salt Sea to this point, and was then continued in a straight line from east to west, is not at all applicable to the position of this pass, since there would be no bend whatever in the boundary line at the pass of *es Sufah*, if it ran from the Arabah through *Wady Fikreh*, and so across to Kadesh. The "height of *Akrabbim*," from which the country round was afterwards called *Akrabattine*, *Akrabatene* (1 Macc. v. 3; *Josephus*, Ant. xii. 8, 1),² is most probably the lofty row of "white cliffs" of sixty or eighty feet in height, which run obliquely across the Arabah at a distance of about eight miles below the Dead Sea and, as seen from the south-west point of the Dead Sea, appear to shut in the Ghor, and which form the dividing line between the two sides of the great valley, which is called *el Ghor* on one side, and *el Araba* on the other (*Robinson*, ii. 489, 494, 502). Consequently it was not the *Wady Fikreh*, but a wady

¹ See *Robinson*, vol. ii. pp. 587, 591; and *v. Schubert*, ii. pp. 443, 447 sqq.

² It must be distinguished, however, from the *Akrabatta* mentioned by *Josephus* in his Wars of the Jews (iii. 3, 5), the modern *Akrabeh* in central Palestine (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 296), and from the toparchy *Akrabattene* mentioned in *Josephus* (Wars of the Jews, ii. 12, 4; 20, 4; 22, 2), which was named after this place.

which opened into the Arabah somewhat farther to the south, possibly the southern branch of the Wady *Murreh* itself, which formed the actual boundary. “*And shall pass over to Zin*” (*i.e.* the desert of Zin, the great Wady *Murreh*, see at chap. xiv. 21), “*and its going forth shall be to the south of Kadesh-Barnea*,” at the western extremity of the desert of Zin (see at chap. xx. 16). From this point the boundary went farther out (עֲבָרָה) “*to Hazar-Addar, and over (עֲבָרָה) to Azmon*.” According to Josh. xv. 3, 4, it went to the south of Kadesh-Barnea over (עֲבָרָה) to *Hezron*, and ascended (עָלָה) to *Addar*, and then turned to *Karkaa*, and went over to *Azmon*. Consequently *Hazar-Addar* corresponds to *Hezron* and *Addar* (in Joshua); probably the two places were so close to each other that they could be joined together. Neither of them has been discovered yet. This also applies to *Karkaa* and *Azmon*. The latter name reminds us of the Bedouin tribe *Azazimeh*, inhabiting the mountains in the southern part of the desert of Zin (*Robinson*, i. pp. 274, 283, 287; *Seetzen*, iii. pp. 45, 47). *Azmon* is probably to be sought for near the Wady *el Ain*, to the west of the Hebron road, and not far from its entrance into the Wady *el Arish*; for this is “*the river (brook) of Egypt*,” to which the boundary turned from *Azmon*, and through which it had “*its outgoings at the sea*,” *i.e.* terminated at the Mediterranean Sea. The “*brook of Egypt*,” therefore, is frequently spoken of as the southern boundary of the land of Israel (1 Kings viii. 65, 2 Kings xxiv. 7, 2 Chron. vii. 8, and Isa. xxvii. 12, where the LXX. express the name by Πινκοροῦρα). Hence the southern boundary ran, throughout its whole length, from the Arabah on the east to the Mediterranean on the west, along valleys which form a natural division, and constitute more or less the boundary line between the desert and the cultivated land.¹

Ver. 6. The *western boundary* was to be “*the great sea and its territory*,” *i.e.* the Mediterranean Sea with its territory or coast (cf Deut. iii. 16, 17; Josh. xiii. 23, 27, xv. 47).

¹ On the lofty mountains of *Madara*, where the Wady *Murreh* is divided into two wadys (*Fikreh* and *Murreh*) which run to the Arabah, *v. Schubert* observed “*some mimosen-trees*,” with which, as he expresses it, “*the vegetation of Arabia took leave of us, as it were, as they were the last that we saw on our road*.” And *Dieterici* (*Reisebilder*, ii. pp. 156-7) describes the mountain ridge at *Nakh es Sufah* as “*the boundary line between the yellow desert and green steppes*,” and observes still further, that on the other side of the mountain (*i.e.* northwards) the plain spread out before him in its fresh green dress. “*The desert journey was over, the empire of death now lay behind us, and a new life blew towards us from fields covered with green*.”—In the same way the

Vers. 7-9. The northern boundary cannot be determined with certainty. "From the great sea, mark out to you (תָּתַחַרְתָּ, from תָּחַרְתָּ = תָּוֹרָה, to mark or point out), i.e. fix, Mount Hor as the boundary"—from thence "to come to Hamath; and let the goings forth of the boundary be to Zedad. And the boundary shall go out to Ziphron, and its goings out be at Hazar-enan." Of all these places, Hamath, the modern Hamah, or the *Epiphania* of the Greeks and Romans on the Orontes (see at chap. xiii. 21, and Gen. x. 18), is the only one whose situation is well known; but the geographical description of the northern boundary of the land of Israel לְבֵנָה הַחֲמַת (chap. xiii. 21; Josh. xiii. 5; Judg. iii. 3; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xiv. 25; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 2 Chron. vii. 8; Amos vi. 14; Ezek. xlvi. 15, 20, xlviii. 1) is so indefinite, that the boundary line cannot be determined with exactness. For no proof can be needed in the present day that לְבֵנָה הַחֲמַת cannot mean "to Hamath" (*Ges. thes.* i. p. 185; *Studer* on Judg. iii. 3, and *Baur* on Amos vi. 2), in such a sense as would make the town of Hamath the border town, and בְּנֵי a

country between Kadesh and the Hebron road, which has become better known to us through the descriptions of travellers, is described as a natural boundary. *Seetzen*, in his account of his journey from Hebron to Sinai (iii. p. 47), observes that the mountains of *Tih* commence at the Wady *el Ain* (fountain-valley), which takes its name from a fountain that waters thirty date-palms and a few small corn-fields (i.e. *Ain el Kulerat*, in *Robinson*, i. p. 280), and describes the country to the south of the small flat Wady *el Kdeis* (*el Kideise*), in which many tamarisks grew (i.e. no doubt a wady that comes from Kadesh, from which it derives its name), as a "most dreadful wilderness, which spreads out to an immeasurable extent in all directions, without trees, shrubs, or a single spot of green" (p. 50), although the next day he "found as an unexpected rarity another small field of barley, which might have been an acre in extent" (pp. 52, 53). *Robinson* (i. pp. 280 sqq.) also found, upon the route from Sinai to Hebron, more vegetation in the desert between the Wady *el Kusaimeh* and *el Ain* than anywhere else before throughout his entire journey; and after passing the Wady *el Ain* to the west of Kadesh, he "came upon a broad tract of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, and apparently once tilled." Across the whole of this tract of land there were long ranges of low stone walls visible (called "*el Muzeiriât*," "little plantations," by the Arabs), which had probably served at some former time as boundary walls between the cultivated fields. A little farther to the north the Wady *es Serâm* opens into an extended plain, which looked almost like a meadow with its bushes, grass, and small patches of wheat and barley. A few Azazimeh Arabs fed their camels and flocks here. The land all round became more open, and showed broad valleys that were capable of cultivation, and were separated by low and gradually sloping hills. The grass became more frequent in the valleys, and herbs were found upon the hills. "We heard (he says at p. 283) this morning for the first time the songs of many birds, and among them the lark."

perfectly superfluous pleonasm. In all the passages mentioned, *Hamath* refers, not to the town of that name (*Epiphania* on the Orontes), but to the kingdom of *Hamath*, which was named after its capital, as is proved beyond all doubt by 2 Chron. viii. 4, where Solomon is said to have built store cities "in Hamath." The city of Hamath never belonged to the kingdom of Israel, not even under David and Solomon, and was not reconquered by Jeroboam II., as *Baur* supposes (see my Commentary on the Books of Kings, and *Thenius* on 2 Kings xiv. 25). How far the territory of the kingdom of Hamath extended towards the south in the time of Moses, and how much of it was conquered by Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 4), we are nowhere informed. We simply learn from 2 Kings xxv. 21, that Riblah (whether the same Riblah as is mentioned in ver. 11 as a town upon the eastern boundary, is very doubtful) was situated in the land of Hamath in the time of the Chaldeans. Now if this Riblah has been preserved in the modern *Ribleh*, a miserable village on the Orontes, in the northern part of the *Bekaa*, ten or twelve hours' journey to the south-west of *Hums*, and fourteen hours to the north of *Baalbek* (*Robinson*, iii. p. 461, App. 176, and *Bibl. Researches*, p. 544), the land of Canaan would have reached a little farther northwards, and almost to *Hums* (*Emesa*). *Knobel* moves the boundary still farther to the north. He supposes Mount *Hor* to be *Mons Casius*, to the south-west of Antioch, on the Orontes, and agrees with *Robinson* (iii. 461) in identifying *Zedad*, in the large village of *Zadad* (*Sudud* in *Rob.*), which is inhabited exclusively by Syriac Christians, who still speak Syriac according to *Seetzen* (i. 32 and 279), a town containing about 3000 inhabitants (*Wetstein*, *Reiseber.* p. 88), to the south-east of *Hums*, on the east of the road from Damascus to Hunes, a short day's journey to the north of *Nebk*, and four (or, according to *Van de Velde's* memoir, from ten to twelve) hours' journey to the south of *Hasya* (*Robinson*, iii. p. 461; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvii. pp. 1443-4). *Ziphron*, which was situated upon the border of the territory of Hamath and Damascus, if it is the same as the one mentioned in Ezek. xlvii. 16, is supposed by *Knobel* and *Wetstein* (p. 88) to be preserved in the ruins of *Zifran*, which in all probability have never been visited by any European, fourteen hours to the north-east of Damascus, near to the road from Palmyra. Lastly, *Huzar-enan* (equivalent to fountain-court) is supposed to be the station called *Centum Putea* (*Πούτεια* in *Ptol.* v. 15, 24), mentioned in the *Tabul. Peut.* x. 3, on the road from *Apamia* to *Palmyra*, twenty-seven miles, or about eleven

hours, to the north-west of Palmyra.—But we may say with certainty that all these conclusions are incorrect, because they are irreconcilable with the eastern boundary described in vers. 10, 11. For example, according to vers. 10, 11, the Israelites were to draw (fix) the eastern boundary “from *Hazar-enan* to *Shepham*,” which, as *Knobel* observes, “cannot be determined with exactness, but was farther south than *Hazar-enan*, as it was a point on the eastern boundary which is traced here from north to south, and also farther west, as we may infer from the allusion to *Riblah*, probably at the northern end of *Antilibanus*” (?). From *Shepham* the boundary was “to go down to *Riblah*,” which *Knobel* finds in the *Ribleh* mentioned above. Now, if we endeavour to fix the situation of these places according to the latest and most trustworthy maps, the incorrectness of the conclusions referred to becomes at once apparent. From *Zadad* (*Sudad*) to *Zifran*, the line of the northern boundary would not have gone from west to east, but from north to south, or rather towards the south-west, and from *Zifran* to *Centum Putea* still more decidedly in a south-westerly direction. Consequently the northern boundary would have described a complete semicircle, commencing in the north-west and terminating in the south-east. But if even in itself this appears very incredible, it becomes perfectly impossible when we take the eastern boundary into consideration. For if this went down to the south-west from *Hazar-enan* to *Shepham* according to *Knobel's* conclusions, instead of going down (ver. 11) from *Shepham* to *Riblah*, it would have gone up six or seven geographical miles from south to north, and then have gone down again from north to south along the eastern coast of the Lake of Gennesareth. Now it is impossible that Moses should have fixed such a boundary to the land of Israel on the north-east, and equally impossible that a later Hebrew, acquainted with the geography of his country, should have described it in this way.

If, in order to obtain a more accurate view of the extent of the land towards the north and north-east, we compare the statements of the book of Joshua concerning the conquered land with the districts which still remained to be taken at the time of the distribution; Joshua had taken the land “from the bald mountain which ascends towards Seir,” i.e. probably the northern ridge of the *Azazimeh* mountains, with its white masses of chalk (*Fries, ut sup.* p. 76; see also at Josh. xi. 17), “to *Baal-Gad*, in the valley of Lebanon, below Mount *Hermon*” (Josh. xi. 17; cf. chap. xii. 7). But *Baal-Gad* in the valley (בְּקֵעָה) of Lebanon is not *Heliopolis* (now *Baal-*

bek in the *Bekaa*, or *Cœlesyria*), as many, from *Iken* and *J. D. Michaelis* down to *Knobel*, suppose; for “the *Bekaa* is not under the *Hermon*,” and “there is no proof, or even probability, that Joshua’s conquests reached so far, or that *Baalbek* was ever regarded as the northern boundary of Palestine, nor even that the adjoining portion of Anti-Lebanon was ever called *Hermon*” (*Robinson*, *Biblical Researches*, p. 409). *Baal-Gad*, which is called *Baal-Hermon* in *Judg.* iii. 3 and *1 Chron.* v. 23, was the later *Paneas* or *Cæsarea Philippi*, the modern *Banias*, at the foot of the *Hermon* (cf. *v. Rawmer*, *Pal.* p. 245; *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 408–9, *Pal. iii.* pp. 347 sqq.). This is placed beyond all doubt by *1 Chron.* v. 23, according to which the *Manassites*, who were increasing in numbers, dwelt “from *Bashan* to *Baal-Hermon*, and *Senir*, and the mountains of *Hermon*,” since this statement proves that *Baal-Hermon* was between *Bashan* and the mountains of *Hermon*. In harmony with this, the following places in the north of *Canaan* are mentioned in *Josh.* xiii. 4, 5, and *Judg.* iii. 3, as being left unconquered by Joshua:—(1.) “All the land of the *Canaanites* (*i.e.* of the *Phœnicians* who dwelt on the coast), and the cave of the *Sidonians* to *Aphek*,” מַעְרָה, probably the *spelunca inexpugnabilis in territorio Sidoniensi*, quæ vulgo dicitur cavea de *Tyrum* (*Wilh. Tyr.* xix. 11), the present *Mughr Jezzín*, *i.e.* caves of *Jezzín*, to the east of *Sidon* upon *Lebanon* (*Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvii. pp. 99, 100); and *Aphek*, probably the modern *Afka*, to the north-east of *Beirut* (*Robinson*, *Bibl. Res.*). (2.) “The land of the *Giblites*,” *i.e.* the territory of *Byblos*, and “all *Lebanon* towards the east, from *Baal-Gad* below *Hermon*, till you come to *Hamath*,” *i.e.* not *Antilibanus*, but *Lebanon*, which lies to the east of the land of the *Giblites*. The land of the *Giblites*, or territory of *Gebal*, which is cited here as the northernmost district of the unconquered land, so that its northern boundary must have coincided with the northern boundary of *Canaan*, can hardly have extended to the latitude of *Tripoli*, but probably only reached to the cedar grove at *Bjerreh*, in the neighbourhood of which the highest peaks of the *Lebanon* are found. The territory of the tribes of *Asher* and *Naphtali* (*Josh.* xix. 24–39) did not reach farther up than this. From all these accounts, we must not push the northern boundary of *Canaan* as far as the *Eleutherus*, *Nahr el Kebir*, but must draw it farther to the south, across the northern portion of the *Lebanon*; so that we may look for *Hazar-enan* (fountain-court), which is mentioned as the end of the northern boundary, and the starting-point of the

eastern, near the fountain of *Lebweh*. This fountain forms the water-shed in the Bekaa, between the Orontes, which flows to the north, and the Leontes, which flows to the south (cf. *Robinson*, *Bibl. Res.* p. 531), and is not only a very large fountain of the finest clear water, springing at different points from underneath a broad piece of coarse gravel, which lies to the west of a vein of limestone, but the whole of the soil is of such a character, that "you have only to dig in the gravel, to get as many springs as you please." The quantity of water which is found here is probably even greater than that at the *Anjar*. In addition to the four principal streams, there are three or four smaller ones (*Robinson*, *Bibl. Res.* p. 532), so that this place might be called, with perfect justice, by the name of *fountain-court*. The probability of this conjecture is also considerably increased by the fact, that the *Ain*, mentioned in ver. 11 as a point upon the eastern boundary, can also be identified without any difficulty (see at ver. 11).

Vers. 10-12. The *Eastern Boundary*.—If we endeavour to trace the upper line of the eastern boundary from the fountain-place just mentioned, it ran from *Hazar-enan* to *Shepham*, the site of which is unknown, and "from *Shepham* it was to go down to *Riblah*, on the east of *Ain*" (the fountain). The article הַרְבֵּלָה, and still more the precise description, "to the east of *Ain*, the fountain, or fountain locality" (*Knobel*), show plainly that this *Riblah* is to be distinguished from the *Riblah* in the land of Hamath (2 Kings xxiii. 33, xxv. 21; Jer. xxxix. 9, lii. 27), with which it is mostly identified. *Ain* is supposed to be "the great fountain of *Neba Anjar*, at the foot of Antilibanus, which is often called *Birket Anjar*, on account of its taking its rise in a small reservoir or pool" (*Robinson*, *Bibl. Res.* p. 498), and near to which *Mej-del-Anjar* is to be seen, consisting of "the ruins of the walls and towers of a fortified town, or rather of a large citadel" (*Robinson*, p. 496; cf. *Ritter*, xvii. pp. 181 sqq.).¹ From this point the boundary went farther down, and pressed (מָחָה) "upon the shoulder of the lake of *Chinnereth* towards the east," i.e. upon the north-east shore of the Sea of Galilee (see Josh. xix. 35). Hence it ran down along the Jordan to the Salt Sea (Dead Sea). According to these statements, therefore, the eastern boundary went from Bekaa along the western slopes of

¹ *Knobel* regards *Ain* as the source of the Orontes, i.e. *Neba Lebweh*, and yet, notwithstanding this, identifies *Riblah* with the village of *Ribleh* mentioned above. But can this *Ribleh*, which is at least eight hours to the north of *Neba Lebweh*, be described as on the east of *Ain*, i.e. *Neba Lebweh*?

Antilibanus, over or past *Rasbeya* and *Banyas*, at the foot of Hermon, along the edge of the mountains which bound the *Huleh* basin towards the east, down to the north-east corner of the Sea of Galilee; so that *Hermon* itself (*Jebel es Sheikh*) did not belong to the land of Israel.—Vers. 13–15. This land, according to the boundaries thus described, the Israelites were to distribute by lot (chap. xxvi. 56), to give it to the nine tribes and a half, as the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh had already received their inheritance on the other side of the Jordan (chap. xxxii. 33 sqq.).

Vers. 16–29. LIST OF THE MEN APPOINTED TO DISTRIBUTE THE LAND.—In addition to Eleazar and Joshua, the former of whom was to stand at the head as high priest, in accordance with the divine appointment in chap. xxvii. 21, and the latter to occupy the second place as commander of the army, a prince was selected from each of the ten tribes who were interested in the distribution, as Reuben and Gad had nothing to do with it. Of these princes, namely heads of fathers' houses of the tribes (Josh. xiv. 1), not heads of tribes (see at chap. xiii. 2), Caleb, who is well known from chap. xiii., is the only one whose name is known. The others are not mentioned anywhere else. The list of tribes, in the enumeration of their princes, corresponds, with some exceptions, to the situation of the territory which the tribes received in Canaan, reckoning from south to north, and deviates considerably from the order in which the lots came out for the different tribes, as described in Josh. 15–19. נָתַן in the *Kal*, in vers. 17 and 18, signifies to give for an inheritance, just as in Ex. xxxiv. 8, to put into possession. There is not sufficient ground for altering the *Kal* into *Piel*, especially as the *Piel* in ver. 29 is construed with the accusative of the person, and with the thing governed by ב; whereas in ver. 17 the *Kal* is construed with the person governed by ל, and the accusative of the thing.

Chap. xxxv. 1–8. APPOINTMENT OF TOWNS FOR THE LEVITES.—As the Levites were to receive no inheritance of their own, *i.e.* no separate tribe-territory, in the land of Canaan (chap. xviii. 20 and 23), Moses commanded the children of Israel, *i.e.* the rest of the tribes, in accordance with the divine instructions, to give (vacate) towns to the Levites to dwell in of the inheritance that fell to them for a possession, with pasturage by the cities round about them for their cattle. “Towns to dwell in,” *i.e.* not the whole of the towns as their own property, but as many houses in the towns as sufficed

for the necessities of the Levites as their hereditary possession, which could be redeemed, if sold at any time, and which reverted to them without compensation in the year of jubilee, even if not redeemed before (Lev. xxv. 32, 33); but any portion of the towns which was not taken possession of by them, together with the fields and villages, continued the property of those tribes to which they had been assigned by lot (cf. Josh. xxi. 12, and my commentary on this passage: also *Bähr, Symbolik*, ii. p. 50; *Ewald, Gesch.* ii. p. 403). They were also to give them מִנְרֵשׁ (from נָרַשׁ, to drive, drive out), pasturage or fields, to feed their flocks upon, all round the cities; and according to Lev. xxv. 34, this was not to be sold, but to remain the eternal possession of the Levites. לְבִהֵמָתָם, for their oxen and beasts of burden, and לְרִבְשָׁם, for their (remaining) possessions in flocks (sheep and goats), which are generally described in other cases as *mikneh*, in distinction from *behemah* (e.g. chap. xxxii. 26; Gen. xxxiv. 23, xxxvi. 6). לְכָל־חַיָּתָם, and for all their animals, is merely a generalizing summary signifying all the animals which they possessed.—Ver. 4. The pasture lands of the different towns were to measure “from the town wall outwards a thousand cubits round about,” i.e. on each of the four sides. “And measure from without the city, the east side 2000 cubits, and the south side 2000 cubits, and the west side 2000 cubits, and the north side 2000 cubits, and the city in the middle,” i.e. so that the town stood in the middle of the measured lines, and the space which they occupied was not included in the 2000 cubits. The meaning of these instructions, which have caused great perplexity to commentators, and have latterly been explained by *Saalschütz* (*Mos. R.* pp. 100, 101) in a

FIG. a.

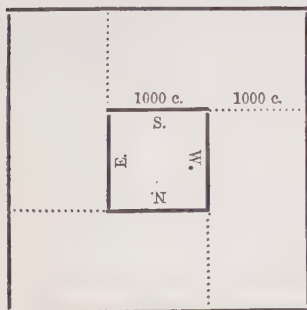
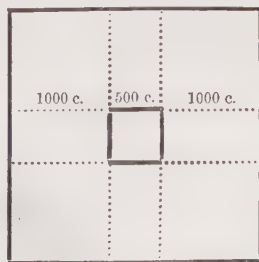


FIG. b.



marvellously erroneous manner, was correctly expounded by *J. D. Michaelis* in the notes to his translation. We must picture the towns

and the surrounding fields as squares, the pasturage as stretching 1000 cubits from the city wall in every direction, as the accompanying figures show, and the length of each outer side as 2000 cubits, apart from the length of the city wall: so that, if the town itself occupied a square of 1000 cubits (see fig. *a*), the outer side of the town fields would measure $2000 + 1000$ cubits in every direction; but if each side of the city wall was only 500 cubits long (see fig. *b*), the outer side of the town fields would measure $2000 + 500$ cubits in every direction.—Vers. 6–8. Of these cities which were given up to the Levites, *six* were to serve as cities of refuge (see at ver. 12) for manslayers, and in addition to these (עֲלֵיהֶם, over upon them) the Israelites were to give of their possessions forty-two others, that is to say, forty-eight in all; and they were to do this, giving much from every tribe that had much, and little from the one which had little (chap. xxvi. 54). With the accusatives אֵת הָעָרִים and אֵת שֵׁשׁ עָרֵי (ver. 6), the writer has already in his mind the verbs תִּרְבוּ and תִּמְעִיטוּ of ver. 8, where he takes up the object again in the word הָעָרִים. According to Josh. xxi., the Levites received nine cities in the territory of Judah and Simeon, four in the territory of each of the other tribes, with the exception of Naphtali, in which there were only three, that is to say, ten in the land to the east of the Jordan, and thirty-eight in Canaan proper, of which the thirteen given up by Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin were assigned to the families of the priests, and the other thirty-five to the three Levitical families. This distribution of the Levites among all the tribes—by which the curse of division and dispersion in Israel, which had been pronounced upon Levi in Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlix. 7), was changed into a blessing both for the Levites themselves and also for all Israel—was in perfect accordance with the election and destination of this tribe. Called out of the whole nation to be the peculiar possession of Jehovah, to watch over His covenant, and teach Israel His rights and His law (Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10; Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxi. 9–13), the Levites were to form and set forth among all the tribes the ἐκδογή of the nation of Jehovah's possession, and by their walk as well as by their calling to remind the Israelites continually of their own divine calling; to foster and preserve the law and testimony of the Lord in Israel, and to awaken and spread the fear of God and piety among all the tribes. Whilst their distribution among all the tribes corresponded to this appointment, the fact that they were not scattered in all the towns and villages of the other tribes, but were congregated together in separate towns

among the different tribes, preserved them from the disadvantages of standing alone, and defended them from the danger of moral and spiritual declension. Lastly, in the number forty-eight, the quadrupling of the number of the tribes (twelve) is unmistakeable. Now, as the number four is the seal of the kingdom of God in the world, the idea of the kingdom of God is also represented in the four times twelve towns (cf. *Bähr, Symbolik*, ii. pp. 50, 51).

Vers. 9-34. SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF CITIES OF REFUGE FOR UNPREMEDITATED MANSLAYERS.—Vers. 10, 11. When the Israelites had come into the land of Canaan, they were to choose towns conveniently situated as cities of refuge, to which the manslayer, who had slain a person (*nephesh*) by accident (בְּשִׁגָּגָה : see at Lev. iv. 2), might flee. הִקְרָה, from קָרָה, to hit, *occurrit*, as well as *accidit*, signifies here to give or make, *i.e.* to choose something suitable (*Dietrich*), but not “to build or complete” (*Knobel*), in the sense of קָרָה, as the only meaning which this word has is *contignare*, to join with beams or rafters; and this is obviously unsuitable here. Through these directions, which are repeated and still further expanded in Deut. xix. 1-13, God fulfilled the promise which He gave in Ex. xxi. 13: that He would appoint a place for the man who should unintentionally slay his neighbour, to which he might flee from the avenger of blood.—Vers. 12-15. These towns were to serve for a refuge from the avenger of blood, that the manslayer might not die before he had taken his trial in the presence of the congregation. The number of cities was fixed at six, three on the other side of the Jordan, and three on this side in the land of Canaan, to which both the children of Israel, and also the foreigners and settlers who were dwelling among them, might flee. In Deut. xix. 3 sqq., Moses advises the congregation to prepare (הִכִּין) the way to these cities, and to divide the territory of the land which Jehovah would give them into three parts (שְׁלֹשָׁה), *i.e.* to set apart a free city in every third of the land, that every manslayer might flee thither, *i.e.* might be able to reach the free city without being detained by length of distance or badness of road, lest, as is added in ver. 6, the avenger of blood pursue the slayer while his heart is hot (יָחַם, *imperf.* Kal of חָמַם), and overtake him because the way is long, and slay him (הִכָּה נָפֶשׁ, as in Gen. xxxvii. 21), whereas he was not worthy of death (*i.e.* there was no just ground for putting him to death), “because he had not done it out of hatred.” The three cities of refuge on the other side were selected

by Moses himself (Deut. iv. 41-43); the three in Canaan were not appointed till the land was distributed among the nine tribes and a half (Josh. xx. 7). Levitical or priests' towns were selected for all six, not only because it was to the priests and Levites that they would first of all look for an administration of justice (*Schultz* on Deut. xix. 3), but also on the ground that these cities were the property of Jehovah, in a higher sense than the rest of the land, and for this reason answered the idea of cities of refuge, where the manslayer, when once received, was placed under the protection of divine grace, better than any other places possibly could.

The establishment of cities of refuge presupposed the custom and right of revenge. The custom itself goes back to the very earliest times of the human race (Gen. iv. 15, 24, xxvii. 45); it prevailed among the Israelites, as well as the other nations of antiquity, and still continues among the Arabs in unlimited force (cf. *Niebuhr*, Arab. pp. 32 sqq.; *Burckhardt*, Beduinen, 119, 251 sqq.). "Revenge of blood prevailed almost everywhere, so long as there was no national life generated, or it was still in the first stages of its development; and consequently the expiation of any personal violation of justice was left to private revenge, and more especially to family zeal" (*Oehler* in *Herzog's B. Cycl.*, where the proofs may be seen). The warrant for this was the principle of retribution, the *jus talionis*, which lay at the foundation of the divine order of the world in general, and the Mosaic law in particular, and which was sanctioned by God, so far as murder was concerned, even in the time of Noah, by the command, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood," etc. (Gen. ix. 5, 6). This warrant, however, or rather obligation to avenge murder, was subordinated to the essential principle of the theocracy, under the Mosaic law. Whilst God Himself would avenge the blood that was shed, not only upon men, but upon animals also (Gen. ix. 5), and commanded blood-revenge, He withdrew the execution of it from subjective caprice, and restricted it to cases of premeditated slaying or murder, by appointing cities of refuge, which were to protect the manslayer from the avenger, until he took his trial before the congregation. גֹּאֵל, redeemer, is "that particular relative whose special duty it was to restore the violated family integrity, who had to redeem not only landed property that had been alienated from the family (Lev. xxv. 25 sqq.), or a member of the family that had fallen into slavery (Lev. xxv. 47 sqq.), but also the blood that had been taken away from the family by murder" (*Oehler*). In the latter respect he was called גֹּאֵל הַדָּם,

(vers. 19, 21, 24 sqq.; Deut. xix. 6, 12). From 2 Sam. xiv. 7, we may see that it was the duty of the whole family to take care that blood-revenge was carried out. The performance of the duty itself, however, was probably regulated by the closeness of the relationship, and corresponded to the duty of redeeming from bondage (Lev. xxv. 49), and to the right of inheritance (chap. xxvii. 8 sqq.). What standing before the congregation was to consist of, is defined more fully in what follows (vers. 24, 25). If we compare with this Josh. xx. 4 sqq., the manslayer, who fled from the avenger of blood into a free city, was to stand before the gates of the city, and state his cause before the elders. They were then to receive him into the city, and give him a place that he might dwell among them, and were not to deliver him up to the avenger of blood till he had stood before the congregation for judgment. Consequently, if the slayer of a man presented himself with the request to be received, the elders of the free city had to make a provisional inquiry into his case, to decide whether they should grant him protection in the city; and then if the avenger of blood appeared, they were not to deliver up the person whom they had received, but to hand him over, on the charge of the avenger of blood, to the congregation to whom he belonged, or among whom the act had taken place, that they might investigate the case, and judge whether the deed itself was wilful or accidental.

Special instructions are given in vers. 16-28, with reference to the judicial procedure. First of all (vers. 16-21), with regard to qualified slaying or murder. If any person has struck another with an *iron instrument* (an axe, hatchet, hammer, etc.), or "*with a stone of the hand, from which one dies*," i.e. with a stone which filled the hand,—a large stone, therefore, with which it was possible to kill,—or "*with a wooden instrument of the hand, from which one dies*," i.e. with a thick club, or a large, strong wooden instrument, and he then died (so that he died in consequence), he was a murderer, who was to be put to death. "For the suspicion would rest upon any one who had used an instrument, that endangered life and therefore was not generally used in striking, that he had intended to take life away" (*Knobel*).—Ver. 19. The avenger of blood could put him to death, when he hit upon him, i.e. whenever and wherever he met with him.—Ver. 20. And so also the man who hit another in hatred, or threw at him by lying in wait, or struck him with the hand in enmity, so that he died. And if a murderer of this kind fled into a free city, the elders of his city were to have him fetched

out and delivered up to the avenger of blood (Deut. xix. 11, 12). Then follow, in vers. 22-28, the proceedings to be taken with an unintentional manslayer, viz. if any one hit another "in the moment," *i.e.* suddenly, unawares (chap. vi. 9), without enmity, or by throwing anything upon him, without lying in wait, or by letting a stone, by which a man might be killed, fall upon him without seeing him, so that he died in consequence, but without being his enemy, or watching to do him harm. In using the expression בְּכֹל-אֶבֶן, the writer had probably הַשֵּׁלִי still in his mind; but he dropped this word, and wrote וַיִּפֹּל in the form of a fresh sentence. The thing intended is explained still more clearly in Deut. xix. 4, 5. Instead of בְּפֶתַע, we find there בְּבִלְיָ רָעָה, without knowing, unintentionally. The words, "without being his enemy," are paraphrased there by, "without hating him from yesterday and the day before yesterday" (*i.e.* previously), and are explained by an example taken from the life: "*When a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the iron slippeth (שָׁלַל Niphal of שָׁלַל) from the wood (handle), and lighteth upon his neighbour.*"—Vers. 24, 25. In such a case as this, the congregation was to judge between the slayer and the avenger of blood, according to the judgments before them. They were to rescue the innocent man from the avenger of blood, to bring him back to his (*i.e.* the nearest) city of refuge to which he had fled, that he might dwell there till the death of the high priest, who had been anointed with the holy oil.—Vers. 26-28. If he left the city of refuge before this, and the avenger of blood got hold of him, and slew him outside the borders (precincts) of the city, it was not to be reckoned to him as blood (אֵין לוֹ דָּם, like אֵין לוֹ דָּמִים, Ex. xxii. 1). But after the death of the high priest he might return "into the land of his possession," *i.e.* his hereditary possession (cf. Lev. xxvii. 22), *sc.* without the avenger of blood being allowed to pursue him any longer.

In these regulations "all the rigour of the divine justice is manifested in the most beautiful concord with His compassionate mercy. Through the destruction of life, even when not wilful, human blood had been shed, and demanded expiation. Yet this expiation did not consist in the death of the offender himself, because he had not sinned wilfully." Hence an asylum was provided for him in the free city, to which he might escape, and where he would lie concealed. This sojourn in the free city was not to be regarded as banishment, although separation from house, home, and family was certainly a punishment; but it was a concealment under "the pro-

tection of the mercy of God, which opened places of escape in the cities of refuge from the carnal ardour of the avenger of blood, where the slayer remained concealed until his sin was expiated by the death of the high priest." For the fact, that the death of the high priest was hereby regarded as expiatory, as many of the Rabbins, fathers, and earlier commentators maintain (see my Comm. on Joshua, p. 448), is unmistakeably evident from the addition of the clause, "who has been anointed with the holy oil," which would appear unmeaning and superfluous on any other view. This clause points to the inward connection between the return of the slayer and the death of the high priest. "The anointing with the holy oil was a symbol of the communication of the Holy Ghost, by which the high priest was empowered to act as mediator and representative of the nation before God, so that he alone could carry out the yearly and general expiation for the whole nation, on the great day of atonement. But as his life and work acquired a representative signification through this anointing with the Holy Ghost, his death might also be regarded as a death for the sins of the people, by virtue of the Holy Ghost imparted to him, through which the unintentional manslayer received the benefits of the propitiation for his sin before God, so that he could return cleansed to his native town, without further exposure to the vengeance of the avenger of blood" (Comm. on Joshua, p. 448). But inasmuch as, according to this view, the death of the high priest had the same result in a certain sense, in relation to his time of office, as his function on the day of atonement had had every year, "the death of the earthly high priest became thereby a type of that of the heavenly One, who, through the eternal (holy) Spirit, offered Himself without spot to God, that we might be redeemed from our transgressions, and receive the promised eternal inheritance (Heb. ix. 14, 15). Just as the blood of Christ wrought out eternal redemption, only because through the eternal Spirit He offered Himself without spot to God, so the death of the high priest of the Old Testament secured the complete deliverance of the manslayer from his sin, only because he had been anointed with the holy oil, the symbol of the Holy Ghost" (p. 449).

If, therefore, the confinement of the unintentional manslayer in the city of refuge was neither an ordinary exile nor merely a means of rescuing him from the revenge of the enraged *goel*, but an appointment of the just and merciful God for the expiation of human blood even though not wilfully shed, that, whilst there was no vio-

lation of judicial righteousness, a barrier might be set to the unrighteousness of family revenge; it was necessary to guard against any such abuse of this gracious provision of the righteous God, as that into which the heathen right of asylum had degenerated.¹ The instructions which follow in vers. 29-34 were intended to secure this object. In ver. 29, there is first of all the general law, that these instructions (those given in vers. 11-28) were to be for a statute of judgment (see chap. xxvii. 11) for all future ages ("throughout your generations," see Ex. xii. 14, 20). Then, in ver. 30, a just judgment is enforced in the treatment of murder. "*Whoso killeth any person* (these words are construed absolutely), *at the mouth* (the testimony) *of witnesses shall the murderer be put to death; and one witness shall not answer* (give evidence) *against a person to die;*" i.e. if the taking of life were in question, capital punishment was not to be inflicted upon the testimony of one person only, but upon that of a plurality of witnesses. One witness could not only be more easily mistaken than several, but would be more likely to be partial than several persons who were unanimous in bearing witness to one and the same thing. The number of witnesses was afterwards fixed at two witnesses, at least, in the case of capital crimes (Deut. xvii. 6), and two or three in the case of every crime (Deut. xix. 15; cf. John viii. 17, 2 Cor. xiii. 1, Heb. x. 28).—Lastly (vers. 31 sqq.), the command is given not to take redemption money, either for the life of the murderer, who was a wicked man to die, i.e. deserving of death (such a man was to be put to death); nor "*for fleeing into the city of refuge, to return to dwell in the land till the death of the high priest:*" that is to say, they were neither to allow the wilful murderer to come to terms with the relative of the man who had been put to death, by the payment of a redemption fee, and so to save his life, as is not unfrequently the case in the East at the present day (cf. *Robinson*, Pal. i. p. 209, and *Lane's Manners and Customs*); nor even to allow the unintentional murderer to purchase permission to return home from the city of refuge

¹ On the *asyla*, in general, see *Winer's Real-Wörterbuch*, art. *Freistatt*; *Pauly*, Real-encykl. der class. Alterthums-wissenschaft, Bd. i. s. v. *Asylum*; but more especially *K. Dann*, "*über den Ursprung des Asylrechts und dessen Schicksale und Ueberreste in Europa*," in his *Ztschr. für deutsches Recht*, Lpz. 1840. "The *asyla* of the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Germans* differed altogether from those of the *Hebrews*; for whilst the latter were never intended to save the wilful criminal from the punishment he deserved, but were simply established for the purpose of securing a just sentence, the former actually answered the purpose of rescuing the criminal from the punishment which he legally deserved."

before the death of the high priest, by the payment of a money compensation.—Ver. 33. The Israelites were not to desecrate their land by sparing the murderer; as blood, *i.e.* bloodshed or murder, desecrated the land, and there was no expiation (יִכָּפֵר) to the land for the blood that was shed in it, except through the blood of the man who had shed it, *i.e.* through the execution of the murderer, by which justice would be satisfied.—Ver. 34. And they were not to desecrate the land in which they dwelt by tolerating murderers, because Jehovah, the Holy One, dwelt in it, among the children of Israel (cf. Lev. xviii. 25 sqq.).

LAW CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF HEIRESESSES.—CHAP. XXXVI.

Vers. 1-4. The occasion for this law was a representation made to Moses and the princes of the congregation by the heads of the fathers' houses (הָאָבוֹת for בְּיַת־הָאָבוֹת, as in Ex. vi. 25, etc.) of the family of Gilead the Manassite, to which Zelophehad (chap. xxvi. 33) belonged, to the effect that, by allotting an hereditary possession to the daughters of Zelophehad, the tribe-territory assigned to the Manassites would be diminished if they should marry into another tribe. They founded their appeal upon the command of Jehovah, that the land was to be distributed by lot among the Israelites for an inheritance (ver. 2 compared with chap. xxvi. 55, 56, and xxxiii. 54); and although it is not expressly stated, yet on the ground of the promise of the everlasting possession of Canaan (Gen. xvii. 8), and the provision made by the law, that an inheritance was not to be alienated (Lev. xxv. 10, 13, 23 sqq.), they understood it as signifying that the portion assigned to each tribe was to continue unchanged to all generations. (The singular pronoun, *my* Lord, in ver. 2, refers to the speaker, as in chap. xxxii. 27.) Now, as the inheritance of their brother, *i.e.* their tribe-mate Zelophehad, had been given to his daughters (chap. xxvii. 1), if they should be chosen as wives by any of the children of the (other) tribes of Israel, *i.e.* should marry into another tribe, their inheritance would be taken away from the tribe-territory of Manasseh, and would be added to that of the tribe into which they were received. The suffix לָהֶם (ver. 3) refers *ad sensum* to מִנֵּיהֶם, the tribe regarded according to its members.—Ver. 4. And when the year of jubilee came round (see Lev. xxv. 10), their inheritance would be entirely withdrawn from the tribe of Manasseh. Strictly speaking, the hereditary property would pass at once, when the marriage took

place, to the tribe into which an heiress married, and not merely at the year of jubilee. But up to the year of jubilee it was always possible that the hereditary property might revert to the tribe of Manasseh, either through the marriage being childless, or through the purchase of the inheritance. But in the year of jubilee all landed property that had been alienated was to return to its original proprietor or his heir (Lev. xxv. 33 sqq.). In this way the transfer of an inheritance from one tribe to another, which took place in consequence of a marriage, would be established in perpetuity. And it was in this sense that the elders of the tribe of Manasseh meant that a portion of the inheritance which had fallen to them by lot would be taken away from their tribe at the year of jubilee.—Vers. 5–9. Moses declared that what they had affirmed was right (וַיִּבֶן), and then, by command of Jehovah, he told the daughters of Zelophehad that they might marry whoever pleased them (the suffix הֶם, attached to בְּעֵינֵי, for הֵן, as in Ex. i. 21, Gen. xxxi. 9, etc.), but that he must belong to the family of their father's tribe, that is to say, must be a Manassite. For (ver. 7) the inheritance was not to turn away the Israelites from one tribe to another (not to be transferred from one to another), but every Israelite was to keep to the inheritance of his father's tribe, and no one was to enter upon the possession of another tribe by marrying an heiress belonging to that tribe. This is afterwards extended, in vers. 8 and 9, into a general law for every heiress in Israel.

In vers. 10–12 it is related that, in accordance with these instructions, the five daughters of Zelophehad, whose names are repeated from chap. xxvi. 33 and xxvii. 1 (see also Josh. xvii. 3), married husbands from the families of the Manassites, namely, sons of their cousins (? uncles), and thus their inheritance remained in their father's tribe (לְהִיָּה עָלָיו, to be and remain upon anything).—Ver. 13. The conclusion refers not merely to the laws and rights contained in chap. xxxiii. 50–xxxvi. 13, but includes the rest of the laws given in the steppes of Moab (chap. xxv.–xxx.), and forms the conclusion to the whole book, which places the lawgiving in the steppes of Moab by the side of the lawgiving at Mount Sinai (Lev. xxvi. 46, xlvii. 34) and brings it to a close, though without in any way implying that the explanation (בְּאֵר, Deut. i. 5), further development, and hortatory enforcement of the law and its testimonies, statutes, and judgments (Deut. i. 5, iv. 44 sqq., xii. 1 sqq.), which follow in *Deuteronomy*, are not of Mosaic origin.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES.

(DEUTERONOMY.)

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, ARRANGEMENT, AND CHARACTER OF DEUTERONOMY.

HE fifth book of Moses, which is headed אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּבָרִים, or briefly דְּבָרִים, in the Hebrew Bibles, from the opening words of the book, is called מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה (*repetitio legis*), or merely מִשְׁנֵה by the Hellenistic Jews and some of the Rabbins, with special reference to its contents as described in chap. xvii. 18. The rabbinical explanation of the latter given in *Münster* and *Fagius* is זְכוֹרָן דְּרֵאשׁוֹנִים, “*memoria rerum priorum, quæ in aliis scribuntur libris.*” By some of the Rabbins the book is also called סֵפֶר תּוֹכָחוֹת, *liber redargutionum*. The first of these titles has become current in the Christian Church through the rendering given by the LXX. and Vulgate, Δευτερονόμιον, *Deuteronomium*; and although it has arisen from an incorrect rendering of chap. xvii. 18 (see the exposition of the passage), it is so far a suitable one, that it describes quite correctly the leading contents of the book itself. The book of Deuteronomy contains not so much “a recapitulation of the things commanded and done, as related in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers” (*Theod.*), as “a compendium and summary of the whole law and wisdom of the people of Israel, wherein those things which related to the priests and Levites are omitted, and only such things included as the people generally required to know” (*Luther*). Consequently it is not merely a repetition and summary of the most important laws and events contained in the previous books, still less a mere “summons to the law and testimony,” or a “fresh and independent lawgiving standing side by side with the earlier one,” a “transformation of the

old law to suit the altered circumstances," or "merely a second book of the law, intended for the people that knew not the law" (*Ewald, Riehm, etc.*); but a *hortatory description, explanation, and enforcement of the most essential contents of the covenant revelation and covenant laws, with emphatic prominence given to the spiritual principle of the law and its fulfilment, and with a further development of the ecclesiastical, judicial, political, and civil organization, which was intended as a permanent foundation for the life and well-being of the people in the land of Canaan.* There is not the slightest trace, throughout the whole book, of any intention whatever to give a new or second law. Whilst the laws as well as the divine promises and threatenings in the three middle books of the Pentateuch are all introduced as words of Jehovah to Moses, which he was to make known to the people, and even where the announcement passes over into the form of an address,—as, for example, in Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq., Lev. xxvi.,—are not spoken by Moses in his own name, but spoken by Jehovah to Israel through Moses; the book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of chap. xxxi.–xxxiv., contains nothing but words addressed by Moses to the people, with the intention, as he expressly affirms in chap. i. 5, of explaining (בִּאֵר) the law to the people. Accordingly he does not quote those laws, which were given before and are merely repeated here, nor the further precepts and arrangements that were added to them, such as those concerning the one site for the worship of God, the prophetic and regal qualifications, the administration of justice and carrying on of war, in the categorical language of law; but clothes them, as well as the other commandments, in the hortatory form of a paternal address, full of solemn and affectionate admonition, with the addition of such reminiscences and motives as seemed best adapted to impress their observance upon the hearts of the people. As the repetition not only of the decalogue, which God addressed to the people directly from Sinai, but also of many other laws, which He gave through Moses at Sinai and during the journey through the desert, had no other object than this, to make the contents of the covenant legislation intelligible to all the people, and to impress them upon their hearts; so those laws which are peculiar to our book are not additions made to this legislation for the purpose of completing it, but simply furnish such explanations and illustrations of its meaning as were rendered necessary by the peculiar relations and forms of the religious, social, and political life of the nation in the promised land of Canaan. Throughout

the whole book, the law, with its commandments, statutes, and judgments, which Moses laid "this day" before the people, is never described as either new or altered; on the contrary, it is only the law of the covenant, which Jehovah had concluded with His people at Horeb (chap. v. 1 sqq.); and the commandments, statutes, and judgments of this law Moses had received from the Lord upon the Mount (Sinai), that he might teach Israel to keep them (chap. v. 31 sqq.; comp. chap. vi. 20-25). The details of the book also bear this out.

The *first* part of the book, which embraces by far the greater portion of it, viz. chap. i.-xxx., consists of three long addresses, which Moses delivered to all Israel, according to the heading of chap. i. 1-4, in the land of Moab, on the first of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year after the exodus from Egypt. The *first* of these addresses (chap. i. 6-iv. 40) is intended to prepare the way for the exposition and enforcement of the law, which follow afterwards. Moses calls to their recollection the most important facts connected with the history of their forty years' wandering in the desert, under the protection and merciful guidance of the Lord (chap. i. 6-iii. 29); and to this he attaches the exhortation not to forget the revelation of the Lord, which they had seen at Horeb, or the words of the covenant which they had heard, but to bear in mind at all times, that Jehovah alone was God in heaven and on earth, and to keep His commandments and rights, that they might enjoy long life and prosperity in the land of Canaan (chap. iv. 1-40). This is followed by the statement in chap. iv. 41-43, that Moses set apart three cities of refuge in the land to the east of the Jordan for unintentional manslaughterers. The *second* address (chap. v.-xxvi.) is described in the heading in chap. iv. 44-49 as the law, which Moses set before the children of Israel, and consists of two parts, the one general and the other particular. In the *general* part (chap. v.-xi.), Moses repeats the ten words of the covenant, which Jehovah spoke to Israel from Sinai out of the midst of the fire, together with the circumstances which attended their promulgation (chap. v.), and then expounds the contents of the first two commandments of the decalogue, that Jehovah alone is the true and absolute God, and requires love from His people with all their heart and all their soul, and therefore will not tolerate the worship of any other god beside Himself (chap. vi.). For this reason the Israelites were not only to form no alliance with the Canaanites after conquering them, and taking possession of the promised land, but to exterminate them

without quarter, and destroy their altars and idols, because the Lord had chosen them to be His holy nation from love to their forefathers, and would keep the covenant of His grace, and bestow the richest blessings upon them, if they observed His commandments (chap. vii.); but when in possession and enjoyment of the riches of this blessed land, they were to remain for ever mindful of the temptation, humiliation, and fatherly chastisement which they had experienced at the hand of their God in the wilderness, that they might not forget the Lord and His manifestations of mercy in their self-exaltation (chap. viii.), but might constantly remember that they owed their conquest and possession of Canaan not to their own righteousness, but solely to the compassion and covenant faithfulness of the Lord, whom they had repeatedly provoked to anger in the wilderness (chap. ix. 1-x. 11), and might earnestly strive to serve the Lord in true fear and love, and to keep His commandments, that they might inherit the promised blessing, and not be exposed to the curse which would fall upon transgressors and the worshippers of idols (chap. x. 12-xi. 32). To this there is added in the more *special* part (chap. xii.-xxvi.), an account of the most important laws which all Israel was to observe in the land of its inheritance, viz.: (1.) Directions for the behaviour of Israel towards the Lord God, *e.g.* as to the presentation of sacrificial offerings and celebration of sacrificial meals at no other place than the one chosen by God for the revelation of His name (chap. xii.); as to the destruction of all seducers to idolatry, whether prophets who rose up with signs and wonders, or the closest blood-relations, and such towns in the land as should fall away to idolatry (chap. xiii.); as to abstinence from the mourning ceremonies of the heathen, and from unclean food, and the setting apart of tithes for sacrificial meals and for the poor (chap. xiv.); as to the observance of the year of remission, the emancipation of Hebrew slaves in the seventh year, and the dedication of the first-born of oxen and sheep (chap. xv.), and as to the celebration of the feast of Passover, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles, by sacrificial meals at the sanctuary (chap. xvi. 1-17). (2.) Laws concerning the organization of the theocratic state, and especially as to the appointment of judges and official persons in every town, and the trial of idolaters and evil-doers in both the lower and higher forms (chap. xvi. 18-xvii. 13); concerning the choice of a king in the future, and his duties (chap. xvii. 14-20); concerning the rights of priests and Levites (chap. xviii. 1-8); and concerning false and true prophets (vers. 9-22). (3.) Regulations

bearing upon the sanctification of human life : viz. legal instructions as to the establishment of cities of refuge for unintentional manslaughter (chap. xix. 1-13) ; as to the maintenance of the sanctity of the boundaries of landed property, and abstinence from false charges against a neighbour (vers. 14-21) ; as to the conduct of war, with special reference to the duty of sparing their own fighting men, and also defenceless enemies and their towns (chap. xx.) ; as to the expiation of inexplicable murders (chap. xxi. 1-9) ; as to the mild treatment of women taken in war (vers. 10-14) ; the just use of paternal authority (vers. 15-21) ; and the burial of criminals that had been executed (vers. 22, 23). (4.) The duty of paying affectionate regard to the property of a neighbour, and cherishing a sacred dread of violating the moral and natural order of the world (chap. xxii. 1-12), with various precepts for the sanctification of the marriage bond (chap. xxii. 13-xxiii. 1), of the theocratic union as a congregation (chap. xxiii. 2-26), and also of domestic and social life, in all its manifold relations (chaps. xxiv. and xxv.) ; and lastly, the appointment of prayers of thanksgiving on the presentation of the first-fruits and tenths of the fruits of the field (chap. xxvi. 1-15) ; together with a closing admonition (vers. 16-19) to observe all these laws and rights with all the heart. The *third* address (chap. xxvii.-xxx.) has reference to the renewal of the covenant. This solemn act is introduced with a command to write the law upon large stones when Canaan should be conquered, and to set up these stones upon Mount Ebal, to build an altar there ; and after presenting burnt-offerings and slain-offerings, to proclaim in the most solemn manner both the blessing and curse of the law, the former upon Gerizim, and the latter upon Ebal (chap. xxvii.). Moses takes occasion from this command to declare most fully what blessings and curses would come upon the people, according as they should or should not hearken to the voice of the Lord (chap. xxviii.). Then follows the renewal of the covenant, which consisted in the fact that Moses recited once more, in a solemn address to the whole of the national assembly, all that the Lord had done for them and to them ; and after pointing again to the blessings and curses of the law, called upon them and adjured them to enter into the covenant of Jehovah their God, which He had that day concluded with them, and having before them blessing and cursing, life and death, to make the choice of life.—The *second* and much shorter portion of the book (chap. xxxi.-xxxiv.) contains the close of Moses' life and labours : (a) the appointment of Joshua to be the leader of Israel

into Canaan, and the handing over of the book of the law, when completed, to the priests, for them to keep and read to the people at the feast of Tabernacles in the year of jubilee (chap. xxxi.); (b) the song of Moses (chap. xxxii. 1-47), and the announcement of his death (vers. 48-52); (c) the blessing of Moses (chap. xxxiii.); and (d) the account of his death (chap. xxxiv.).

From this general survey of the contents, it is sufficiently evident that the exposition of the commandments, statutes, and rights of the law had no other object than this, to pledge the nation in the most solemn manner to an inviolable observance, in the land of Canaan, of the covenant which Jehovah had made with Israel at Horeb (chap. xxviii. 69). To this end Moses not only repeats the fundamental law of this covenant, the decalogue, but many of the separate commandments, statutes, and rights of the more expanded Sinaitic law. These are rarely given *in extenso* (e.g. the laws of food in chap. xiv.), but for the most part simply in brief hints, bringing out by way of example a few of the more important rules, for the purpose of linking on some further explanations of the law in its application to the peculiar circumstances of the land of Canaan. And throughout, as *F. W. Schultz* correctly observes, the intention of the book is, "by means of certain supplementary and auxiliary rules, to ensure the realization of the laws or institutions of the earlier books, the full validity of which it presupposes; and that not merely in some fashion or other, but in its true essence, and according to its higher object and idea, notwithstanding all the difficulties that might present themselves in Canaan or elsewhere." Not only are the instructions relating to the building of the sanctuary, the service of the priests and Levites, and the laws of sacrifice and purification, passed over without mention as being already known; but of the festivals and festive celebrations, only the three annual feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles are referred to, and that but briefly, for the purpose of commanding the observance of the sacrificial meals which were to be held at the sanctuary in connection with these feasts (chap. xvi.). The tithes and first-fruits are noticed several times, but only so far as they were to be applied to common sacrificial meals before the Lord. The appointment of judges is commanded in all the towns of the land, and rules are given by which the judicial form of procedure is determined more minutely; but no rule is laid down as to the election of the judges, simply because this had been done before. On the other hand, instructions are given concerning the king whom the people would one day

desire to set over themselves; concerning the prophets whom the Lord would raise up; and also concerning any wars that might be waged with other nations than the Canaanites, the extermination of the latter being enforced once more; and several things besides. —And if this selection of materials indicates an intention, not so much to complete the legislation of the earlier books by the addition of new laws, as to promote its observance and introduction into the national life, and secure its permanent force; this intention becomes still more apparent when we consider how Moses, after repeating the decalogue, not only sums up the essential contents of all the commandments, statutes, and rights which Jehovah has commanded, in the one command to love God with all the heart, etc., and sets forth this commandment as the sum of the whole law, but in all his expositions of the law, all his exhortations to obedience, and all threats and promises, aims ever at this one object, to awaken in the hearts of the people a proper state of mind for the observance of the commandments of God, viz. a feeling of humility and love and willing obedience, and to destroy that love for merely outward legality and pharisaic self-righteousness which is inherent in the natural man, that the people may circumcise the foreskin of their heart, and enter heartily into the covenant of their God, and maintain that covenant with true fidelity.

It is in this peculiar characteristic and design of the legislative addresses which the book contains, and not in the purpose attributed to it, of appending a general law for the nation to the legislation of the previous books, which had reference chiefly to the priests and Levites,¹ that we are to seek for that completion of the law which the book of *Deuteronomy* supplies. And in this we may find the strongest proof of the Mosaic origin of this concluding part of the *Thorah*. What the heading distinctly states (chap. i. 1-4),—viz.

¹ In opposition to this view of *Ed. Richm, Schultz* justly argues that the book of *Deuteronomy* is very far from containing everything that concerned the people and was of great importance to them. It does not even repeat those laws of the first book of the covenant in Ex. xx.-xxiii., which affected most closely the social every-day life of the people. It contains nothing about circumcision, which certainly could not have been omitted from the national law-book; no further details as to the Passover, Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles; it does not even mention the great day of atonement, on which every Israelite had to fast on pain of death, nor the feast of trumpets and year of jubilee; and the Sabbath command is simply introduced quite briefly in and with the decalogue. Of all the defilements and washings, which were of the greatest moment, according to the Old Testament view, to every individual, there is not a single word.

that Moses delivered this address to all Israel a short time before his death in the land of Moab, on the other side of the Jordan, and therefore on the threshold of the promised land,—is confirmed by both the form and contents of the book. As *Hengstenberg* has well observed (*Ev. K. Z.* 1862, No. 5, pp. 49 sqq.), “the address of Moses is in perfect harmony with his situation. He speaks like a dying father to his children. The words are earnest, inspired, impressive. He looks back over the whole of the forty years of their wandering in the desert, reminds the people of all the blessings they have received, of the ingratitude with which they have so often repaid them, and of the judgments of God, and the love that continually broke forth behind them; he explains the laws again and again, and adds what is necessary to complete them, and is never weary of urging obedience to them in the warmest and most emphatic words, because the very life of the nation was bound up with this; he surveys all the storms and conflicts which they have passed through, and, beholding the future in the past, takes a survey also of the future history of the nation, and sees, with mingled sorrow and joy, how the three great features of the past—viz. apostasy, punishment, and pardon—continue to repeat themselves in the future also.—The situation throughout is the time when Israel was standing on the border of the promised land, and preparing to cross the Jordan; and there is never any allusion to what formed the centre of the national life in future times—to Jerusalem and its temple, or to the Davidic monarchy. The approaching conquest of the land is merely taken for granted as a whole; the land is dressed throughout in all the charms of a desired good, and no reference is ever made to the special circumstances of Israel in the land about to be conquered.” To this there is to be added what makes its appearance on every hand—the most lively remembrance of Egypt, and the condition of the people when living there (cf. chap. v. 15, vii. 15, xi. 10, xv. 15, xvi. 12, xxiv. 18, xxviii. 27, 35, 60), and an accurate acquaintance with the very earliest circumstances of the different nations with which the Israelites came into either friendly or hostile contact in the Mosaic age (chap. ii.); together with many other things that were entirely changed a short time after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites.

And just as these addresses, which complete the giving of the law and bring it to a close, form an integral part of the *Thorah*, so the historical account of the finishing of the book of the law, and its being handed over to the priests, together with the song and blessing

of Moses (chap. xxxi.-xxxiii.), form a fitting conclusion to the work of Moses, the lawgiver and mediator of the old covenant; and to this the account of his death, with which the Pentateuch closes (chap. xxxiv.), is very appropriately appended.

EXPOSITION.

HEADING AND INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I. 1-5.

VERS. 1-4 contain the heading to the whole book; and to this the introduction to the first address is appended in ver. 5. By the expression, "*These be the words,*" etc., Deuteronomy is attached to the previous books; the word "*these,*" which refers to the addresses that follow, connects what follows with what goes before, just as in Gen. ii. 4, vi. 9, etc. The geographical data in ver. 1 present no little difficulty; for whilst the general statement as to the place where Moses delivered the addresses in this book, viz. *beyond Jordan*, is particularized in the introduction to the second address (chap. iv. 46), as "*in the valley over against Beth-Peor,*" here it is described as "*in the wilderness, in the Arabah,*" etc. This contrast between the verse before us and chap. iv. 45, 46, and still more the introduction of the very general and loose expression, "*in the desert,*" which is so little adapted for a geographical definition of the locality, that it has to be defined itself by the additional words "*in the Arabah,*" suggest the conclusion that the particular names introduced are not intended to furnish as exact a geographical account as possible of the spot where Moses explained the law to all Israel, but to call up to view the scene of the addresses which follow, and point out the situation of all Israel at that time. Israel was "*in the desert,*" not yet in Canaan the promised inheritance, and in fact "*in the Arabah.*" This is the name given to the deep low-lying plain on both sides of the Jordan, which runs from the Lake of Gennesaret to the Dead Sea, and stretches southwards from the Dead Sea to *Aila*, at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, as we may see very clearly from chap. ii. 8, where the way which the Israelites took past Edom to *Aila* is called the "*way of the Arabah,*" and also from the fact that the Dead Sea is called "the sea of the

Arabah" in chap. iii. 17 and iv. 49. At present the name *Arabah* is simply attached to the southern half of this valley, between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea; whilst the northern part, between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee, is called *el Ghor*; though *Abulfeda*, *Ibn Haukal*, and other Arabic geographers, extend the name *Ghor* from the Lake of Gennesaret to Aila (cf. *Ges. thes.* p. 1166; *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 520; *Robinson*, Pal. ii. p. 596).— מול סוף, "over against Suph" (מול for מול, chap. ii. 19, iii. 29, etc., for the sake of euphony, to avoid the close connection of the two *u*-sounds). *Suph* is probably a contraction of ים־סוף, "the Red Sea" (see at Ex. x. 19). This name is given not only to the Gulf of *Suez* (Ex. xiii. 18, xv. 4, 22, etc.), but to that of *Akabah* also (Num. xiv. 25, xxi. 4, etc.). There is no other *Suph* that would be at all suitable here. The LXX. have rendered it *πλήσιον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης*; and *Onkelos* and others adopt the same rendering. This description cannot serve as a more precise definition of the *Arabah*, in which case מול (which) would have to be supplied before מול, since "the *Arabah* actually touches the Red Sea." Nor does it point out the particular spot in the *Arabah* where the addresses were delivered, as *Knobel* supposes; or indicate the connection between the *Arboth Moab* and the continuation of the *Arabah* on the other side of the Dead Sea, and point out the *Arabah* in all this extent as the heart of the country over which the Israelites had moved during the whole of their forty years' wandering (*Hengstenberg*). For although the Israelites passed twice through the *Arabah* (see p. 246), it formed by no means the heart of the country in which they continued for forty years. The words "opposite to *Suph*," when taken in connection with the following names, cannot have any other object than to define with greater exactness the desert in which the Israelites had moved during the forty years. Moses spoke to all Israel on the other side of the Jordan, when it was still in the desert, in the *Arabah*, still opposite to the Red Sea, after crossing which it had entered the wilderness (Ex. xv. 22), "between *Paran*, and *Tophel*, and *Laban*, and *Hazereth*, and *Di-Sahab*." *Paran* is at all events not the desert of this name in all its extent (see vol. ii. pp. 58, 59), but the place of encampment in the "desert of *Paran*" (Num. x. 12, xii. 16), i.e. the district of *Kadesh* in the desert of *Zin* (Num. xiii. 21, 26); and *Hazereth* is most probably the place of encampment of that name mentioned in Num. xi. 35, xii. 16, from which Israel entered the desert of *Paran*. Both places had been very eventful to the Israelites. At *Hazereth*, Miriam the pro-

phetess and Aaron the high priest had stumbled through rebellion against Moses (Num. xii.). In the desert of *Paran* by *Kadesh* the older generation had been rejected, and sentenced to die in the wilderness on account of its repeated rebellion against the Lord (Num. xiv.); and when the younger generation that had grown up in the wilderness assembled once more in *Kadesh* to set out for Canaan, even Moses and Aaron, the two heads of the nation, sinned there at the water of strife, so that they two were not permitted to enter Canaan, whilst Miriam died there at that time (Num. xx.). But if *Paran* and *Hazereth* are mentioned on account of the tragical events connected with these places, it is natural to conclude that there were similar reasons for mentioning the other three names as well. *Tophel* is supposed by *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 517) and *Robinson* (Pal. ii. p. 570) and all the more modern writers, to be the large village of *Tafyleh*, with six hundred inhabitants, the chief place in *Jebel*, on the western side of the Edomitish mountains, in a well-watered valley of the wady of the same name, with large plantations of fruit-trees (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 677, 678). The Israelites may have come upon this place in the neighbourhood of *Oboth* (Num. xxi. 10, 11); and as its inhabitants, according to *Burckhardt*, p. 680, supply the Syrian caravans with a considerable quantity of provisions, which they sell to them in the castle of *el Ahse*, *Schultz* conjectures that it may have been here that the people of Israel purchased food and drink of the Edomites for money (chap. ii. 29), and that *Tafyleh* is mentioned as a place of refreshment, where the Israelites partook for the first time of different food from the desert supply. There is a great deal to be said in favour of this conjecture: for even if the Israelites did not obtain different food for the first time at this place, the situation of *Tophel* does warrant the supposition that it was here that they passed for the first time from the wilderness to an inhabited land; on which account the place was so memorable for them, that it might very well be mentioned as being the extreme east of their wanderings in the desert, as the opposite point to the encampment at *Paran*, where they first arrived on the western side of their wandering, at the southern border of Canaan. *Laban* is generally identified with *Libnah*, the second place of encampment on the return journey from *Kadesh* (Num. xxxiii. 22), and may perhaps have been the place referred to in Num. xvi., but not more precisely defined, where the rebellion of the company of *Korah* occurred. Lastly, *Di-Sahab* has been identified by modern commentators with *Mersa Dahab* or *Mina Dahab*, i.e. gold-harbour,

a place upon a tongue of land in the Elanitic Gulf, about the same latitude as Sinai, where there is nothing to be seen now except a quantity of date-trees, a few sand-hills, and about a dozen heaps of stones piled up irregularly, but all showing signs of having once been joined together (cf. *Burckhardt*, pp. 847-8; and *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xiv. pp. 226 sqq.). But this is hardly correct. As *Roediger* has observed (on *Wellsted's Reisen*, ii. p. 127), "the conjecture has been based exclusively upon the similarity of name, and there is not the slightest exegetical tradition to favour it." But similarity of names cannot prove anything by itself, as the number of places of the same name, but in different localities, that we meet with in the Bible, is very considerable. Moreover, the further assumption which is founded upon this conjecture, namely, that the Israelites went from Sinai past *Dahab*, not only appears untenable for the reasons given above (p. 230), but is actually rendered impossible by the locality itself. The approach to this tongue of land, which projects between two steep lines of coast, with lofty mountain ranges of from 800 to 2000 feet in height on both north and south, leads from Sinai through far too narrow and impracticable a valley for the Israelites to be able to march thither and fix an encampment there.¹ And if Israel cannot have touched *Dahab* on its march, every probability vanishes that Moses should have mentioned this place here, and the name *Di-Sahab* remains at present undeterminable. But in spite of our ignorance of this place, and notwithstanding the fact that even the conjecture expressed with regard to *Laban* is very uncertain, there can be no well-founded doubt that the words "*between Paran and Tophel*" are to be understood as embracing the whole period of the thirty-seven years of mourning, at the commencement of which Israel was in Paran, whilst at the end they sought to enter Canaan by *Tophel* (the Edomitish *Tafyleh*), and that the expression "*opposite to Suph*" points back to their first entrance into the desert.—Looking from the steppes of Moab over the ground that the Israelites had traversed, *Suph*, where they first entered the desert of Arabia, would lie between *Paran*, where the congregation arrived at the borders of Canaan towards the west, and *Tophel*, where they first ended their desert wanderings thirty-seven years later on the east.

¹ From the mouth of the valley through the masses of the primary mountains to the sea-coast, there is a fan-like surface of drifts of primary rock, the radius of which is thirty-five minutes long, the progressive work of the inundations of an indefinable course of thousands of years" (*Rüppell*, *Nubien*, p. 206).

In ver. 2 also the retrospective glance at the guidance through the desert is unmistakeable. "*Eleven days is the way from Horeb to the mountains of Seir as far as Kadesh-Barnea.*" With these words, which were unquestionably intended to be something more than a geographical notice of the distance of Horeb from Kadesh-Barnea, Moses reminded the people that they had completed the journey from Horeb, the scene of the establishment of the covenant, to Kadesh, the border of the promised land, in eleven days (see pp. 246-7), that he might lead them to lay to heart the events which took place at Kadesh itself. The "way of the mountains of Seir" is not the way along the side of these mountains, *i.e.* the way through the Arabah, which is bounded by the mountains of Seir on the east, but the way which leads to the mountains of Seir, just as in chap. ii. 1 the way of the Red Sea is the way that leads to this sea. From these words, therefore, it by no means follows that *Kadesh-Barnea* is to be sought for in the Arabah, and that Israel passed through the Arabah from Horeb to Kadesh. According to ver. 19, they departed from Horeb, went through the great and terrible wilderness by the way to the mountains of the Amorites, and came to Kadesh-Barnea. Hence the way to the mountains of the Amorites, *i.e.* the southern part of what were afterwards the mountains of Judah (see at Num. xiii. 17), is the same as the way to the mountains of Seir; consequently the *Seir* referred to here is not the range on the eastern side of the Arabah, but *Seir* by *Hormah* (ver. 44), *i.e.* the border plateau by Wady *Murreh*, opposite to the mountains of the Amorites (Josh xi. 17, xii. 7: see at Num. xxxiv. 3).

Vers. 3, 4. To the description of the ground to which the following addresses refer, there is appended an allusion to the not less significant time when Moses delivered them, viz. "*on the first of the eleventh month in the fortieth year,*" consequently towards the end of his life, after the conclusion of the divine lawgiving; so that he was able to speak "*according to all that Jehovah had given him in commandment unto them*" (the Israelites), namely, in the legislation of the former books, which is always referred to in this way (chap. iv. 5, 23, v. 29, 30, vi. 1). The time was also significant, from the fact that Sihon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, had then been slain. By giving a victory over these mighty kings, the Lord had begun to fulfil His promises (see chap. ii. 25), and had thereby laid Israel under the obligation to love, gratitude, and obedience (see Num. xxi. 21-35). The suffix in *הַפְּתִי* refers to

Moses, who had smitten the Amorites at the command and by the power of Jehovah. According to Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31, *Edrei* was the second capital of Og, and it is as such that it is mentioned, and not as the place where Og was defeated (chap. iii. 1; Num. xxi. 33). The omission of the copula ו before בְּאַרְרֵעִי is to be accounted for from the oratorical character of the introduction to the addresses which follow. *Edrei* is the present *Draà* (see at Num. xxi. 33).—In ver. 5, the description of the locality is again resumed in the words “*beyond the Jordan*,” and still further defined by the expression “*in the land of Moab*,” and the address itself is introduced by the clause, “*Moses took in hand to expound this law*,” which explains more fully the דִּבֶּר (spake) of ver. 3. “In the land of Moab” is a rhetorical and general expression for “in the Arboth Moab.” הוֹצֵאֵל does not mean to begin, but to undertake, to take in hand, with the subordinate idea sometimes of venturing, or daring (Gen. xviii. 27), sometimes of a bold resolution: here it denotes an undertaking prompted by internal impulse. Instead of being construed with the infinitive, it is construed rhetorically here with the finite verb without the copula (cf. *Ges.* § 143, 3, *b.*). בִּיָּאֵר probably signified to dig in the *Kal*; but this is not used. In the *Piel* it means to *explain* (διασαφῆσαι, *explanare*, LXX. *Vulg.*), never to engrave, or stamp, not even here nor in chap. xxvii. 8 and Hab. ii. 2. Here it signifies “to expound this law clearly,” although the exposition was connected with an earnest admonition to preserve and obey it. “This” no doubt refers to the law expounded in what follows; but substantially it is no other than the law already given in the earlier books. “Substantially there is throughout but one law” (*Schultz*). That the book of Deuteronomy was not intended to furnish a new or second law, is as evident as possible from the word בִּיָּאֵר.

I.—THE FIRST PREPARATORY ADDRESS.

CHAP. I. 6—IV. 40.

For the purpose of enforcing upon the people the obligation to true fidelity to the covenant, Moses commenced his address with a retrospective glance at the events that had taken place during the forty years of their journey from Sinai to the steppes of Moab, and

showed in striking outlines how, when the Lord had called upon the Israelites in Horeb to arise and take possession of the land of Canaan, that had been promised to the patriarchs for their descendants (chap. i. 6-8), they had greatly increased, and were well organized by chiefs and judges (vers. 9-18); how they had proceeded to Kadesh-Barnea on the border of this land (ver. 19), and there refused to enter in, notwithstanding the report of the spies who were sent out as to the goodness of the land (vers. 20-25), but were alarmed at the might and strength of the Canaanites from a want of confidence in the assistance of the Lord, and had rebelled against their God, and been shut out in consequence from the promised land (vers. 26-46). It was true that at the expiration of this period of punishment the Lord had not permitted them to make war upon Edom and Moab, and drive out these nations from the possessions which they had received from God; but after they had gone round the mountains of Edom and the land of Moab (chap. ii. 1-23), He had given Sihon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, into the power of the Israelites, that they might take possession of their kingdoms in Gilead and Bashan (chap. ii. 24-iii. 17); and after the conquest of these, He had imposed upon the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, who received the conquered land for their inheritance, the obligation to go with their brethren across the Jordan and help them to conquer Canaan, and had also appointed Joshua as their commander, who would divide the land among them, since he (Moses) himself was not to be allowed to cross the Jordan with them because of the anger of God which he had drawn upon himself on their account (chap. iii. 18-29). He therefore appealed to Israel to hearken to the commandments of the Lord, to preserve and fulfil them without addition or diminution; to continue mindful of the covenant which the Lord had made with them; to make themselves no image or likeness of Jehovah, that they might not draw His wrath upon themselves and be scattered among the heathen, but might ever remain in the land, of which they were now about to take possession (chap. iv.).—In this address, therefore, Moses reminded the whole congregation how the Lord had fulfilled His promise from Horeb to the steppes of Moab, but how they had sinned against their God through unbelief and rebellion, and had brought upon themselves their long wanderings in the desert, that he might append to this the pressing warning not to forfeit the permanent possession of the land they were about to conquer, through a continued and fresh transgression of the cove-

nant.—Certainly a very fitting preparation for the exposition of the law which follows.

REVIEW OF THE DIVINE GUIDANCE OF ISRAEL FROM HOREB TO
KADESH.—CHAP. I. 6-46.

Vers. 6-18. Moses commenced with the summons issued by the Lord to Israel at Horeb, to rise and go to Canaan.—Ver. 6. As the epithet applied to God, "*Jehovah our God*," presupposes the reception of Israel into covenant with Jehovah, which took place at Sinai, so the words, "*ye have dwelt long enough at this mountain*," imply that the purpose for which Israel was taken to Horeb had been answered, *i.e.* that they had been furnished with the laws and ordinances requisite for the fulfilment of the covenant, and could now remove to Canaan to take possession of the promised land. The word of Jehovah mentioned here is not found in this form in the previous history; but as a matter of fact it is contained in the divine instructions that were preparatory to their removal (Num. i.-iv. and ix. 15-x. 10), and the rising of the cloud from the tabernacle, which followed immediately afterwards (Num. x. 11). The fixed use of the name *Horeb* to designate the mountain group in general, instead of the special name *Sinai*, which is given to the particular mountain upon which the law was given (see vol. ii. p. 90), is in keeping with the rhetorical style of the book.—Ver. 7. "*Go to the mount of the Amorites, and to all who dwell near*." The mount of the Amorites is the mountainous country inhabited by this tribe, the leading feature in the land of Canaan, and is synonymous with the "land of the Canaanites" which follows; the Amorites being mentioned *instar omnium* as being the most powerful of all the tribes in Canaan, just as in Gen. xv. 16 (see at Gen. x. 16). שְׁכֵנֶי, "*those who dwell by it*," are the inhabitants of the whole of Canaan, as is shown by the enumeration of the different parts of the land, which follows immediately afterwards. Canaan was naturally divided, according to the character of the ground, into the *Arabah*, the modern *Ghor* (see at ver. 1); the *mountain*, the subsequent mountains of Judah and Ephraim (see at Num. xiii. 17); the *lowland* (*shephelah*), *i.e.* the low flat country lying between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean Sea, and stretching from the promontory of Carmel down to Gaza, which is intersected by only small undulations and ranges of hills, and generally includes the hill country which formed the transition from the mountains to the plain, though the two are

distinguished in Josh. x. 40 and xii. 8 (see at Josh. xv. 33 sqq.); the *south land* (*negeb*: see at Num. xiii. 17); and the *sea-shore*, i.e. the generally narrow strip of coast running along by the Mediterranean Sea from Joppa to the Tyrian ladder, or *Râs el Abiad*, just below Tyre (*vid. v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 49).—The special mention of *Lebanon* in connection with the land of the Canaanites, and the enumeration of the separate parts of the land, as well as the extension of the eastern frontier as far as the Euphrates (see at Gen. xv. 18), are to be attributed to the rhetorical fulness of the style. The reference, however, is not to Antilibanus, but to Lebanon proper, which was within the northern border of the land of Israel, as fixed in Num. xxxiv. 7-9.—Ver. 8. This land the Lord had placed at the disposal of the Israelites for them to take possession of, as He had sworn to the fathers (patriarchs) that He would give it to their posterity (cf. Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 15, xv. 18 sqq., etc.). The “swearing” on the part of God points back to Gen. xxii. 16. The expression “*to them and to their seed*” is the same as “*to thee and to thy seed*” in Gen. xiii. 15, xvii. 8, and is not to be understood as signifying that the patriarchs themselves ought to have taken actual possession of Canaan; but “*to their seed*” is in apposition, and also a more precise definition (comp. Gen. xv. 7 with ver. 18, where the simple statement “*to thee*” is explained by the fuller statement “*to thy seed*”). נתן לפני has grown into an interjection = הנה. to give before a person, equivalent to give up to a person, or place at his free disposal (for the use of the word in this sense, see Gen. xiii. 9, xxxiv. 10). Jehovah (this is the idea of vers. 6-8), when He concluded the covenant with the Israelites at Horeb, had intended to fulfil at once the promise which He gave to the patriarchs, and to put them into possession of the promised land; and Moses had also done what was required on his part, as he explained in vers. 9-18, to bring the people safely to Canaan (cf. Ex. xviii. 23). As the nation had multiplied as the stars of heaven, in accordance with the promise of the Lord, and he felt unable to bear the burden alone and settle all disputes, he had placed over them at that time wise and intelligent men from the heads of the tribes to act as judges, and had instructed them to adjudicate upon the smaller matters of dispute righteously and without respect of person. For further particulars concerning the appointment of the judges, see at Ex. xviii. 13-26, where it is related how Moses adopted this plan at the advice of Jethro, even before the giving of the law at Sinai. The expression “*at that time*,” in ver. 9, is not at variance with this. The imperfect

וְאִמָּר with *vav rel.*, expresses the order of thought and not of time. For Moses did not intend to recall the different circumstances to the recollection of the people in their chronological order, but arranged them according to their relative importance in connection with the main object of his address. And this required that he should begin with what God had done for the fulfilment of His promise, and then proceed afterwards to notice what he, the servant of God, had done in his office, as an altogether subordinate matter. So far as this object was concerned, it was also perfectly indifferent who had advised him to adopt this plan, whilst it was very important to allude to the fact that it was the great increase in the number of the Israelites which had rendered it necessary, that he might remind the congregation how the Lord, even at that time, had fulfilled the promise which He gave to the patriarchs, and in that fulfilment had given a practical guarantee of the certain fulfilment of the other promises as well. Moses accomplished this by describing the increase of the nation in such a way that his hearers would be involuntarily reminded of the covenant promise in Gen. xv. 5 sqq. (cf. Gen. xii. 2, xviii. 18, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4).—Ver. 11. But in order to guard against any misinterpretation of his words, “I cannot bear you myself alone,” Moses added, “May the Lord fulfil the promise of numerous increase to the nation a thousand-fold.” “*Jehovah, the God of your fathers (i.e. who manifested Himself as God to your fathers), add to you a thousand times, כַּכֶּם, as many as ye are, and bless you as He has said.*” The “blessing” after “multiplying” points back to Gen. xii. 2. Consequently, it is not to be restricted to “strengthening, rendering fruitful, and multiplying,” but must be understood as including the spiritual blessing promised to Abraham.—Ver. 12. “*How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?*” The burden and cumbrance of the nation are the nation itself, with all its affairs and transactions, which pressed upon the shoulders of Moses.—Vers. 13 sqq. הָבִי לָכֶם, give here, provide for yourselves. The congregation was to nominate, according to its tribes, wise, intelligent, and well-known men, whom Moses would appoint as heads, *i.e.* as judges, over the nation. At their installation he gave them the requisite instructions (ver. 16): “*Ye shall hear between your brethren,*” *i.e.* hear both parties as mediators, “*and judge righteously, without respect of person.*” הָבִיר פָּנִים, to look at the face, equivalent to נָטָה פָּנָיו (Lev. xix. 15), *i.e.* to act partially (cf. Ex. xxiii. 2, 3). “*The judgment is God’s,*” *i.e.* appointed by God, and to be administered in the name of God, or in

accordance with His justice; hence the expression "to bring before God" (Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7, etc.). On the difficult cases which the judges were to bring before Moses, see at Ex. xviii. 26.

Vers. 19-46. Everything had been done on the part of God and Moses to bring Israel speedily and safely to Canaan. The reason for their being compelled to remain in the desert for forty years was to be found exclusively in their resistance to the commandments of God. The discontent of the people with the guidance of God was manifested at the very first places of encampment in the desert (Num. xi. and xii.); but Moses passed over this, and simply reminded them of the rebellion at Kadesh (Num. xiii. and xiv.), because it was this which was followed by the condemnation of the rebellious generation to die out in the wilderness.—Ver. 19. "*When we departed from Horeb, we passed through the great and dreadful wilderness, which ye have seen,*" i.e. become acquainted with, viz. the desert of *et Tih* (see p. 57), "*of the way to the mountains of the Amorites, and came to Kadesh-Barnea*" (see at Num. xii. 16). וַיֵּלֶךְ, with an accusative, to pass through a country (cf. chap. ii. 7; Isa. l. 10, etc.). Moses had there explained to the Israelites, that they had reached the mountainous country of the Amorites, which Jehovah was about to give them; that the land lay before them, and they might take possession of it without fear (vers. 20, 21). But they proposed to send out men to survey the land, with its towns, and the way into it. Moses approved of this proposal, and sent out twelve men, one from each tribe, who went through the land, etc. (as is more fully related in Num. xiii., and has been expounded in connection with that passage, vers. 22-25). Moses' summons to them to take the land (vers. 20, 21) is not expressly mentioned there, but it is contained *implicite* in the fact that spies were sent out; as the only possible reason for doing this must have been, that they might force a way into the land, and take possession of it. In ver. 25, Moses simply mentions so much of the report of the spies as had reference to the nature of the land, viz. that it was good, that he may place in immediate contrast with this the refusal of the people to enter in.—Vers. 26, 27. "*But ye would not go up, and were rebellious against the mouth (i.e. the express will) of Jehovah your God, and murmured in your tents, and said, Because Jehovah hated us, He hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to give us into the hand of the Amorites to destroy us.*" שִׁנְאָה, either an infinitive with a feminine termination, or a verbal noun construed with an accusative (see Ges. § 133; Ewald, § 238, a.).—By the allusion to the

murmuring in the tents, Moses points them to Num. xiv. 1, and then proceeds to describe the rebellion of the congregation related there (vers. 2-4), in such a manner that the state of mind manifested on that occasion presents the appearance of the basest ingratitude, inasmuch as the people declared the greatest blessing conferred upon them by God, viz. their deliverance from Egypt, to have been an act of hatred on His part. At the same time, by addressing the existing members of the nation, as if they themselves had spoken so, whereas the whole congregation that rebelled at Kadesh had fallen in the desert, and a fresh generation was now gathered round him, Moses points to the fact, that the sinful corruption which broke out at that time, and bore such bitter fruit, had not died out with the older generation, but was germinating still in the existing Israel, and even though it might be deeply hidden in their hearts, would be sure to break forth again.—Ver. 28. “*Whither shall we go up? Our brethren (the spies) have quite discouraged our heart*” (הָמָּם, lit. to cause to flow away; cf. Josh. ii. 9), viz. through their report (Num. xiii. 28, 29, 31-33), the substance of which is repeated here. The expression בְּשָׂמַיִם, “*in heaven*,” towering up into heaven, which is added to “*towns great and fortified*,” is not an exaggeration, but, as Moses also uses it in chap. ix. 1, a rhetorical description of the impression actually received with regard to the size of the towns.¹ “*The sons of the Anakims:*” see at Num. xiii. 22.—Vers. 29-31. The attempt made by Moses to inspire the despondent people with courage, when they were ready to despair of ever conquering the Canaanites, by pointing them to the help of the Lord, which they had experienced in so mighty and visible a manner in Egypt and the desert, and to urge them to renewed confidence in this their almighty Helper and Guide, was altogether without success. And just because the appeal of Moses was unsuccessful, it is passed over in the historical account in Num. xiv.; all that is mentioned there (vers. 6-9) being the effort made by Joshua and Caleb to stir up the people, and that on account of the effects which followed the courageous bearing of these two men, so far as their own future history was concerned. The words “*goeth before you*,” in ver. 30, are resumed in ver. 33, and carried out still further. “*Jehovah, . . .*

¹ “The eyes of weak faith or unbelief saw the towns really towering up to heaven. Nor did the height appear less, even to the eyes of faith, in relation, that is to say, to its own power. Faith does not hide the difficulties from itself, that it may not rob the Lord, who helps it over them, of any of the praise that is justly His due” (S. hultz).

*He shall fight for you according to all (כָּל) that," i.e. in exactly the same manner as, "He did for you in Egypt," especially at the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv.), "and in the wilderness, which thou hast seen (רָאִיתָ, as in ver. 19), where (אֲשֶׁר without בּו in a loose connection; see Ewald, § 331, c. and 333, a.) Jehovah thy God bore thee as a man beareth his son;" i.e. supported, tended, and provided for thee in the most fatherly way (see the similar figure in Num. xi. 12, and expanded still more fully in Ps. xxiii.).—Vers. 32, 33. "And even at this word ye remained unbelieving towards the Lord;" i.e. notwithstanding the fact that I reminded you of all the gracious help that ye had experienced from your God, ye persisted in your unbelief. The participle אֲנִיכֶם מֵאֱמִינִים, "ye were not believing," is intended to describe their unbelief as a permanent condition. This unbelief was all the more grievous a sin, because the Lord their God went before them all the way in the pillar of cloud and fire, to guide and to defend them. On the fact itself, comp. Num. ix. 15 sqq., x. 33, with Ex. xiii. 21, 22.—Vers. 34-36. Jehovah was angry, therefore, when He heard these loud words, and swore that He would not let any one of those men, that evil generation, enter the promised land, with the exception of Caleb, because he had followed the Lord faithfully (cf. Num. xiv. 21-24). The *yod* in וְאֵלֶּיךָ is the antiquated connecting vowel of the construct state.*

But in order that he might impress upon the people the judgment of the holy God in all its stern severity, Moses added in ver. 37: "*also Jehovah was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither;*" and he did this before mentioning Joshua, who was excepted from the judgment as well as Caleb, because his ultimate intention was to impress also upon the minds of the people the fact, that even in wrath the Lord had been mindful of His covenant, and when pronouncing the sentence upon His servant Moses, had given the people a leader in the person of Joshua, who was to bring them into the promised inheritance. We are not to infer from the close connection in which this event, which did not take place according to Num. xx. 1-13 till the second arrival of the congregation at Kadesh, is placed with the earlier judgment of God at Kadesh, that the two were contemporaneous, and so supply, after "the Lord was angry with me," the words "on that occasion." For Moses did not intend to teach the people history and chronology, but to set before them the holiness of the judgments of the Lord. By using the expression "for your sakes," Moses did not wish to free himself from guilt. Even in this book

his sin at the water of strife is not passed over in silence (cf. chap. xxxii. 51). But on the present occasion, if he had given prominence to his own fault, he would have weakened the object for which he referred to this event, viz. to stimulate the consciences of the people, and instil into them a wholesome dread of sin, by holding up before them the magnitude of their guilt. But in order that he might give no encouragement to false security respecting their own sin, on the ground that even highly gifted men of God fall into sin as well, Moses simply pointed out the fact, that the quarrelling of the people with him occasioned the wrath of God to fall upon him also.—Ver. 38. “*Who standeth before thee,*” equivalent to “in thy service” (Ex. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11: for this meaning, see chap. x. 8, xviii. 7; 1 Kings i. 28). “*Strengthen him:*” comp. chap. xxxi. 7; and with regard to the installation of Joshua as the leader of Israel, see Num. xxvii. 18, 19. The suffix in יְהוֹשֻׁעַ points back to הָאָדָם in ver. 35. Joshua would divide the land among the Israelites for an inheritance, viz. (ver. 39) among the young Israelites, the children of the condemned generation, whom Moses, when making a further communication of the judicial sentence of God (Num. xiv. 31), had described as having no share in the sins of their parents, by adding, “who know not to-day what is good and evil.” This expression is used to denote a condition of spiritual infancy and moral responsibility (Isa. vii. 15, 16). It is different in 2 Sam. xix. 36.—In vers. 40–45 he proceeds to describe still further, according to Num. xiv. 39–45, how the people, by resisting the command of God to go back into the desert (ver. 41, compared with Num. xiv. 25), had simply brought still greater calamities upon themselves, and had had to atone for the presumptuous attempt to force a way into Canaan, in opposition to the express will of the Lord, by enduring a miserable defeat. Instead of “they acted presumptuously to go up” (Num. xiv. 44), Moses says here, in ver. 41, “*ye acted frivolously to go up;*” and in ver. 43, “*ye acted rashly, and went up.*” הָיָה, from יָדָה, to boil, or boil over (Gen. xxv. 29), signifies to act thoughtlessly, haughtily, or rashly. On the particular fact mentioned in ver. 44, see at Num. 14, 45.—Vers. 45, 46. “*Then ye returned and wept before Jehovah,*” i.e. before the sanctuary; “*but Jehovah did not hearken to your voice.*” שָׁבוּ does not refer to the return to Kadesh, but to an inward turning, not indeed true conversion to repentance, but simply the giving up of their rash enterprise, which they had undertaken in opposition to the commandment of God,—the return from a defiant

attitude to unbelieving complaining on account of the misfortune that had come upon them. Such complaining God never hears. “*And ye sat (remained) in Kadesh many days, that ye remained,*” i.e. not “as many days as ye had been there already before the return of the spies,” or “as long as ye remained in all the other stations together, viz. the half of thirty-eight years” (as *Seder Olam* and many of the Rabbins interpret); but “just as long as ye did remain there,” as we may see from a comparison of chap. ix. 25. It seemed superfluous to mention more precisely the time they spent in Kadesh, because that was well known to the people, whom Moses was addressing. He therefore contented himself with fixing it by simply referring to its duration, which was known to them all. It is no doubt impossible for us to determine the time they remained in Kadesh, because the expression “many days” is simply a relative one, and may signify many years, just as well as many months or weeks. But it by no means warrants the assumption of *Fries* and others, that no absolute departure of the whole of the people from Kadesh ever took place. Such an assumption is at variance with chap. ii. 1. The change of subjects, “*ye sat,*” etc. (ver. 46), and “*we turned and removed*” (chap. ii. 1), by no means proves that Moses only went away with that part of the congregation which attached itself to him, whilst the other portion, which was most thoroughly estranged from him, or rather from the Lord, remained there still. The change of subject is rather to be explained from the fact that Moses was passing from the consideration of the events in Kadesh, which he held up before the people as a warning, to a description of the further guidance of Israel. The reference to those events had led him involuntarily, from ver. 22 onwards, to distinguish between himself and the people, and to address his words to them for the purpose of bringing out their rebellion against God. And now that he had finished with this, he returned to the communicative mode of address with which he set out in ver. 6, but which he had suspended again until ver. 19.

REVIEW OF THE DIVINE GUIDANCE OF ISRAEL ROUND EDM
AND MOAB TO THE FRONTIER OF THE AMORITES, AND OF THE
GRACIOUS ASSISTANCE AFFORDED BY THE LORD IN THE CON-
QUEST OF THE KINGDOMS OF SIHON AND OG.—CHAP. II. AND III.

Vers. 1-23. MARCH FROM KADESH TO THE FRONTIER OF THE
AMORITES.—Ver. 1. After a long stay in Kadesh, they commenced

their return into the desert. The words, "*We departed . . . by the way to the Red Sea,*" point back to Num. xiv. 25. This departure is expressly designated as an act of obedience to the divine command recorded there, by the expression "*as Jehovah spake to me.*" Consequently Moses is not speaking here of the second departure of the congregation from Kadesh to go to Mount Hor (Num. xx. 22), but of the first departure after the condemnation of the generation that came out of Egypt. "*And we went round Mount Seir many days.*" This going round Mount Seir includes the thirty-eight years' wanderings, though we are not therefore to picture it as "going backwards and forwards, and then entering the Arabah again" (Schultz). Just as Moses passed over the reassembling of the congregation at Kadesh (Num. xx. 1), so he also overlooked the going to and fro in the desert, and fixed his eye more closely upon the last journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, that he might recall to the memory of the congregation how the Lord had led them to the end of all their wandering.—Vers. 2 sqq. When they had gone through the Arabah to the southern extremity, the Lord commanded them to turn northwards, *i.e.* to go round the southern end of Mount Seir, and proceed northwards on the eastern side of it (see at Num. xxi. 10), without going to war with the Edomites (הִתְנַחֵם, to stir oneself up against a person to conflict, מִלְחָמָה), as He would not give them a foot-breadth of their land; for He had given Esau (the Edomites) Mount Seir for a possession. For this reason they were to buy victuals and water of them for money (בָּרָה, to dig, to dig water, *i.e.* procure water, as it was often necessary to dig wells, and not merely to draw it, Gen. xxvi. 25. The verb בָּרָה does not signify to buy).—Ver. 7. And this they were able to do, because the Lord had blessed them in all the work of their hand, *i.e.* not merely in the rearing of flocks and herds, which they had carried on in the desert (Ex. xix. 13, xxxiv. 3; Num. xx. 19, xxxii. 1 sqq.), but in all that they did for a living; whether, for example, when stopping for a long time in the same place of encampment, they sowed in suitable spots and reaped, or whether they sold the produce of their toil and skill to the Arabs of the desert. "*He hath observed thy going through this great desert*" (יָדַע, to know, then to trouble oneself, Gen. xxxix. 6; to observe carefully, Prov. xxvii. 23, Ps. i. 6); and He has not suffered thee to want anything for forty years, but as often as want has occurred, He has miraculously provided for every necessity.—Ver. 8. In accordance with this divine command, they went past the Edomites by the side of their

mountains, "*from the way of the Arabah, from Elath* (see at Gen. xiv. 6) *and Eziongeber*" (see at Num. xxxiii. 35), *sc.* into the steppes of Moab, where they were encamped at that time.

God commanded them to behave in the same manner towards the Moabites, when they approached their frontier (ver. 9). They were not to touch their land, because the Lord had given *Ar* to the descendants of Lot for a possession. In ver. 9 the Moabites are mentioned, and in ver. 19 the Amorites also. The Moabites are designated as "sons of Lot," for the same reason for which the Edomites are called "brethren of Israel" in ver. 4. The Israelites were to uphold the bond of blood-relationship with these tribes in the most sacred manner. *Ar*, the capital of Moabitis (see at Num. xxi. 15), is used here for the land itself, which was named after the capital, and governed by it.—Vers. 11, 12. To confirm the fact that the Moabites and also the Edomites had received from God the land which they inhabited as a possession, Moses interpolates into the words of Jehovah certain ethnographical notices concerning the earlier inhabitants of these lands, from which it is obvious that Edom and Moab had not destroyed them by their own power, but that Jehovah had destroyed them before them, as is expressly stated in vers. 21, 22. "*The Emim dwelt formerly therein,*" *sc.* in *Ar* and its territory, in Moabitis, "*a high (i.e. strong) and numerous people, of gigantic stature, which were also reckoned among the Rephaites, like the Enakites (Anakim).*" *Emim*, *i.e.* frightful, terrible, was the name given to them by the Moabites. Whether this earlier or original population of Moabitis was of Hamitic or Semitic descent cannot be determined, any more than the connection between the *Emim* and the *Rephaim* can be ascertained. On the *Rephaim*, see vol. i. p. 203; and on the *Anakites*, at Num. xiii. 22.—Ver. 12. The origin of the *Horites* (*i.e.* the dwellers in caves) of Mount *Seir*, who were driven out of their possessions by the descendants of Esau, and completely exterminated (see at Gen. xiv. 6, and xxxvi. 20), is altogether involved in obscurity. The words, "*as Israel has done to the land of his possession, which Jehovah has given them,*" do not presuppose the conquest of the land of Canaan or a post-Mosaic authorship; but "*the land of his possession*" is the land to the east of the Jordan (Gilead and Bashan), which was conquered by the Israelites under Moses, and divided among the two tribes and a half, and which is also described in chap. iii. 20 as the "possession" which Jehovah had given to these tribes.—Vers. 13-15. For this reason Israel was to remove from the desert of Moab (*i.e.* the desert

which bounded Moabitis on the east), and to cross over the brook *Zered*, to advance against the country of the Amorites (see at Num. xxi. 12, 13). This occurred thirty-eight years after the condemnation of the people at Kadesh (Num. xiv. 23, 29), when the generation rejected by God had entirely died out (מָמָה, to be all gone, to disappear), so that not one of them saw the promised land. They did not all die a natural death, however, but “*the hand of the Lord was against them to destroy them*” (מָמָה, *lit.* to throw into confusion, then used with special reference to the terrors with which Jehovah destroyed His enemies; Ex. xiv. 24, xxiii. 27, etc.), *sc.* by extraordinary judgments (as in Num. xvi. 35, xvii. 14, xxi. 6, xxv. 9).—Vers. 16–19. When this generation had quite died out, the Lord made known to Moses, and through him to the people, that they were to cross over the boundary of Moab (*i.e.* the Arnon, ver. 24; see at Num. xxi. 13), *the land of Ar* (see at ver. 9), “*to come nigh over against the children of Ammon,*” *i.e.* to advance into the neighbourhood of the Ammonites, who lived to the east of Moab; but they were not to meddle with these descendants of Lot, because He would give them nothing of the land that was given them for a possession (ver. 19, as at vers. 5 and 9).—To confirm this, ethnographical notices are introduced again in vers. 20–22 into the words of God (as in vers. 10, 11), concerning the earlier population of the country of the Ammonites. Ammonitis was also regarded as a land of the Rephaites, because Rephaites dwelt therein, whom the Ammonites called *Zumzumim*. “*Zumzumim,*” from זָמַם, to hum, then to muse, equivalent to the humming or roaring people, probably the same people as the *Zuzim* mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5. This giant tribe Jehovah had destroyed before the Ammonites (ver. 22), just as He had done for the sons of Esau dwelling upon Mount Seir, namely, destroyed the Horites before them, so that the Edomites “dwelt in their stead, even unto this day.”—Ver. 23. As the Horites had been exterminated by the Edomites, so were the *Avvæans* (*Avvim*), who dwelt in farms (villages) at the south-west corner of Canaan, as far as Gaza, driven out of their possessions and exterminated by the *Caphtorites*, who sprang from *Caphtor* (see at Gen. x. 14), although, according to Josh. xiii. 3, some remnants of them were to be found among the Philistines even at that time. This notice appears to be attached to the foregoing remarks simply on account of the substantial analogy between them, without there being any intention to imply that the Israelites were to assume the same attitude towards the Caphtorites, who afterwards rose up in

the persons of the Philistines, as towards the descendants of Esau and Lot.

Vers. 24-37. THE HELP OF GOD IN THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF SIHON.—Vers. 24 sqq. Whereas the Israelites were not to make war upon the kindred tribes of Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, or drive them out of the possessions given to them by God; the Lord had given the Amorites, who had forced a way into Gilead and Bashan, into their hands.—Vers. 24, 25. While they were encamped on the Arnon, the border of the Amoritish king of Sihon, He directed them to cross this frontier and take possession of the land of Sihon, and promised that He would give this king with all his territory into their hands, and that henceforward (*"this day,"* the day on which Israel crossed the Arnon) He would put fear and terror of Israel upon all nations under the whole heaven, so that as soon as they heard the report of Israel they would tremble and writhe before them. *הָחֵל רָשׁ*, "*begin, take,*" an oratorical expression for "begin to take" (*רָשׁ* in pause for *הָחֵל*, chap. i. 21). The expression, "*all nations under the whole heaven,*" is hyperbolical; it is not to be restricted, however, to the Canaanites and other neighbouring tribes, but, according to what follows, to be understood as referring to all nations to whom the report of the great deeds of the Lord upon and on behalf of Israel should reach (cf. chap. xi. 25 and Ex. xxiii. 27). *אֲשֶׁר*, so that (as in Gen. xi. 7, xiii. 16, xxii. 14). *וְהָלִי*, with the accent upon the last syllable, on account of the 1 consec. (*Ewald*, § 234, a.), from *הָלַל*, to twist, or writhe with pain, here with anxiety.—Vers. 26-29. If Moses, notwithstanding this, sent messengers to king Sihon with words of peace (vers. 26 sqq.; cf. Num. xxi. 21 sqq.), this was done to show the king of the Amorites, that it was through his own fault that his kingdom and lands and life were lost. The wish to pass through his land in a peaceable manner was quite seriously expressed; although Moses foresaw, in consequence of the divine communication, that he would reject his proposal, and meet Israel with hostilities. For Sihon's kingdom did not form part of the land of Canaan, which God had promised to the patriarchs for their descendants; and the divine foreknowledge of the hardness of Sihon no more destroyed the freedom of his will to resolve, or the freedom of his actions, than the circumstance that in ver. 30 the unwillingness of Sihon is described as the effect of his being hardened by God Himself. The hardening was quite as much the production

of human freedom and guilt, as the consequence of the divine decree; just as in the case of Pharaoh (see the discussion in vol. i. pp. 453 sqq.). On *Kedemoth*, see p. 144. בִּרְדֵּךְ בִּרְדֵּךְ, equivalent to "upon the way, and always upon the way," i.e. upon the high road alone, as in Num. xx. 19. On the behaviour of the Edomites towards Israel, mentioned in ver. 29, see p. 142. In the same way the Moabites also supplied Israel with provisions for money. This statement is not at variance with the unbrotherly conduct for which the Moabites are blamed in chap. xxiii. 4, viz. that they did not meet the Israelites with bread and water. For קָהָם, to meet and anticipate, signifies a hospitable reception, the offering of food and drink without reward, which is essentially different from selling for money. "*In Ar*" (ver. 29), as in ver. 18. The suffix in בּוֹ (ver. 30) refers to the king, who is mentioned as the lord of the land, in the place of the land itself, just as in Num. xx. 18.—Ver. 31. The refusal of Sihon was suspended over him by God as a judgment of hardening, which led to his destruction. "*As this day*," an abbreviation of "as it has happened this day," i.e. as experience has now shown (cf. chap. iv. 20, etc.).—Vers. 32–37. Defeat of Sihon, as already described in the main in Num. xxi. 23–26. The war was a war of extermination, in which all the towns were laid under the ban (see Lev. xxvii. 29), i.e. the whole of the population of men, women, and children were put to death, and only the flocks and herds and material possessions were taken by the conquerors as prey.—Ver. 34. עִיר מָהֵם (city of men) is the town population of men.—Ver. 36. They proceeded this way with the whole of the kingdom of Sihon. "*From Aroër on the edge of the Arnon valley* (see at Num. xxxii. 34), and, in fact, from the city which is in the valley," i.e. Ar, or Areopolis (see at Num. xxi. 15),—Aroër being mentioned as the inclusive *terminus a quo* of the land that was taken, and the Moabitish capital Ar as the exclusive *terminus*, as in Josh. xiii. 9 and 16; "*and as far as Gilead*," which rises on the north, near the Jabbok (or Zerka, see at chap. iii. 4), "*there was no town too high for us*," i.e. so strong that we could not take it.—Ver. 37. Only along the land of the Ammonites the Israelites did not come, namely, along the whole of the side of the brook Jabbok, or the country of the Ammonites, which was situated upon the eastern side of the upper Jabbok, and the towns of the mountain, i.e. of the Ammonitish highlands, and "*to all that the Lord had commanded*," sc. commanded them not to remove. The statement, in Josh. xiii. 25, that the half of the country of the Ammonites was given to the

tribe of Gad, is not at variance with this; for the allusion there is to that portion of the land of the Ammonites which was between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and which had already been taken from the Ammonites by the Amorites under Sihon (cf. Judg. xi. 13 sqq.).

Chap. iii. 1-11. THE HELP OF GOD IN THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF OG OF BASHAN.—Vers. 1 sqq. After the defeat of king Sihon and the conquest of his land, the Israelites were able to advance to the Jordan. But as the powerful Amoritish king Og still held the northern half of Gilead and all Bashan, they proceeded northwards at once and took the road to Bashan, that they might also defeat this king, whom the Lord had likewise given into their hand, and conquer his country (cf. Num. xxi. 33, 34). They smote him at *Edrei*, the modern *Draà* (see p. 155), without leaving him even a remnant; and took all his towns, *i.e.*, as is here more fully stated in vers. 4 sqq., “*sixty towns, the whole region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan.*” These three definitions refer to one and the same country. The whole region of *Argob* included the sixty towns which formed the kingdom of Og in Bashan, *i.e.* all the towns of the land of Bashan, viz. (according to ver. 5) all the fortified towns, besides the unfortified and open country towns of Bashan. **הַבֵּל**, the chain for measuring, then the land or country measured with the chain. The name “*region of Argob*,” which is given to the country of Bashan here, and in vers. 4, 13, 14, and also in 1 Kings iv. 13, is probably derived from **רְנוּב**, stone-heaps, related to **רִנְב**, a clump or clod of earth (Job xxi. 33, xxxviii. 38). The Targumists have rendered it correctly **טְרַחֲוֹנָא** (*Trachona*), from *τραχών*, a rough, uneven, stony district, so called from the basaltic hills of Hauran; just as the plain to the east of Jebel Hauran, which resembles Hauran itself, is sometimes called *Tellul*, from its tells or hills (*Burckhardt*, Syr. p. 173).¹ This district has also received the name of *Bashan*, from the character of its soil; for **בִּשְׁן** signifies a soft and level soil. From the name given to it by the Arabic translators, the Greek name *Βαταναία*, *Batanæa*, and possibly also the modern name of the country on the north-eastern slope of Hauran at the back of Mount Hauran, viz. *Bethenije*, are derived.—The name *Argob* probably originated in the north-eastern part of the country of Bashan, viz. the modern

¹ The derivation is a much more improbable one, “from the town of *Argob*, πρὸς Γέρασαν πόλιν Ἀραβίας, according to the *Onomast.*, fifteen Roman miles to the west of *Gerasa*, which is called *Παγαβᾶ* by *Josephus* (Ant. xiii. 15, 5).”

Leja, with its stony soil covered with heaps of large blocks of stone (*Burckhardt*, p. 196), or rather in the extensive volcanic region to the east of Hauran, which was first of all brought to distinct notice in *Wetzstein's* travels, and of which he says that the "southern portion, bearing the name *Harra*, is thickly covered with loose volcanic stones, with a few conical hills among them, that have been evidently caused by eruptions" (*Wetzstein*, p. 6). The central point of the whole is *Safa*, "a mountain nearly seven hours' journey in length and about the same in breadth," in which "the black mass streaming from the craters piled itself up wave upon wave, so that the centre attained to the height of a mountain, without acquiring the smoothness of form observable in mountains generally,"—"the black flood of lava being full of innumerable streams of stony waves, often of a bright red colour, bridged over with thin arches, which rolled down the slopes out of the craters and across the high plateau" (*Wetzstein*, pp. 6 and 7). At a later period this name was transferred to the whole of the district of Hauran (= Bashan), because not only is the *Jebel Hauran* entirely of volcanic formation, but the plain consists throughout of a reddish brown soil produced by the action of the weather upon volcanic stones, and even "the *Leja* plain has been poured out from the craters of the Hauran mountains" (*Wetzstein*, p. 23). Through this volcanic character of the soil, Hauran differs essentially from *Belka*, *Jebel Ajlun*, and the plain of *Jaulan*, which is situated between the Sea of Galilee and the upper Jordan on the one side, and the plain of Hauran on the other, and reaches up to the southern slope of the Hermon. In these districts the limestone and chalk formations prevail, which present the same contrast to the basaltic formation of the Hauran as white does to black (cf. *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 75 sqq.).—The land of the limestone and chalk formation abounds in caves, which are not altogether wanting indeed in Hauran (as *v. Raumer* supposes), though they are only found in eastern and south-eastern Hauran, where most of the volcanic elevations have been perforated by troglodytes (see *Wetzstein*, pp. 92 and 44 sqq.). But the true land of caves on the east of the Jordan is northern Gilead, viz. *Erbed* and *Suêt* (*Wetzst.* p. 92). Here the troglodyte dwellings predominate, whereas in Hauran you find for the most part towns and villages with houses of one or more stories built above the surface of the ground, although even on the eastern slope of the Hauran mountains there are hamlets to be seen, in which the style of building forms a

transition from actual caves to dwellings built upon the ground. An excavation is first of all made in the rocky plateau, of the breadth and depth of a room, and this is afterwards arched over with a solid stone roof. The dwellings made in this manner have all the appearance of cellars or tunnels. This style of building, such as *Wetzstein* found in *Hibbiki* for example, belongs to the most remote antiquity. In some cases, hamlets of this kind were even surrounded by a wall. Those villages of Hauran which are built above the surface of the ground, attract the eye and stimulate the imagination, when seen from a distance, in various ways. "In the first place, the black colour of the building materials presents the greatest contrast to the green around them, and to the transparent atmosphere also. In the second place, the height of the walls and the compactness of the houses, which always form a connected whole, are very imposing. In the third place, they are surmounted by strong towers. And in the fourth place, they are in such a good state of preservation, that you involuntarily yield to the delusion that they must of necessity be inhabited, and expect to see people going out and in" (*Wetzstein*, p. 49). The larger towns are surrounded by walls; but the smaller ones as a rule have none: "the backs of the houses might serve as walls." The material of which the houses are built is a grey dolerite, impregnated with glittering particles of olivine. "The stones are rarely cemented, but the fine and for the most part large squares lie one upon another as if they were fused together." "Most of the doors of the houses which lead into the streets or open fields are so low, that it is impossible to enter them without stooping; but the large buildings and the ends of the streets have lofty gateways, which are always tastefully constructed, and often decorated with sculptures and Greek inscriptions." The "larger gates have either simple or (what are most common) double doors. They consist of a slab of dolerite. There are certainly no doors of any other kind." These stone doors turn upon pegs, deeply inserted into the threshold and lintel. "Even a man can only shut and open doors of this kind, by pressing with the back or feet against the wall, and pushing the door with both hands" (*Wetzstein*, pp. 50 sqq.; compare with this the testimony of *Buckingham*, *Burckhardt*, *Seetzen*, and others, in *v. Raumer's Palestine*, pp. 78 sqq.).

Now, even if the existing ruins of Hauran date for the most part from a later period, and are probably of a Nabatæan origin belonging to the times of Trajan and the Antonines, yet consider-

ing the stability of the East, and the peculiar nature of the soil of Hauran, they give a tolerably correct idea of the sixty towns of the kingdom of Og of Bashan, all of which were fortified with high walls, gates, and bars, or, as it is stated in 1 Kings iv. 13, "with walls and brazen bars."¹ The brazen bars were no doubt, like the gates themselves, of basalt or dolerite, which might easily be mistaken for brass. Besides the sixty fortified towns, the Israelites took a very large number of עָרֵי הַפְּתוּי, "*towns of the inhabitants of the flat country*," i.e. unfortified open hamlets and villages in Bashan, and put them under the ban, like the towns of king Sihon (vers. 6, 7; cf. chap. ii. 34, 35). The infinitive, הִחַרֵם, is to be construed as a gerund (cf. *Ges.* § 131, 2; *Ewald*, § 280, a.). The expression, "kingdom of Og in Bashan," implies that the kingdom of Og was not limited to the land of Bashan, but included the northern half of Gilead as well.

In vers. 8–11, Moses takes a retrospective view of the whole of the land that had been taken on the other side of the Jordan; first of all (ver. 9) in its whole extent from the Arnon to Hermon, then (ver. 10) in its separate parts, to bring out in all its grandeur what the Lord had done for Israel. The notices of the different names of Hermon (ver. 9), and of the bed of king Og (ver. 11), are also subservient to this end. *Hermon* is the southernmost spur of Anti-Libanus, the present *Jebel es Sheikh*, or *Jebel et Telj*. The Hebrew name is not connected with הָרִם, *anathema*, as *Hengstenberg* supposes (*Diss.* pp. 197–8); nor was it first given by the Israelites to this mountain, which formed part of the northern boundary of the land which they had taken; but it is to be traced to an Arabic word signifying *prominens montis vertex*, and was a name which had long been current at that time, for which the Israelites used the Hebrew name שִׁיֹן (*Sion* = שִׁיֹן, the high, eminent: chap. iv. 48), though this name did not supplant the traditional name of *Hermon*. The Sidonians called it *Sirion*, a modified form of שִׁרְיֹן (1 Sam. xvii. 5), or סְרִיֹן (Jer. xlvi. 4), a "coat of mail;" the Amorites called it *Senir*, probably a word with the same meaning. In Ps. xxix. 6, *Sirion* is used

¹ It is also by no means impossible, that many of the oldest dwellings in the ruined towers of Hauran date from a time anterior to the conquest of the land by the Israelites. "Simple, built of heavy blocks of basalt roughly hewn, and as hard as iron, with very thick walls, very strong stone gates and doors, many of which were about eighteen inches thick, and were formerly fastened with immense bolts, and of which traces still remain; such houses as these may have been the work of the old giant tribe of Rephaim, whose king, Og, was defeated by the Israelites 3000 years ago" (*C. v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 80, after *Porter's Five Years in Damascus*).

poetically for *Hermon*; and Ezekiel (xxvii. 4) uses *Senir*, in a mournful dirge over Tyre, as synonymous with *Lebanon*; whilst *Senir* is mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 23, and *Shenir* in Cant. iv. 8, in connection with Hermon, as a part of Antilibanus, as it might very naturally happen that the Amoritish name continued attached to one or other of the peaks of the mountain, just as we find that even Arabian geographers, such as *Abulfeda* and *Maraszid*, call that portion of Antilibanus which stretches from Baalbek to Emesa (Homs, Heliopolis) by the name of *Sanir*.—Ver. 10. The different portions of the conquered land were the following: הַפְּתִיחַ, *the plain*, i.e. the Amoritish table-land, stretching from the Arnon to Heshbon, and in a north-easterly direction nearly as far as Rabbath-Ammon, with the towns of *Heshbon*, *Bezer*, *Medeba*, *Jahza*, and *Dibon* (chap. iv. 43; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 17, 21, xx. 8; Jer. xlviii. 21 sqq.), which originally belonged to the Moabites, and is therefore called “the field of Moab” in Num. xxi. 20 (see p. 148). “*The whole of Gilead*,” i.e. the mountainous region on the southern and northern sides of the Jabbok, which was divided into two halves by this river. The southern half, which reached to Heshbon, belonged to the kingdom of Sihon (Josh. xii. 2), and was assigned by Moses to the Reubenites and Gadites (ver. 12); whilst the northern half, which is called “the rest of Gilead” in ver. 13, the modern *Jebel Ajlun*, extending as far as the land of Bashan (*Hauran* and *Jaulan*), belonged to the kingdom of Og (Josh. xii. 5), and was assigned to the Manassite family of Machir (ver. 15, and Josh. xiii. 31; cf. v. *Raumer*, Pal. pp. 229, 230). “*And all Bashan unto Salcah and Edrei*.” All Bashan included not only the country of *Hauran* (the plain and mountain), but unquestionably also the district of *Jedur* and *Jaulan*, to the west of the sea of Galilee and the upper Jordan, or the ancient *Gaulonitis* (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, 6, etc.), as the kingdom of Og extended to the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi (see at ver. 14). Og had not conquered the whole of the land of *Hauran*, however, but only the greater part of it. His territory extended eastwards to *Salcah*, i.e. the present *Szalchat* or *Szarchad*, about six hours to the east of *Bozrah*, south of *Jebel Hauran*, a town with 800 houses, and a castle upon a basaltic rock, but uninhabited (cf. v. *Raumer*, Pal. p. 255); and northwards to *Edrei*, i.e. the northern *Edrei* (see at Num. xxi. 33), a considerable ruin on the north-west of *Bozrah*, three or four English miles in extent, in the old buildings of which there are 200 families living at present (Turks, Druses, and Christians). By the Arabian geographers (*Abulfeda*,

Ibn Batuta) it is called *Sora*, by modern travellers *Adra* or *Edra* (*v. Richter*), or *Oezraa* (*Seetzen*), or *Ezra* (*Burckhardt*), and *Edhra* (*Robinson*, App. 155). Consequently nearly the whole of *Jebel Hauran*, and the northern portion of the plain, viz. the *Leja*, were outside the kingdom of *Og* and the land of *Bashan*, of which the Israelites took possession, although *Burckhardt* reckons *Ezra* as part of the *Leja*.—Ver. 11. Even in *Abraham's* time, the giant tribe of *Rephaim* was living in *Bashan* (*Gen. xiv. 5*). But out of the remnant of these, king *Og*, whom the Israelites defeated and slew, was the only one left. For the purpose of recalling the greatness of the grace of God that had been manifested in that victory, and not merely to establish the credibility of the statements concerning the size of *Og* ("just as things belonging to an age that has long passed away are shown to be credible by their remains," *Spinoza*, etc.), *Moses* points to the iron bed of this king, which was still in *Rabbath-Ammon*, and was nine cubits long and four broad, "after the cubit of a man," i.e. the ordinary cubit in common use (see the analogous expression, "a man's pen," *Isa. viii. 1*). הָלֵךְ, for הָלַךְ, synonymous with הָלַךְ. There is nothing to amaze us in the size of the bed or bedstead given here. The ordinary Hebrew cubit was only a foot and a half, probably only eighteen *Dresden inches* (see my *Archäologie*, ii. p. 126, Anm. 4). Now a bed is always larger than the man who sleeps in it. But in this case *Clericus* fancies that *Og* "intentionally exceeded the necessary size, in order that posterity might be led to draw more magnificent conclusions from the size of the bed, as to the stature of the man who was accustomed to sleep in it." He also refers to the analogous case of *Alexander the Great*, of whom *Diod. Sic.* (xvii. 95) affirms, that whenever he was obliged to halt on his march to *India*, he made colossal arrangements of all kinds, causing, among other things, two couches to be prepared in the tents for every foot-soldier, each five cubits long, and two stalls for every horseman, twice as large as the ordinary size, "to represent a camp of heroes, and leave striking memorials behind for the inhabitants of the land, of gigantic men and their supernatural strength." With a similar intention *Og* may also have left behind him a gigantic bed as a memorial of his superhuman greatness, on the occasion of some expedition of his against the *Ammonites*; and this bed may have been preserved in their capital as a proof of the greatness of their foe.¹ *Moses* might then refer

¹ "It will often be found, that very tall people are disposed to make themselves appear even taller than they actually are" (*Hengstenberg*, Diss. ii. p. 201).

to this gigantic bed of Og, which was known to the Israelites; and there is no reason for resorting to the improbable conjecture, that the Ammonites had taken possession of a bed of king Og upon some expedition against the Amorites, and had carried it off as a trophy into their capital.¹ “*Rabbath* of the sons of Ammon,” or briefly *Rabbah*, *i.e.* the great (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xi. 1), was the capital of the Ammonites, afterwards called *Philadelphia*, probably from Ptolemæus Philadelphus; by *Polybius*, ‘*Παββαράμυνα*’; by *Abulfeda*, *Ammân*, which is the name still given to the uninhabited ruins on the *Nahr Ammân*, *i.e.* the upper Jabbok (see *Burckhardt*, pp. 612 sqq., and *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 268).

Vers. 12–20. REVIEW OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONQUERED LAND.—The land which the Israelites had taken belonging to these two kingdoms was given by Moses to the two tribes and a half for their possession, *viz.* the southern portion from Aroer in the Arnon valley (see at Num. xxxii. 34), and half Gilead (as far as the Jabbok: see at ver. 10) with its towns, which are enumerated in Josh. xiii. 15–20 and 24–28, to the Reubenites and Gadites; and the northern half of Gilead, with the whole of Bashan (*i.e.* all the region of Argob: see at ver. 4, and Num. xxxii. 33), to the half-tribe of Manasseh. לְכָל־הַבָּשָׁן, “*as for all Bashan*,” is in apposition to “*all the region of Argob*,” and the ו simply serves to connect it; for “*all the region of Argob*” was not merely one portion of Bashan, but was identical with “*all Bashan*,” so far as it belonged to the kingdom of Og (see at ver. 4). All this region passed for a land of giants. הָיָה, to be called, *i.e.* to be, and to be recognised as being.—Ver. 14. The region of Argob, or the country of Bashan, was given to *Jair* (see Num. xxxii. 41), as far as the territory of the Geshurites and Maachathites (cf. Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11). “*Unto*,” as far as, is to be understood as inclusive. This is evident from

Moreover, there are still giants who are eight feet high and upwards. “According to the *N. Preuss. Zeit.* of 1857, there came a man to Berlin 8 feet 4 inches high, and possibly still growing, as he was only twenty years old; and he was said to have a great-uncle who was nine inches taller” (*Schultz*).

¹ There is still less probability in the conjecture of *J. D. Michaelis*, *Vater*, *Winer*, and others, that Og’s iron bed was a sarcophagus of basalt, such as are still frequently met with in those regions, as much as 9 feet long and 3½ feet broad, or even as much as 12 feet long and 6 feet in breadth and height (*vid. Burckhardt*, pp. 220, 246; *Robinson*, iii. p. 385; *Seetzen*, i. pp. 355, 360); and the still further assumption, that the corpse of the fallen king was taken to *Rabbah*, and there interred in a royal way, is altogether improbable.

the statement in Josh. xiii. 13: "*The children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites nor the Maachathites; but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites until this day.*" Consequently Moses allotted the territory of these two tribes to the Manassites, because it formed part of the kingdom of Og. "*Geshuri and Maachathi*" are the inhabitants of *Geshur* and *Maachah*, two provinces which formed small independent kingdoms even in David's time (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, and x. 6). *Geshur* bordered on *Aram*. The Geshurites and Aramæans afterwards took from the Israelites the *Jair*-towns and *Kenath*, with their daughter towns (1 Chron. ii. 23). In David's time *Geshur* had a king *Thalmai*, whose daughter David married. This daughter was the mother of Absalom; and it was in *Geshur* that Absalom lived for a time in exile (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xiv. 23, xv. 8). The exact situation of *Geshur* has not yet been determined. It was certainly somewhere near Hermon, on the eastern side of the upper Jordan, and by a bridge over the Jordan, as *Geshur* signifies bridge in all the Semitic dialects. *Maachah*, which is referred to in 1 Chron. xix. 6 as a kingdom under the name of *Aram-Maachah* (Eng. V. Syria-Maachah), is probably to be sought for to the north-east of *Geshur*. According to the *Onomast.* (s. v. *Maχaθi*), it was in the neighbourhood of the Hermon. "*And he called them* (the towns of the region of Argob) *after his own name; Bashan* (sc. he called) *Havvoth Jair unto this day*" (cf. Num. xxxii. 41). The word הַיִּת (*Havvoth*), which only occurs in connection with the *Jair*-towns, does not mean towns or camps of a particular kind, viz. tent villages, as some suppose, but is the plural of הַיָּה, life (*Leben*, a common German termination, e.g. *Eisleben*), for which afterwards the word הַיָּה was used (comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13 with 1 Chron. xi. 15). It applies to any kind of dwelling-place, being used in the passages just mentioned to denote even a warlike encampment. The *Jair's-lives* (*Jairsleben*) were not a particular class of towns, therefore, in the district of Argob, but *Jair* gave this collective name to all the sixty fortified towns, as is perfectly evident from the verse before us when compared with ver. 5 and Num. xxxii. 41, and expressly confirmed by Josh. xiii. 30 and 1 Kings iv. 13, where the sixty fortified towns of the district of Argob are called *Havvoth Jair*.—The statement in 1 Chron. ii. 22, 23, that "*Jair had twenty-three towns in Gilead* (which is used here as in chap. xxxiv. 1, Josh. xxii. 9, xiii. 15, Judg. v. 17, xx. 1, to denote the whole of Palestine to the east of the Jordan), *and Geshur and Aram took the Havvoth Jair from them, (and) Kenath and its*

daughters, sixty towns (*sc.* in all),” is by no means at variance with this, but, on the contrary, in the most perfect harmony with it. For it is evident from this passage, that the twenty-three *Havvoth Jair*, with *Kenath* and its daughters, formed sixty towns altogether. The distinction between the twenty-three *Havvoth Jair* and the other thirty-seven towns, viz. *Kenath* and its daughters, is to be explained from the simple fact that, according to Num. xxxii. 42, *Nobah*, no doubt a family of sons of Machir related to *Jair*, conquered *Kenath* and its daughters, and called the conquered towns by his name, namely, when they had been allotted to him by Moses. Consequently Bashan, or the region of Argob, with its sixty fortified towns, was divided between two of the leading families of Machir the Manassite, viz. the families of *Jair* and *Nobah*, each family receiving the districts which it had conquered, together with their towns; namely, the family of *Nobah*, *Kenath* and its daughter towns, or the eastern portion of Bashan; and the family of *Jair*, twenty-three towns in the west, which are called *Havvoth Jair* in 1 Chron. ii. 23, in harmony with Num. xxxii. 41, where *Jair* is said to have given this name to the towns which were conquered by him. In the address before us, however, in which Moses had no intention to enter into historical details, all the (sixty) towns of the whole district of Argob, or the whole of Bashan, are comprehended under the name of *Havvoth Jair*, probably because *Nobah* was a subordinate branch of the family of *Jair*, and the towns conquered by him were under the supremacy of *Jair*. The expression “unto this day” certainly does not point to a later period than the Mosaic age. This definition of time is simply a relative one. It does not necessarily presuppose a very long duration, and here it merely serves to bring out the marvellous change which was due to the divine grace, viz. that the sixty fortified towns of the giant king Og of Bashan had now become *Jair’s* lives.¹—Ver. 15. Machir received Gilead (see Num. xxxii. 40).—In vers. 16 and 17 the possession of the tribes of Reuben and Gad is described more fully according to its boundaries. They received the land of Gilead (to the south of the Jabbok) as far as the brook Arnon, the middle of the valley and its territory. נָחַל אַרְנוֹן is a more precise definition of תְּוֹךְ הַנָּחַל,

¹ The conquest of these towns, in fact, does not seem to have been of long duration, and the possession of them by the Israelites was a very disputed one (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 22, 23). In the time of the judges we find thirty in the possession of the judge *Jair* (Judg. x. 4), which caused the old name *Havvoth Jair* to be revived.

pressive of the fact that the territory of these tribes was not to reach merely to the northern edge of the Arnon valley, but into the middle of it, viz. to the river Arnon, which flowed through the middle of the valley; and יַבְבֶּל (and the border) is an explanatory apposition to what goes before, as in Num. xxxiv. 6, signifying, "*viz. the border of the Arnon valley as far as the river.*" On the east, "*even unto Jabbok the brook, the (western) border of the Ammonites*" (*i.e.* as far as the upper Jabbok, the *Nahr Ammán*: see at Num. xxi. 24); and on the west "*the Arabah (the Ghor: see chap. i. 1) and the Jordan with territory*" (*i.e.* with its eastern bank), "*from Chinnereth*" (*i.e.* the town from which the Sea of Galilee received the name of Sea of Chinnereth: Num. xxxiv. 11; see at Josh. xix. 35) "*to the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea under the slopes of Pisgah* (see at Num. xxi. 15 and xxvii. 12) *eastward*" (*i.e.* merely the eastern side of the Arabah and Jordan).—In vers. 18–20 Moses reminds them of the conditions upon which he had given the two tribes and a half the land referred to for their inheritance (cf. Num. xxxii. 20–32).

Vers. 21–29. NOMINATION OF JOSHUA AS HIS SUCCESSOR.—This reminiscence also recalls the goodness of God in the appointment of Joshua (Num. xxvii. 12 sqq.), which took place "*at that time,*" *i.e.* after the conquest of the land on the east of the Jordan. In accordance with the object of his address, which was to hold up to view what the Lord had done for Israel, he here relates how, at the very outset, he pointed Joshua to the things which he had seen with his eyes (עֵינַיִךְ הִרְאֵת, thine eyes were seeing; cf. *Ewald*, § 335, b.), namely, to the defeat of the two kings of the Amorites, in which the pledge was contained, that the faithful covenant God would complete the work He had begun, and would do the same to all kingdoms whither Joshua would go over (*i.e.* across the Jordan).—Ver. 22. For this reason they were not to be afraid; for Jehovah Himself would fight for them. "*He*" is emphatic, and adds force to the subject.—Vers. 23 sqq. Moses then describes how, notwithstanding his prayer, the Lord had refused him permission to cross over into Canaan and see the glorious land. This prayer is not mentioned in the historical account given in the fourth book; but it must have preceded the prayer for the appointment of a shepherd over the congregation in Num. xxvii. 16, as the Lord directs him in His reply (ver. 28) to appoint Joshua as the leader of the people. In his prayer, Moses appealed to the manifestations of divine grace

which he had already received. As the Lord had already begun to show him His greatness and His mighty hand, so might He also show him the completion of His work. The expression, "begun to show Thy greatness," relates not so much to the mighty acts of the Lord in Egypt and at the Red Sea (as in Ex. xxxii. 11, 12, and Num. xiv. 13 sqq.), as to the manifestation of the divine omnipotence in the defeat of the Amorites, by which the Lord had begun to bring His people into the possession of the promised land, and had made Himself known as God, to whom there was no equal in heaven or on earth. **אֲשֶׁר** before **מִי** (ver. 24) is an explanatory and causal relative: because (*quod, quia*), or for. "*For what God is there in heaven and on earth,*" etc. These words recall Ex. xv. 11, and are echoed in many of the Psalms—in Ps. lxxxvi. 8 almost *verbatim*. The contrast drawn between Jehovah and other gods does not involve the reality of the heathen deities, but simply presupposes a belief in the existence of other gods, without deciding as to the truth of that belief. **נִבְרָה**, manifestations of **נִבְרָה**, mighty deeds.—Ver. 25. "*I pray Thee, let me go over.*" **אֶעֱבְרָה־נָּא**, a form of desire, used as a petition, as in chap. ii. 27, Num. xxi. 22, etc. "*That goodly mountain*" is not one particular portion of the land of Canaan, such as the mountains of Judah, or the temple mountain (according to Ex. xv. 17), but the whole of Canaan regarded as a mountainous country, Lebanon being specially mentioned as the boundary wall towards the north. As Moses stood on the lower level of the Arabah, the promised land presented itself not only to his eyes, but also to his soul, as a long mountain range; and that not merely as suggestive of the lower contrast, that "whereas the plains in the East are for the most part sterile, on account of the want of springs or rain, the mountainous regions, which are well watered by springs and streams, are very fertile and pleasant" (*Rosenmüller*), but also on a much higher ground, viz. as a high and lofty land, which would stand by the side of Horeb, "where he had spent the best and holiest days of his life, and where he had seen the commencement of the covenant between God and His people" (*Schultz*).—Ver. 26. But the Lord would not grant his request. "*Let it suffice thee*" (*satis sit tibi*, as in chap. i. 6), substantially equivalent to 2 Cor. xii. 8, "My grace is sufficient for thee" (*Schultz*). **דִּבַּר**, to speak about a thing (as in chap. vi. 7, xi. 19, etc.).—Ver. 27 is a rhetorical paraphrase of Num. xxvii. 12, where the mountains of *Abarim* are mentioned in the place of *Pisgah*, which was the northern portion of *Abarim*. (On ver. 28, cf. chap. i. 38 and Num. xxvii. 23.)

—Ver. 29. “*So we abode in the valley over against Beth-Peor,*” *i.e.* in the Arboth Moab (Num. xxii. 1), *sc.* where we still are. The pret. וַיֵּשֶׁב is used, because Moses fixes his eye upon the past, and looks back upon the events already described in Num. xxviii.—xxxiv. as having taken place there. On *Beth-Peor*, see at Num. xxiii. 28.

EXHORTATION TO A FAITHFUL OBSERVANCE OF THE LAW.—

CHAP. IV. 1–40.

With the word וְעַתָּה, “*and now,*” Moses passes from a contemplation of what the Lord had done for Israel, to an exhortation to keep the law of the Lord. The divine manifestations of grace laid Israel under the obligation to a conscientious observance of the law, that they might continue to enjoy the blessings of the covenant. The exhortation commences with the appeal, to hear and keep the commandments and rights of the Lord, without adding to them or taking from them; for not only were life and death suspended upon their observance, but it was in this that the wisdom and greatness of Israel before all the nations consisted (vers. 1–8). It then proceeds to a warning, not to forget the events at Horeb (vers. 9–14) and so fall into idolatry, the worship of images or idol deities (vers. 15–24); and it closes with a threat of dispersion among the heathen as the punishment of apostasy, and with a promise of restoration as the consequence of repentance and sincere conversion (vers. 25–31), and also with a reason for this threat and promise drawn from the history of the immediate past (vers. 32–34), for the purpose of fortifying the nation in its fidelity to its God, the sole author of its salvation (vers. 35–40).

Vers. 1–8. The Israelites were to hearken to the laws and rights which Moses taught to do (that they were to do), that they might live and attain to the possession of the land which the Lord would give them. “*Hearkening*” involves laying to heart and observing. The words “*statutes and judgments*” (as in Lev. xix. 37) denote the whole of the law of the covenant in its two leading features. הַקִּים, *statutes*, includes the moral commandments and statutory covenant laws, for which הָק and הִקָּה are mostly used in the earlier books, that is to say, all that the people were bound to observe; מִשְׁפָּטִים, *rights*, all that was due to them, whether in relation to God or to their fellow-men (cf. chap. xxvi. 17). Sometimes הַצְוָה, the *commandment*, is connected with it, either placed first in

the singular, as a general comprehensive notion (chap. v. 28, vi. 1, vii. 11), or in the plural (chap. viii. 11, xi. 1, xxx. 16); or הַעֲדוֹת, the *testimonies*, the commandments as a manifestation of the will of God (ver. 45, vi. 17, 20).—Life itself depended upon the fulfilment, or long life in the promised land (Ex. xx. 12), as Moses repeatedly impressed upon them (cf. ver. 40, chap. v. 30, vi. 2, viii. 1, xi. 21, xvi. 20, xxv. 15, xxx. 6, 15 sqq., xxxii. 47). יְהוָה, for הַעֲדוֹת (as in ver. 22, Josh. i. 16; cf. Ges. § 44, 2, *Anm.* 2).—Ver. 2. The observance of the law, however, required that it should be kept as it was given, that nothing should be added to it or taken from it, but that men should submit to it as to the inviolable word of God. Not by omissions only, but by additions also, was the commandment weakened, and the word of God turned into ordinances of men, as Pharisaism sufficiently proved. This precept is repeated in chap. xiii. 1; it is then revived by the prophets (Jer. xxvi. 2; Prov. xxx. 6), and enforced again at the close of the whole revelation (Rev. xxii. 18, 19). In the same sense Christ also said that He had not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil (Matt. v. 17); and the old covenant was not abrogated, but only glorified and perfected, by the new.—Vers. 3, 4. The Israelites had just experienced how a faithful observance of the law gave life, in what the Lord had done on account of Baal-Peor, when He destroyed those who worshipped this idol (Num. xxv. 3, 9), whereas the faithful followers of the Lord still remained alive. דָּבַק, to cleave to any one, to hold fast to him. This example was adduced by Moses, because the congregation had passed through all this only a very short time before; and the results of faithfulness towards the Lord on the one hand, and of the unfaithfulness of apostasy from Him on the other, had been made thoroughly apparent to it. “*Your eyes the seeing*,” as in chap. iii. 21.—Vers. 5, 6. But the laws which Moses taught were commandments of the Lord. Keeping and doing them were to be the wisdom and understanding of Israel in the eyes of the nations, who, when they heard all these laws, would say, “*Certainly (כִּי, only, no other than) a wise and understanding people is this great nation.*” History has confirmed this. Not only did the wisdom of a Solomon astonish the queen of Sheba (1 Kings x. 4 sqq.), but the divine truth which Israel possessed in the law of Moses attracted all the more earnest minds of the heathen world to seek the satisfaction of the inmost necessities of their heart and the salvation of their souls in Israel’s knowledge of God, when, after a short period of bloom, the inward self-dis-

solution of the heathen religions had set in; and at last, in Christianity, it has brought one heathen nation after another to the knowledge of the true God, and to eternal salvation, notwithstanding the fact that the divine truth was and still is regarded as folly by the proud philosophers and self-righteous Epicureans and Stoics of ancient and modern times.—Vers. 7, 8. This mighty and attractive force of the wisdom of Israel consisted in the fact, that in Jehovah they possessed a God who was at hand with His help when they called upon Him (cf. chap. xxxiii. 29; Ps. xxxiv. 19, cxlv. 18; 1 Kings ii. 7), as none of the gods of the other nations had ever been; and that in the law of God they possessed such statutes and rights as the heathen never had. True right has its roots in God; and with the obscuration of the knowledge of God, law and right, with their divinely established foundations, are also shaken and obscured (cf. Rom. i. 26–32).

Vers. 9–14. Israel was therefore not to forget the things which it had seen at Horeb with its own eyes.—Ver. 9. “*Only beware and take care of thyself.*” To “keep the soul,” i.e. to take care of the soul as the seat of life, to defend one’s life from danger and injury (Prov. xiii. 3, xix. 16). “*That thou do not forget אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים* (the facts described in Ex. xix.–xxiv.), and that they do not depart from thy heart all the days of thy life,” i.e. are not forgotten as long as thou livest, “and thou makest them known to thy children and thy children’s children.” These acts of God formed the foundation of the true religion, the real basis of the covenant legislation, and the firm guarantee of the objective truth and divinity of all the laws and ordinances which Moses gave to the people. And it was this which constituted the essential distinction between the religion of the Old Testament and all heathen religions, whose founders, it is true, professed to derive their doctrines and statutes from divine inspiration, but without giving any practical guarantee that their origin was truly divine.—Vers. 10–12. In the words, “*The day הַיּוֹם*, adverbial accusative) “that thou stoodest before Jehovah thy God at Horeb,” etc., Moses reminds the people of the leading features of those grand events: first of all of the fact that God directed him to gather the people together, that He might make known His words to them (Ex. xix. 9 sqq.), that they were to learn to fear Him all their life long, and to teach their children also (יִרְאַה, inf., like שִׁנְאָה, chap. i. 27); and secondly (ver. 11), that they came near to the mountain which burned in fire (cf. Ex. xix. 17 sqq.). The expression, burning in fire “*even to the heart of heaven,*” i.e. quite into

the sky, is a rhetorical description of the awful majesty of the pillar of fire, in which the glory of the Lord appeared upon Sinai, intended to impress deeply upon the minds of the people the remembrance of this manifestation of God. And the expression, "*darkness, clouds, and thick darkness,*" which is equivalent to the smoking of the great mountain (Ex. xix. 18), is employed with the same object. And lastly (vers. 12, 13), he reminds them that the Lord spoke out of the midst of the fire, and adds this important remark, to prepare the way for what is to follow, "*Ye heard the sound of the words, but ye did not see a shape,*" which not only agrees most fully with Ex. xxiv., where it is stated that the sight of the glory of Jehovah upon the mountain appeared to the people as they stood at the foot of the mountain "like devouring fire" (ver. 17), and that even the elders who "saw God" upon the mountain at the conclusion of the covenant saw no form of God (ver. 11), but also with Ex. xxxiii. 20, 23, according to which no man can see the face (פָּנָיו) of God. Even the similitude (*temunah*) of Jehovah, which Moses saw when the Lord spoke to him mouth to mouth (Num. xii. 8), was not the form of the essential being of God which was visible to his bodily eyes, but simply a manifestation of the glory of God answering to his own intuition and perceptive faculty, which is not to be regarded as a form of God which was an adequate representation of the divine nature. The true God has no such form which is visible to the human eye.—Ver. 13. The Israelites, therefore, could not see a form of God, but could only hear the voice of His words, when the Lord proclaimed His covenant to them, and gave utterance to the ten words, which He afterwards gave to Moses written upon two tables of stone (Ex. xx. 1-14 (17), and xxxi. 18, compared with chap. xxiv. 12). On the "tables of stone," see at Ex. xxxiv. 1.—Ver. 14. When the Lord Himself had made known to the people in the ten words the covenant which He commanded them to do, He directed Moses to teach them laws and rights which they were to observe in Canaan, viz. the rights and statutes of the Sinaitic legislation, from Ex. xxi. onwards.

Vers. 15-24. As the Israelites had seen no shape of God at Horeb, they were to beware for their souls' sake (for their lives) of acting corruptly, and making to themselves any kind of image of Jehovah their God, namely, as the context shows, to worship God in it. (On *pesel*, see at Ex. xx. 4.) The words which follow, viz. "*a form of any kind of sculpture,*" and "*a representation of male or female*" (for *tabnith*, see at Ex. xxv. 9), are in apposition to "graven

image," and serve to explain and emphasize the prohibition.—Vers. 17, 18. They were also not to make an image of any kind of beast; a caution against imitating the animal worship of Egypt.—Ver. 19. They were not to allow themselves to be torn away (נִיָּדָה) to worship the stars of heaven, namely, by the seductive influence exerted upon the senses by the sight of the heavenly bodies as they shone in their glorious splendour. The reason for this prohibition is given in the relative clause, "*which Jehovah thy God hath allotted to all nations under the whole heaven.*" The thought is not, "God has given the heathen the sun, moon, and stars for service, *i.e.* to serve them with their light," as *Onkelos*, the *Rabbins*, *Jerome*, and others, suppose, but He has allotted them to them for worship, *i.e.* permitted them to choose them as the objects of their worship, which is the view adopted by *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens Alex.*, and others. According to the scriptural view, even the idolatry of the heathen existed by divine permission and arrangement. God gave up the heathen to idolatry and shameful lusts, because, although they knew Him from His works, they did not praise Him as God (Rom. i. 21, 24, 26).—Ver. 20. The Israelites were not to imitate the heathen in this respect, because Jehovah, who brought them out of the iron furnace of Egypt, had taken them (לָקַח) to Himself, *i.e.* had drawn them out or separated them from the rest of the nations, to be a people of inheritance. They were therefore not to seek God and pray to Him in any kind of creature, but to worship Him without image and form, in a manner corresponding to His own nature, which had been manifested in no form, and therefore could not be imitated. בִּיר בְּרָזֶל, an iron furnace, or furnace for smelting iron, is a significant figure descriptive of the terrible sufferings endured by Israel in Egypt. עַם נַחֲלָה (a people of inheritance) is synonymous with עַם סִגְלָה (a special people, chap. vii. 6 : see at Ex. xix. 5, "a peculiar treasure"). "*This day :*" as in chap. ii. 30.—Vers. 21 sqq. The bringing of Israel out of Egypt reminds Moses of the end, viz. Canaan, and leads him to mention again how the Lord had refused him permission to enter into this good land; and to this he adds the renewed warning not to forget the covenant or make any image of God, since Jehovah, as a jealous God, would never tolerate this. The swearing attributed to God in ver. 21 is neither mentioned in Num. xx. nor at the announcement of Moses' death in Num. xxvii. 12 sqq.; but it is not to be called in question on that account, as *Knobel* supposes. It is perfectly obvious from chap. iii. 23 sqq. that all the details are not given in the historical

account of the event referred to. פֶּסֶל תְּמוּנַת כָּל, "*image of a form of all that Jehovah has commanded,*" sc. not to be made (vers. 16-18). "*A consuming fire*" (ver. 24): this epithet is applied to God with special reference to the manifestation of His glory in burning fire (Ex. xxi. 17). On the symbolical meaning of this mode of revelation, see at Ex. iii. 2 (vol. i. pp. 438-9). "*A jealous God*:" see at Ex. xx. 5.

Vers. 25-31. To give emphasis to this warning, Moses holds up the future dispersion of the nation among the heathen as the punishment of apostasy from the Lord.—Vers. 25, 26. If the Israelites should beget children and children's children, and grow old in the land, and then should make images of God, and do that which was displeasing to God to provoke Him; in that case Moses called upon heaven and earth as witnesses against them, that they should be quickly destroyed out of the land. "*Growing old in the land*" involved forgetfulness of the former manifestations of grace on the part of the Lord, but not necessarily becoming voluptuous through the enjoyment of the riches of the land, although this might also lead to forgetfulness of God and the manifestations of His grace (cf. chap. vi. 10 sqq., xxxii. 15). The apodosis commences with ver. 26. הָעֵיר, with וְ and the accusative, to take or summon as a witness against a person. Heaven and earth do not stand here for the rational beings dwelling in them, but are personified, represented as living, and capable of sensation and speech, and mentioned as witnesses who would rise up against Israel, not to proclaim its guilt, but to bear witness that God, the Lord of heaven and earth, had warned the people, and, as it is described in the parallel passage in chap. xxx. 19, had set before them the choice of life and death, and therefore was just in punishing them for their unfaithfulness (cf. Ps. l. 6, li. 6). "*Prolong days,*" as in Ex. xx. 12.—Ver. 27. Jehovah would scatter them among the nations, where they would perish through want and suffering, and only a few (מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר, Gen. xxxiv. 30) would be left. "*Whither*" refers to the nations whose land is thought of (cf. chap. xii. 29, xxx. 3). For the thing intended, see Lev. xxvi. 33, 36, 38, 39, and Deut. xxviii. 64 sqq., from which it is evident that the author had not "*the fate of the nation in the time of the Assyrians in his mind*" (*Knobel*), but rather all the dispersions which would come upon the rebellious nation in future times, even down to the dispersion under the Romans, which continues still; so that Moses contemplated the punishment in its fullest extent.—Ver. 28. There

among the heathen they would be obliged to serve gods that were the work of men's hands, gods of wood and stone, that could neither hear, nor eat, nor smell, *i.e.* possessed no senses, showed no sign of life. What Moses threatens here, follows from the eternal laws of the divine government. The more refined idolatry of image-worship leads to coarser and coarser forms, in which the whole nature of idol-worship is manifested in all its pitiableness. "When once the God of revelation is forsaken, the God of reason and imagination must also soon be given up and make way for still lower powers, that perfectly accord with the *I* exalted upon the throne, and in the time of pretended 'illumination' to atheism and materialism also" (*Schultz*).—Ver. 29. From thence Israel would come to itself again in the time of deepest misery, like the prodigal son in the gospel (Luke xv. 17), would seek the Lord its God, and would also find Him if it sought with all its heart and soul (cf. chap. vi. 5, x. 12).—Ver. 30. "*In tribulation to thee (in thy trouble), all these things (the threatened punishments and sufferings) will befall thee; at the end of the days (see at Gen. xlix. 1) thou wilt turn to Jehovah thy God, and hearken to His voice.*" With this comprehensive thought Moses brings his picture of the future to a close. (On the subject-matter, *vid.* Lev. xxvi. 39, 40.) Returning to the Lord and hearkening to His voice presuppose that the Lord will be found by those who earnestly seek Him; "*for (ver. 31) He is a merciful God, who does not let His people go, nor destroy them, and who does not forget the covenant with the fathers*" (cf. Lev. xxvi. 42 and 45). הִרְפָּה, to let loose, to withdraw the hand from a person (Josh. x. 6).

Vers. 32–40. But in order to accomplish something more than merely preserving the people from apostasy by the threat of punishment, namely, to secure a more faithful attachment and continued obedience to His commands by awakening the feeling of cordial love, Moses reminds them again of the glorious miracles of divine grace performed in connection with the election and deliverance of Israel, such as had never been heard of from the beginning of the world; and with this strong practical proof of the love of the true God, he brings his first address to a close. This closing thought in ver. 32 is connected by וְ (for) with the leading idea in ver. 31, "Jehovah thy God is a merciful God," to show that the sole ground for the election and redemption of Israel was the compassion of God towards the human race. "*For ask now of the days that are past, from the day that God created man upon the*

earth, and from one end of the heaven unto the other, whether so great a thing has ever happened, or anything of the kind has been heard of:" i.e. the history of all times since the creation of man, and of all places under the whole heaven, can relate no such events as those which have happened to Israel, viz. at Sinai (ver. 33; cf. ver. 12). From this awfully glorious manifestation of God, Moses goes back in ver. 34 to the miracles with which God effected the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt. "*Or has a god attempted (made the attempt) to come and take to himself people from people (i.e. to fetch the people of Israel out of the midst of the Egyptian nation), with temptations (the events in Egypt by which Pharaoh's relation to the Lord was put to the test; cf. chap. vi. 22 and vii. 18, 19), with signs and wonders (the Egyptian plagues, see Ex. vii. 3), and with conflict (at the Red Sea: Ex. xiv. 14, xv. 3), and with a strong hand and outstretched arm (see Ex. vi. 6), and with great terrors?*" In the three points mentioned last, all the acts of God in Egypt are comprehended, according to both cause and effect. They were revelations of the omnipotence of the Lord, and produced great terrors (cf. Ex. xii. 30-36).—Ver. 35. Israel was made to see all this, that it might know that Jehovah was God (הָאֱלֹהִים, *the God*, to whom the name of *Elohim* rightfully belonged), and there was none else beside Him (cf. ver. 39, xxxii. 39; Isa. xlv. 5, 6).—Ver. 36. But the Lord had spoken to Israel chiefly down from heaven (cf. Ex. xx. 19 (22)), and that out of the great fire, in which He had come down upon Sinai, to chastise it. יָסַר does not mean "to instruct the people with regard to His truth and sovereignty," as *Schultz* thinks, but "to take them under holy discipline" (*Knobel*), to inspire them with a salutary fear of the holiness of His ways and of His judgments by the awful phenomena which accompanied His descent, and shadowed forth the sublime and holy majesty of His nature.—Vers. 37-40. All this He did from love to the fathers of Israel (the patriarchs): "*and indeed because He loved thy fathers, He chose his seed (the seed of Abraham, the first of the patriarchs) after him, and brought thee (Israel) out of Egypt by His face with great power, to drive out . . . and to bring thee, to give thee their land . . . so that thou mightest know and take to heart . . . and keep His laws,*" etc. With regard to the construction of these verses, the clause וְיָסַרְתָּ (and because) in ver. 37 is not to be regarded as dependent upon what precedes, as *Schultz* supposes; nor are vers. 37 and 38 to be taken as the protasis, and vers. 39, 40 as the apodosis (as *Knobel* maintains). Both forms of construction are

forced and unnatural. The verses form an independent thought; and the most important point, which was to bind Israel to faithfulness towards Jehovah, is given as the sum and substance of the whole address, and placed as a protasis at the head of the period. The only thing that admits of dispute, is whether the apodosis commences with וַיִּבְחַר ("He chose," ver. 37), or only with וַיּוֹצֵא ("brought thee out"). Either is possible; and it makes no difference, so far as the main thought is concerned, whether we regard the choice of Israel, or simply the deliverance from Egypt, in which that choice was carried into practical effect, as the consequence of the love of Jehovah to the patriarchs.—The copula ו before תַּחַת is specially emphatic, "and truly," and indicates that the sum and substance of the whole discourse is about to follow, or the one thought in which the whole appeal culminates. It was the love of God to the fathers, not the righteousness of Israel (chap. ix. 5), which lay at the foundation of the election of their posterity to be the nation of Jehovah's possession, and also of all the miracles of grace which were performed in connection with their deliverance out of Egypt. Moses returns to this thought again at chap. x. 15, for the purpose of impressing it upon the minds of the people as the one motive which laid them under the strongest obligation to circumcise the foreskin of their heart, and walk in the fear and love of the Lord their God (chap. x. 12 sqq.).—The singular suffixes in וְרֵעִי (his seed) and אַחֲרָיו (after him) refer to Abraham, whom Moses had especially in his mind when speaking of "thy fathers," because he was pre-eminently the lover of God (Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chron. xx. 7), and also the beloved or friend of God (Jas. ii. 23; cf. Gen. xviii. 17 sqq.). "*By His face*" points back to Ex. xxxiii. 14. The face of Jehovah was Jehovah in His personal presence, in His own person, who brought Israel out of Egypt, to root out great and mighty nations before it, and give it their land for an inheritance. "*As this day*" (clearly shows), viz. by the destruction of Sihon and Og, which gave to the Israelites a practical pledge that the Canaanites in like manner would be rooted out before them. The expression "as this day" does not imply, therefore, that the Canaanites were already rooted out from their land.—Vers. 39, 40. By this the Israelites were to know and lay it to heart, that Jehovah alone was God in heaven and on earth, and were to keep His commandments, in order that (אַשְׁרֵי) it might be well with them and their descendants, and they might have long life in Canaan. כָּל־הַיָּמִים, "all time," for all the future (cf. Ex. xx. 12).

Vers. 41-43. SELECTION OF THREE CITIES OF REFUGE FOR UNINTENTIONAL MANSLAYERS ON THE EAST OF THE JORDAN. —The account of this appointment of the cities of refuge in the conquered land on the east of the Jordan is inserted between the first and second addresses of Moses, in all probability for no other reason than because Moses set apart the cities at that time according to the command of God in Num. xxxv. 6, 14, not only to give the land on that side its full consecration, and thoroughly confirm the possession of the two Amoritish kingdoms on the other side of the Jordan, but also to give the people in this punctual observance of the duty devolving upon it an example for their imitation in the conscientious observance of the commandments of the Lord, which he was now about to lay before the nation. The assertion that this section neither stood after Num. xxxiv.-xxxvi., nor really belongs there, has as little foundation as the statement that its contents are at variance with the precepts in chap. xix. "Toward the sunrising" is introduced as a more precise definition; עֵבֶר הַיָּרְדֵּן, like מִזְרֶחָהּ in Num. xxxii. 19 and xxxiv. 15. On the contents of ver. 42, comp. Num. xxxv. 15 sqq. The three towns that were set apart were *Bezer*, *Ramoth*, and *Golan*. "*Bezer in the steppe, (namely) in the land of the level*" (the Amoritish table-land: chap. iii. 10). The situation of this Levitical town and city of refuge, which is only mentioned again in Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36, and 1 Chron. vi. 63, has not yet been discovered. *Bezer* was probably the same as *Bosor* (1 Macc. v. 36), and is possibly to be seen in the *Berza* mentioned by Robinson (Pal. App. p. 170). *Ramoth* in Gilcad, i.e. *Ramoth-Mizpeh* (comp. Josh. xx. 8 with xiii. 26), was situated, according to the *Onom.*, fifteen Roman miles, or six hours, to the west of *Philadelphia* (*Rabbath-Ammon*); probably, therefore, on the site of the modern *Salt*, which is six hours' journey from *Ammân* (cf. v. *Raumer*, Pal. pp. 265, 266).—*Golan*, in *Bashan*, according to *Eusebius* (s. v. *Gaulon* or *Golan*), was still a very large village in *Batanæa* even in his day, from which the district generally received the name of *Gaulonitis* or *Jolan*; but it has not yet been discovered again.

II.—SECOND ADDRESS, OR EXPOSITION OF THE LAW.

CHAP. IV. 44–XXVI. 19.

THIS address, which is described in the heading as the law which Moses set before the Israelites, commences with a repetition of the decalogue, and a notice of the powerful impression which was made, through the proclamation of it by God Himself, upon the people who were assembled round Him at Horeb (chap. v.). In the first and more general part, it shows that the true essence of the law, and of that righteousness which the Israelites were to strive after, consisted in loving Jehovah their God with all their heart (chap. vi.); that the people were bound, by virtue of their election as the Lord's people of possession, to exterminate the Canaanites with their idolatrous worship, in order to rejoice in the blessing of God (chap. vii.); but more especially that, having regard on the one hand to the divine chastisement and humiliation which they had experienced in the desert (chap. viii.), and on the other hand to the frequency with which they had rebelled against their God (chap. ix. 1–x. 11), they were to beware of self-exaltation and self-righteousness, that in the land of Canaan, of which they were about to take possession, they might not forget their God when enjoying the rich productions of the land, but might retain the blessings of their God for ever by a faithful observance of the covenant (chap. x. 12–xi. 32). Then after this there follows an exposition of the different commandments of the law (chap. xii.–xxvi.).

Chap. iv. 44–49. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DISCOURSE UPON THE LAW.—First of all, in ver. 44, we have the general notice in the form of a heading: “*This is the Thorah which Moses set before the children of Israel;*” and then, in vers. 45, 46, a fuller description of the *Thorah* according to its leading features, “*testimonies, statutes, and rights*” (see at ver. 1), together with a notice of the place and time at which Moses delivered this address. “*On their coming out of Egypt,*” i.e. not “after they had come out,” but during the march, before they had reached the goal of their journeyings, viz. (ver. 46) when they were still on the other side of the Jordan. “*In the valley,*” as in chap. iii. 29. “*In the land of Sihon,*” and therefore already upon ground which the Lord had given them for a possession. The importance of this possession as the first-fruit and pledge

of the fulfilment of the further promises of God, led Moses to mention again, though briefly, the defeat of the two kings of the Amorites, together with the conquest of their land, just as he had done before in chap. ii. 32-36 and iii. 1-17. On ver. 48, cf. chap. iii. 9, 12-17. *Sion*, for *Hermon* (see at chap. iii. 9).

A. THE TRUE ESSENCE OF THE LAW AND ITS FULFILMENT.

Exposition of the Decalogue, and its Promulgation.—Chap. v.

The exposition of the law commences with a repetition of the ten words of the covenant, which were spoken to all Israel directly by the Lord Himself.—Vers. 1-5 form the introduction, and point out the importance and great significance of the exposition which follows. Hence, instead of the simple sentence “*And Moses said,*” we have the more formal statement “*And Moses called all Israel, and said to them.*” The great significance of the laws and rights about to be set before them, consisted in the fact that they contained the covenant of Jehovah with Israel.—Vers. 2, 3. “*Jehovah our God made a covenant with us in Horeb; not with our fathers, but with ourselves, who are all of us here alive this day.*” The “fathers” are neither those who died in the wilderness, as *Augustine* supposed, nor the forefathers in Egypt, as *Calvin* imagined; but the patriarchs, as in chap. iv. 37. Moses refers to the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, which was essentially distinct from the covenant made with Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), though the latter laid the foundation for the Sinaitic covenant. But Moses passed over this, as it was not his intention to trace the historical development of the covenant relation, but simply to impress upon the hearts of the existing generation the significance of its entrance into covenant with the Lord. The generation, it is true, with which God made the covenant at Horeb, had all died out by that time, with the exception of Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, and only lived in the children, who, though in part born in Egypt, were all under twenty years of age at the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, and therefore were not among the persons with whom the Lord concluded the covenant. But the covenant was made not with the particular individuals who were then alive, but rather with the nation as an organic whole. Hence Moses could with perfect justice identify those who constituted the nation at that time, with those who had entered into covenant with the Lord at Sinai. The separate

pronoun (*we*) is added to the pronominal suffix for the sake of emphasis, just as in Gen. iv. 26, etc.; and אֵלָּה again is so connected with אֲנִי, as to include the relative in itself.—Ver. 4. “*Jehovah talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire,*” i.e. He came as near to you as one person to another. פָּנִים אֶל פָּנִים is not perfectly synonymous with פָּנִים בְּפָנִים, which is used in Ex. xxxiii. 11 with reference to God’s speaking to Moses (cf. chap. xxxiv. 10, and Gen. xxxii. 31), and expresses the very confidential relation in which the Lord spoke to Moses as one friend to another; whereas the former simply denotes the directness with which Jehovah spoke to the people.—Before repeating the ten words which the Lord addressed directly to the people, Moses introduces the following remark in ver. 5—“*I stood between Jehovah and you at that time, to announce to you the word of Jehovah; because ye were afraid of the fire, and went not up into the mount*”—for the purpose of showing the mediatorial position which he occupied between the Lord and the people, not so much at the proclamation of the ten words of the covenant, as in connection with the conclusion of the covenant generally, which alone in fact rendered the conclusion of the covenant possible at all, on account of the alarm of the people at the awful manifestation of the majesty of the Lord. The word of Jehovah, which Moses as mediator had to announce to the people, had reference not to the instructions which preceded the promulgation of the decalogue (Ex. xix. 11 sqq.), but, as is evident from vers. 22–31, primarily to the further communications which the Lord was about to address to the nation in connection with the conclusion of the covenant, besides the ten words (viz. Ex. xx. 18, 22–xxiii. 33), to which in fact the whole of the Sinaitic legislation really belongs, as being the further development of the covenant laws. The alarm of the people at the fire is more fully described in vers. 25 sqq. The word “*saying*” at the end of ver. 5 is dependent upon the word “*talked*” in ver. 4; ver. 5 simply containing a parenthetical remark.

In vers. 6–21, the ten covenant words are repeated from Ex. xx., with only a few variations, which have already been discussed in connection with the exposition of the decalogue at Ex. xx. 1–14.—In vers. 22–33, Moses expounds still further the short account in Ex. xx. 18–21, viz. that after the people had heard the ten covenant words, in their alarm at the awful phenomena in which the Lord revealed His glory, they entreated him to stand between as mediator, that God Himself might not speak to them any further, and that

they might not die, and then promised that they would hearken to all that the Lord should speak to him (vers. 23-31). His purpose in doing so was to link on the exhortation in vers. 32, 33, to keep all the commandments of the Lord and do them, which paves the way for passing to the exposition of the law which follows. "*A great voice*" (ver. 22) is an adverbial accusative, signifying "*with a great voice*" (cf. *Ges.* § 118, 3). "*And He added no more:*" as in Num. xi. 25. God spoke the ten words directly to the people, and then no more; *i.e.* everything further He addressed to Moses alone, and through his mediation to the people. As mediator He gave him the two tables of stone, upon which He had written the decalogue (cf. Ex. xxxi. 18). This statement somewhat forestalls the historical course; and in chap. ix. 10, 11, it is repeated again in its proper historical connection.—Vers. 24-27 contain a rhetorical, and at the same time really a more exact, account of the events described in Ex. xx. 18-20 (15-17), and already expounded in vol. ii. p. 125. וַיִּשְׁמַע (ver. 24), a contraction of וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ, as in Num. xi. 15 (cf. *Ewald*, § 184, *a.*). Jehovah's reply to the words of the people (vers. 28-31) is passed over in Ex. xx. God approved of what the people said, because it sprang from a consciousness of the unworthiness of any sinner to come into the presence of the holy God; and He added, "Would that there were always this heart in them to fear Me," *i.e.* would that they were always of the same mind to fear Me and keep all My commandments, that it might be well with them and their children for ever. He then directed the people to return to their tents, and appointed Moses as the mediator, to whom He would address all the law, that he might teach it to the people (cf. chap. iv. 5). Having been thus entreated by the people to take the office of mediator, and appointed to that office by the Lord, Moses could very well bring his account of these events to a close (vers. 32, 33), by exhorting them to observe carefully all the commandments of the Lord, and not to turn aside to the right hand or to the left, *i.e.* not to depart in any way from the mode of life pointed out in the commandments (cf. chap. xvii. 11, 20, xxviii. 14; Josh. i. 7, etc.), that it might be well with them, etc. (cf. chap. iv. 40). וְיָטִב, perfect with וְ rel. instead of the imperfect.

On loving Jehovah, the one God, with all the Heart.—Chap. vi.

Vers. 1-3. Announcement of the commandments which follow, with a statement of the reason for communicating them, and the beneficent results of their observance. כִּי־יִצְוֶה, that which is com-

manded, *i.e.* the substance of all that Jehovah had commanded, synonymous therefore with the *Thorah* (chap. iv. 44). The words, “*the statutes and the rights*,” are explanatory of and in apposition to “*the commandment*.” These commandments Moses was to teach the Israelites to keep in the land which they were preparing to possess (cf. chap. iv. 1).—Ver. 2. The reason for communicating the law was to awaken the fear of God (cf. chap. iv. 10, v. 26), and, in fact, such fear of Jehovah as would show itself at all times in the observance of every commandment. “*Thou and thy son* :” this forms the subject to “*thou mightest fear*,” and is placed at the end for the sake of emphasis. The *Hiphil* הִאָרִיךְ has not the transitive meaning, “to make long,” as in chap. v. 30, but the intransitive, to *last long*, as in chap. v. 16, Ex. xx. 12, etc.—Ver. 3. The maintenance of the fear of God would bring prosperity, and the increase of the nation promised to the fathers. In form this thought is not connected with ver. 3 as the apodosis, but it is appended to the leading thought in ver. 1 by the words, “*Hear therefore, O Israel!*” which correspond to the expression “*to teach you*” in ver. 1. אָשֶׁר, *that, in order that* (as in chap. ii. 25, iv. 10, etc.). The increase of the nation had been promised to the patriarchs from the very first (Gen. xii. 1; see vol. i. p. 193; cf. Lev. xxvi. 9).—On “*milk and honey*,” see at Ex. iii. 8.

Vers. 4–9. With ver. 4 the burden of the law commences, which is not a new law added to the ten commandments, but simply the development and unfolding of the covenant laws and rights enclosed as a germ in the decalogue, simply an exposition of the law, as had already been announced in chap. i. 5. The exposition commences with an explanation and enforcing of the first commandment. There are two things contained in it: (1) that Jehovah is the one absolute God; (2) that He requires love with all the heart, all the soul, and all the strength. “*Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.*”¹ This does not mean Jehovah is one God, Jehovah alone (*Abenezra*), for in that case יְהוָה יְהוָה would be used instead of יְהוָה אֶחָד; still less Jehovah our God, namely, Jehovah is one (*J. H. Michaelis*).

¹ On the *majuscula* ע and ד in שָׁמַע and אֶחָד, *R. Bochin* has this remark: “It is possible to confess one God with the mouth, although the heart is far from Him. For this reason ע and ד are *majuscula*, from which with *tsere* subscribed the word עֵד, ‘a witness,’ is formed, that every one may know, when he professes the unity of God, that his heart ought to be engaged, and free from every other thought, because God is a *witness* and knows all things” (*J. H. Mich. Bibl. Hebr.*).

יהוה אחד together form the predicate of the sentence. The idea is not, Jehovah our God is one (the only) God, but “*one* (or the only) *Jehovah* :” not in this sense, however, that “He has not adopted one mode of revelation or appearance here and another there, but one mode only, viz. the revelation which Israel had received” (*Schultz*) ; for *Jehovah* never denotes merely a mode in which the true God is revealed or appears, but God as the absolute, unconditioned, or God according to the absolute independence and constancy of His actions (see vol. i. pp. 72-5). Hence what is predicated here of Jehovah (*Jehovah one*) does not relate to the unity of God, but simply states that it is to Him alone that the name *Jehovah* rightfully belongs, that He is the one absolute God, to whom no other *Elohim* can be compared. This is also the meaning of the same expression in Zech. xiv. 9, where the words added, “and His name one,” can only signify that in the future Jehovah would be acknowledged as the one absolute God, as King over all the earth. This clause not merely precludes polytheism, but also syncretism, which reduces the one absolute God to a national deity, a Baal (Hos. ii. 18), and in fact every form of theism and deism, which creates for itself a supreme God according to philosophical abstractions and ideas. For Jehovah, although the absolute One, is not an abstract notion like “absolute being” or “the absolute idea,” but the absolutely living God, as He made Himself known in His deeds in Israel for the salvation of the whole world.—Ver. 5. As the one God, therefore, Israel was to love Jehovah its God with all its heart, with all its soul, and with all its strength. The motive for this is to be found in the words “thy God,” in the fact that Jehovah was Israel’s God, and had manifested Himself to it as one God. The demand “with all the heart” excludes all half-heartedness, all division of the heart in its love. The heart is mentioned first, as the seat of the emotions generally and of love in particular ; then follows the soul (*nephesh*) as the centre of personality in man, to depict the love as pervading the entire self-consciousness ; and to this is added, “with all the strength,” *sc.* of body and soul. Loving the Lord with all the heart and soul and strength is placed at the head, as the spiritual principle from which the observance of the commandments was to flow (see also chap. xi. 1, xxx. 6). It was in love that the fear of the Lord (chap. x. 12), hearkening to His commandments (chap. xi. 13), and the observance of the whole law (chap. xi. 22), were to be manifested ; but love itself was to be shown by walking in all the ways of the Lord (chap. xi. 22, xix.

9, xxx. 16). Christ therefore calls the command to love God with all the heart "the first and great commandment," and places on a par with this the commandment contained in Lev. xix. 8 to love one's neighbour as oneself, and then observes that on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets (Matt. xxii. 37-40; Mark xii. 29-31; Luke x. 27).¹ Even the gospel knows no higher commandment than this. The distinction between the new covenant and the old consists simply in this, that the love of God which the gospel demands of its professors, is more intensive and cordial than that which the law of Moses demanded of the Israelites, according to the gradual unfolding of the love of God Himself, which was displayed in a much grander and more glorious form in the gift of His only begotten Son for our redemption, than in the redemption of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt.—Vers. 6 sqq. But for the love of God to be of the right kind, the commandments of God must be laid to heart, and be the constant subject of thought and conversation. "*Upon thine heart:*" *i.e.* the commandments of God were to be an affair of the heart, and not merely of the memory (cf. chap. xi. 18). They were to be enforced upon the children, talked of at home and by the way, in the evening on lying down and in the morning on rising up, *i.e.* everywhere and at all times; they were to be bound upon the hand for a sign, and worn as bands (frontlets) between the eyes (see at Ex. xiii. 16). As these words are figurative, and denote an undeviating observance of the divine commands, so also the commandment which follows, viz. to write the words upon the door-posts of the house, and also upon the gates, are to be understood spiritually; and the literal fulfilment of such a command could only be a praiseworthy custom or well-pleasing to God when resorted to as the means of keeping the commandments of God constantly before the eye. The precept itself, however, presupposes the existence of this custom, which is not only met with in the Mahometan countries of the East at the

¹ In quoting this commandment, Matthew (xxii. 37) has substituted *διάνοια*, "thy mind," for "thy strength," as being of especial importance to spiritual love, whereas in the LXX. the mind (*διάνοια*) is substituted for the heart. Mark (xii. 30) gives the triad of Deuteronomy (*heart, soul, and strength*); but he has inserted "*mind*" (*διάνοια*) before strength (*ισχύς*), whilst in ver. 33 the *understanding* (*σύνεσις*) is mentioned between the heart and the soul. Lastly, Luke has given the three ideas of the original passage quite correctly, but has added at the end, "and with all thy mind" (*διάνοια*). Although the term *διάνοια* (mind) originated with the Septuagint, not one of the Evangelists has adhered strictly to this version.

present day (cf. *A. Russell, Naturgesch. v. Aleppo*, i. p. 36; *Lane, Sitten u. Gebr.* i. pp. 6, 13, ii. p. 71), but was also a common custom in ancient Egypt (cf. *Wilkinson, Manners and Customs*, vol. ii. p. 102).¹

Vers. 10-19. To the positive statement of the command there is attached, in the next place, the negative side, or a warning against the danger to which prosperity and an abundance of earthly goods so certainly expose, viz. of forgetting the Lord and His manifestations of mercy. The Israelites were all the more exposed to this danger, as their entrance into Canaan brought them into the possession of all the things conducive to well-being, in which the land abounded, without being under the necessity of procuring these things by the labour of their own hands;—into the possession, namely, of great and beautiful towns which they had not built, of houses full of all kinds of good things which they had not filled, of wells ready made which they had not dug, of vineyards and olive-plantations which they had not planted.—The nouns עָרִים, etc. are formally dependent upon לָהֶם, and serve as a detailed description of the land into which the Lord was about to lead His people.—Ver. 12. “*House of bondage*,” as in Ex. xiii. 3. “*Not forgetting*” is described from a positive point of view, as fearing God, *serving Him*, and *swearing by His name*. Fear is placed first, as the fundamental characteristic of the Israelitish worship of God; it was no slavish fear, but simply the holy awe of a sinner before the holy God, which includes love rather than excludes it. “Fearing” is a matter of the heart; “serving,” a matter of working and striving; and “swearing in His name,” the practical manifestation of the worship of God in word and conversation. It refers not merely to a solemn oath before a judicial court, but rather to asseverations on oath in the ordinary intercourse of life, by which the religious attitude of a man involuntarily reveals itself.—Vers. 14 sqq. The worship of Jehovah not only precludes all idolatry, which the Lord, as a jealous God, will not endure (see at Ex. xx. 5), but will punish with destruction from the earth (“the face of the ground,” as in Ex. xxxii. 12); but it also excludes tempting the Lord by an

¹ The Jewish custom of the *Medusah* is nothing but a formal and outward observance founded upon this command. It consists in writing the words of Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-20 upon a piece of parchment, which is then placed upon the top of the doorway of houses and rooms, enclosed in a wooden box; this box they touch with the finger and then kiss the finger on going either out or in. *S. Buxtorf, Synag. Jud.* pp. 582 sqq.; and *Bodenschatz, Kirchl. Verfassung der Juden*, iv. pp. 19 sqq.

unbelieving murmuring against God, if He does not remove any kind of distress immediately, as the people had already sinned at Massah, *i.e.* at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 1-7).—Vers. 17-19. They were rather to observe all His commandments diligently, and do what was right and good in His eyes. The infinitive *לַהֲרֹף וְגו'* contains the further development of *לְמַעַן יִיטַב וְגו'*: “*so that He (Jehovah) thrust out all thine enemies before thee, as He hath spoken*” (*viz.* Ex. xxiii. 27 sqq., xxxiv. 11).

In vers. 20-25, the teaching to the children, which is only briefly hinted at in ver. 7, is more fully explained. The Israelites were to instruct their children and descendants as to the nature, meaning, and object of the commandments of the Lord; and in reply to the inquiries of their sons, to teach them what the Lord had done for the redemption of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt, and how He had brought them into the promised land, and thus to awaken in the younger generation love to the Lord and to His commandments. The “*great and sore miracles*” (ver. 22) were the Egyptian plagues, like *מִפְתִּים*, in chap. iv. 34.—“*To fear,*” etc., *i.e.* that we might fear the Lord.—Ver. 25. “*And righteousness will be to us, if we observe to do:*” *i.e.* our righteousness will consist in the observance of the law; we shall be regarded and treated by God as righteous, if we are diligent in the observance of the law. “*Before Jehovah*” refers primarily, no doubt, to the expression, “to do all these commandments;” but, as we may see from chap. xxiv. 13, this does not prevent the further reference to the “righteousness” also. This righteousness before Jehovah, it is true, is not really the gospel “righteousness of faith;” but there is no opposition between the two, as the righteousness mentioned here is not founded upon the outward (pharisaic) righteousness of works, but upon an earnest striving after the fulfilment of the law, to love God with all the heart; and this love is altogether impossible without living faith.

Command to destroy the Canaanites and their Idolatry.—Chap. vii.

Vers. 1-11. As the Israelites were warned against idolatry in chap. vi. 14, so here are they exhorted to beware of the false tolerance of sparing the Canaanites and enduring their idolatry.—Vers. 1-5. When the Lord drove out the tribes of Canaan before the Israelites, and gave them up to them and smote them, they were to put them under the ban (see at Lev. xxvii. 28), to make no treaty with them, and to contract no marriage with them. *נָשַׁל*, to draw out, to cast away, *e.g.* the sandals (Ex. iii. 5); here and ver. 22 it

signifies to draw out, or drive out a nation from its country and possessions: it occurs in this sense in the *Piel* in 2 Kings xvi. 6. On the Canaanitish tribes, see at Gen. x. 15 sqq. and xv. 20, 21. There are seven of them mentioned here, as in Josh. iii. 10 and xxiv. 11; on the other hand, there are only six in chap. xx. 17, as in Ex. iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, and xxxiii. 2, the Girgashites being omitted. The prohibition against making a covenant, as in Ex. xxiii. 32 and xxxiv. 12, and that against marrying, as in Ex. xxxiv. 16, where the danger of the Israelites being drawn away to idolatry is mentioned as a still further reason for these commands. *בִּי יִסֵּר*, “for he (the Canaanite) will cause thy son to turn away from behind me,” i.e. tempt him away from following me, “to serve other gods.” Moses says “from following me,” because he is speaking in the name of Jehovah. The consequences of idolatry, as in chap. vi. 15, iv. 26, etc.—Ver. 5. The Israelites were rather to destroy the altars and idols of the Canaanites, according to the command in Ex. xxxiv. 13, xxiii. 24.—Vers. 6-8. They were bound to do this by virtue of their election as a holy nation, the nation of possession, which Jehovah had singled out from all other nations, and brought out of the bondage of Egypt, not because of its greatness, but from love to them, and for the sake of the oath given to the fathers. This exalted honour Israel was not to cast away by apostasy from the Lord. It was founded upon the word of the Lord in Ex. xix. 5, 6, which Moses brought to the recollection of the people, and expressly and emphatically developed. “Not because of your multitude before all nations (because ye were more numerous than all other nations) hath Jehovah turned to you in love (*וַיִּשָּׂק*, to bind oneself with, to hang upon a person, out of love), for ye are the littleness of all nations” (the least numerous). Moses could say this to Israel with reference to its descent from Abraham, whom God chose as the one man out of all the world, whilst nations, states, and kingdoms had already been formed all around (*Baumgarten*). “But because Jehovah loved you, and kept His oath which He had sworn to the fathers, He hath brought you out,” etc. Instead of saying, He hath chosen you out of love to your fathers, as in chap. iv. 37, Moses brings out in this place love to the people of Israel as the divine motive, not for choosing Israel, but for leading it out and delivering it from the slave-house of Egypt, by which God had practically carried out the election of the people, that He might thereby allure the Israelites to a reciprocity of love.—Vers. 9-11. By this was Israel to know that Jehovah their God was the true

God, the faithful God, who keeps His covenant, showing mercy to those who love Him, even to the thousandth generation, but repaying those who hate Him to the face. This development of the nature of God Moses introduces from Ex. xx. 5, 6, as a light warning not to forfeit the mercy of God, or draw upon themselves His holy wrath by falling into idolatry. To this end He emphatically carries out still further the thought of retribution, by adding לְהַאֲבִידוֹ, “to destroy him” (the hater), and לֹא יִאֲתֶר וְגוֹ, “He delays not to His hater (*sc.* to repay him); He will repay him to his face.” “To the face of every one of them,” *i.e.* that they may see and feel that they are smitten by God (*Rosenmüller*).—Ver. 11. This energy of the grace and holiness of the faithful covenant God was a powerful admonition to keep the divine commandments.

Vers. 12–26. The observance of these commandments would also bring great blessings (vers. 12–16). “If ye hearken to these demands of right” (*mishpatim*) of the covenant Lord upon His covenant people, and keep them and do them, “Jehovah will keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which He hath sworn to thy fathers.” In עָקַב, for עָקַב אֲשֶׁר (Gen. xxii. 18), there is involved not only the idea of reciprocity, but everywhere also an allusion to reward or punishment (*cf.* chap. viii. 20; Num. xiv. 24). חֶסֶד was the favour displayed in the promises given to the patriarchs on oath (Gen. xxii. 16).—Ver. 13. This mercy flowed from the love of God to Israel, and the love was manifested in blessing and multiplying the people. The blessing is then particularized, by a further expansion of Ex. xxiii. 25–27, as a blessing upon the fruit of the body, the fruits of the field and soil, and the rearing of cattle. יִשְׁרָ, see Ex. xiii. 12. עֲשֹׂתָיִת צֶאֱן only occurs again in Deut. xxviii. 4, 18, 51, and certainly signifies the young increase of the flocks. It is probably a Canaanitish word, derived from Ashtoreth (*Astharte*), the female deity of the Canaanites, which was regarded as the conceiving and birth-giving principle of nature, literally *Veneres*, *i.e.* *amores gregis*, hence *soboles* (*Ges.*); just as the Latin poets employ the name *Ceres* to signify the corn, *Venus* for love and sexual intercourse, and *Lucina* for birth. On vers. 14 and 15, see Ex. xxiii. 26. In ver. 15, the promise of the preservation of Israel from all diseases (Ex. xv. 26, and xxiii. 25) is strengthened by the addition of the clause, “all the evil diseases of Egypt,” by which, according to chap. xxviii. 27, we are probably to understand chiefly the malignant species of leprosy called elephantiasis, and possibly also the plague and other malignant forms of disease. In Egypt,

diseases for the most part readily assume a very dangerous character. *Pliny* (*h. n.* xxvi. 1) calls Egypt the *genitrix* of contagious pestilence, and modern naturalists have confirmed this (see *Hengstenberg*, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 215; and *Pruner*, *Krankheiten des Orients*, pp. 460 sqq.). Diseases of this kind the Lord would rather bring upon the enemies of Israel. The Israelites, on the other hand, should be so strong and vigorous, that they would devour, *i.e.* exterminate, all the nations which their God would give into their hands (cf. Num. xiv. 9). With this thought Moses reverts with emphasis to the command to root out the Canaanites without reserve, and not to serve their gods, because they would become a snare to them (see Ex. x. 7); and then in vers. 17-26 he carries out still further the promise in Ex. xxiii. 27-30 of the successful subjugation of the Canaanites through the assistance of the Lord, and sweeps away all the objections that a weak faith might raise to the execution of the divine command.—Vers. 17-26. To suppress the thought that was rising up in their heart, how could it be possible for them to destroy these nations which were more numerous than they, the Israelites were to remember what the Lord had done in Egypt and to Pharaoh, namely, the great temptations, signs, and wonders connected with their deliverance from Egypt (cf. chap. iv. 34 and vi. 22). He would do just the same to the Canaanites.—Ver. 20. He would also send hornets against them, as He had already promised in Ex. xxiii. 28 (see the passage), until all that were left and had hidden themselves should have utterly perished.—Vers. 21 sqq. Israel had no need to be afraid of them, as Jehovah was in the midst of it a mighty God and terrible. He would drive out the nations, but only gradually, as He had already declared to Moses in Ex. xxiii. 30, 31, and would smite them with great confusion, till they were destroyed, as was the case for example at Gibeon (Josh. x. 10; cf. Ex. xxiii. 27, where the form הָמָם is used instead of הוּם), and would also deliver their kings into the hand of Israel, so that their names should vanish under the heaven (cf. chap. ix. 14, xxv. 19; and for the fulfilment, Josh. x. 22 sqq., xi. 12, xii. 7-24). No one would be able to stand before Israel.—Ver. 24. “*To stand before thee:*” *lit.* to put oneself in the face of a person, so as to withstand him. הַשְׁמִיר for הַשְׁמִיר, as in Lev. xiv. 43, etc.—Vers. 25, 26. Trusting to this promise, the Israelites were to burn up the idols of the Canaanites, and not to desire the silver and gold upon them (with which the statues were overlaid: see vol. ii. p. 222), or take it to themselves, lest they should be snared in it, *i.e.* lest the silver and

gold should become a snare to them. It would become so, not from any danger lest they should practise idolatry with it, but because silver and gold which had been used in connection with idolatrous worship was an abomination to Jehovah, which the Israelites were not to bring into their houses, lest they themselves should fall under the ban, to which all the objects connected with idolatry were devoted, as the history of Achan in Josh. vii. clearly proves. For this reason, any such abomination was to be abhorred, and destroyed by burning or grinding to powder (cf. Ex. xxxii. 20; 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5; 2 Chron. xv. 16).

Review of the Guidance of God, and their Humiliation in the Desert, as a Warning against Highmindedness and Forgetfulness of God.
—Chap. viii.

Vers. 1–6. In addition to the danger of being drawn aside to transgress the covenant, by sparing the Canaanites and their idols out of pusillanimous compassion and false tolerance, the Israelites would be especially in danger, after their settlement in Canaan, of falling into pride and forgetfulness of God, when enjoying the abundant productions of that land. To guard against this danger, Moses set before them how the Lord had sought to lead and train them to obedience by temptations and humiliations during their journey through the desert. In order that his purpose in doing this might be clearly seen, he commenced (ver. 1) with the renewed admonition to keep the whole law which he commanded them that day, that they might live and multiply and attain to the possession of the promised land (cf. chap. iv. 1, vi. 3).—Ver. 2. To this end they were to remember the forty years' guidance through the wilderness (chap. i. 31, ii. 7), by which God desired to humble them, and to prove the state of their heart and their obedience. Humiliation was the way to prove their attitude towards God. עָנָה, to *humble*, i.e. to bring them by means of distress and privations to feel their need of help and their dependence upon God. נִסָּה, to *prove*, by placing them in such positions in life as would drive them to reveal what was in their heart, viz. whether they believed in the omnipotence, love, and righteousness of God, or not.—Ver. 3. The humiliation in the desert consisted not merely in the fact that God let the people hunger, i.e. be in want of bread and their ordinary food, but also in the fact that He fed them with manna, which was unknown to them and their fathers (cf. Ex. xvi. 16 sqq.). Feeding with manna is called a humiliation, inasmuch as God intended to

show to the people through this food, which had previously been altogether unknown to them, that man does not live by bread alone, that the power to sustain life does not rest upon bread only (Isa. xxxviii. 16; Gen. xxvii. 40), or belong simply to it, but to all that goeth forth out of the mouth of Jehovah. That which "*proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah*" is not the word of the law, as the Rabbins suppose, but, as the word כָּל (all, every) shows, "*the word*" generally, the revealed will of God to preserve the life of man in whatever way (*Schultz*): hence all means designed and appointed by the Lord for the sustenance of life. In this sense Christ quotes these words in reply to the tempter (Matt. iv. 4), not to say to him, The Messiah lives not by (material) bread only, but by the fulfilment of the will of God (*Usteri, Ullmann*), or by trusting in the sustaining word of God (*Olshausen*); but that He left it to God to care for the sustenance of His life, as God could sustain His life in extraordinary ways, even without the common supplies of food, by the power of His almighty word and will.—Ver. 4. As the Lord provided for their nourishment, so did He also in a marvellous way for the clothing of His people during these forty years. "*Thy garment did not fall off thee through age, and thy foot did not swell.*" בָּלָה with מן, to fall off from age. פָּצַח only occurs again in Neh. ix. 21, where this passage is repeated. The meaning is doubtful. The word is certainly connected with פָּצַח (dough), and probably signifies to become soft or to swell, although פָּצַח is also used for unleavened dough. The Septuagint rendering here is ἐτυλώθησαν, to get hard skin; on the other hand, in Neh. ix. 21, we find the rendering ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν οὐ διεβράγχησαν, "their sandals were not worn out," from the parallel passage in Deut. xxix. 5. These words affirm something more than "clothes and shoes never failed you," inasmuch as ye always had wool, hides, leather, and other kinds of material in sufficient quantities for clothes and shoes, as not only *J. D. Michaelis* and others suppose, but *Calmet*, and even *Kurtz*. *Knobel* is quite correct in observing, that "this would be altogether too trivial a matter by the side of the miraculous supply of manna, and moreover that it is not involved in the expression itself, which rather affirms that their clothes did not wear out upon them, or fall in tatters from their backs, because God gave them a miraculous durability" (*Luther, Calvin, Baumgarten, Schultz*, etc.). At the same time, there is no necessity to follow some of the *Rabbins* and *Justin Martyr* (*dial. c. Tryph. c. 131*), who so magnify the miracle of divine providence,

as to maintain not only that the clothes of the Israelites did not get old, but that as the younger generation grew up their clothes also grew upon their backs, like the shells of snails. Nor is it necessary to shut out the different natural resources which the people had at their command for providing clothes and sandals, any more than the gift of manna precluded the use of such ordinary provisions as they were able to procure.—Ver. 5. In this way Jehovah humbled and tempted His people, that they might learn in their heart, *i.e.* convince themselves by experience, that their God was educating them as a father does his son. יָפַר, to admonish, chasten, educate; like παιδεύειν. “It includes everything belonging to a proper education” (*Calvin*).—Ver. 6. The design of this education was to train them to keep His commandments, that they might walk in His ways and fear Him (chap. vi. 24).

Vers. 7–20. The Israelites were to continue mindful of this paternal discipline on the part of their God, when the Lord should bring them into the good land of Canaan. This land Moses describes in vers. 8, 9, in contrast with the dry unfruitful desert, as a well-watered and very fruitful land, which yielded abundance of support to its inhabitants; a land of water-brooks, fountains, and floods (תְּהוֹמוֹת, see Gen. i. 2), which had their source (took their rise) in valleys and on mountains; a land of wheat and barley, of the vine, fig, and pomegranate, and full of oil and honey (see at Ex. iii. 8); lastly, a land “*in which thou shalt not eat (support thyself) in scarcity, and shalt not be in want of anything; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose mountains thou hewest brass.*” The stones are iron, *i.e.* ferruginous. This statement is confirmed by modern travellers, although the Israelites did not carry on mining, and do not appear to have obtained either iron or brass from their own land. The iron and brass which David collected such quantities for the building of the temple (1 Chron. xxii. 3, 14), he procured from *Betach* and *Berotai* (2 Sam. viii. 8), or *Tibchat* and *Kun* (1 Chron. xviii. 8), towns of Hadadezer, that is to say, from Syria. According to Ezek. xxvii. 19, however, the Danites brought iron-work to the market of Tyre. Not only do the springs near Tiberias contain iron (*v. Schubert*, R. iii. p. 239), whilst the soil at Hasbeya and the springs in the neighbourhood are also strongly impregnated with iron (*Burckhardt, Syrien*, p. 83), but in the southern mountains as well there are probably strata of iron between Jerusalem and Jericho (*Russeger*, R. iii. p. 250). But Lebanon especially abounds in iron-stone; iron mines and smelting

furnaces being found there in many places (*Volney*, Travels; *Burckhardt*, p. 73; *Seetzen*, i. pp. 145, 187 sqq., 237 sqq.). The basalt also, which occurs in great masses in northern Canaan by the side of the limestone, from the plain of Jezreel onwards (*Robinson*, iii. p. 313), and is very predominant in Bashan, is a ferruginous stone. Traces of extinct copper-works are also found upon Lebanon (*Volney*, Travels; *Ritter's Erdkunde*, xvii. p. 1063).—Vers. 10-18. But if the Israelites were to eat there and be satisfied, *i.e.* to live in the midst of plenty, they were to beware of forgetting their God; that when their prosperity—their possessions, in the form of lofty houses, cattle, gold and silver, and other good things—increased, their heart might not be lifted up, *i.e.* they might not become proud, and, forgetting their deliverance from Egypt and their miraculous preservation and guidance in the desert, ascribe the property they had acquired to their own strength and the work of their own hands. To keep the people from this danger of forgetting God, which follows so easily from the pride of wealth, Moses once more enumerates in vers. 14b-16 the manifestations of divine grace, their deliverance from Egypt the slave-house, their being led through the great and terrible desert, whose terrors he depicts by mentioning a series of noxious and even fatal things, such as snakes, burning snakes (*saraph*, see at Num. xxi. 6), scorpions, and the thirsty land where there was no water. The words from שָׁנָה, onwards, are attached rhetorically to what precedes by simple apposition, without any logically connecting particle; though it will not do to overlook entirely the rhetorical form of the enumeration, and supply the preposition בְּ before שָׁנָה and the words which follow, to say nothing of the fact that it would be quite out of character before these nouns in the singular, as a whole people could not go through one serpent, etc. In this parched land the Lord brought the people water out of the flinty rock, the hardest stone, and fed them with manna, to humble them and tempt them (cf. ver. 2), in order (this was the ultimate intention of all the humiliation and trial) “to do thee good at thy latter end.” The “latter end” of any one is “the time which follows some distinct point in his life, particularly an important epoch-making point, and which may be regarded as the end by contrast, the time before that epoch being considered as the beginning” (*Schultz*). In this instance Moses refers to the period of their life in Canaan, in contrast with which the period of their sojourn in Egypt and their wandering in the desert is regarded as the beginning; consequently the expression does not relate to

death as the end of life, as in Num. xxiii. 10, although this allusion is not to be altogether excluded, as a blessed death is only the completion of a blessed life.—Like all the guidance of Israel by the Lord, what is stated here is applicable to all believers. It is through humiliations and trials that the Lord leads His people to blessedness. Through the desert of tribulation, anxiety, distress, and merciful interposition, He conducts them to Canaan, into the land of rest, where they are refreshed and satisfied in the full enjoyment of the blessings of His grace and salvation; but those alone who continue humble, not attributing the good fortune and prosperity to which they attain at last, to their own exertion, strength, perseverance, and wisdom, but gratefully enjoying this good as a gift of the grace of God. עָשָׂה חֵיל, to create property, to prosper in wealth (as in Num. xxiv. 18). God gave strength for this (ver. 18), not because of Israel's merit and worthiness, but to fulfil His promises which He had made on oath to the patriarchs. "*As this day,*" as was quite evident then, when the establishment of the covenant had already commenced, and Israel had come through the desert to the border of Canaan (see chap. iv. 20).—Vers. 19, 20. To strengthen his admonition, Moses pointed again in conclusion, as he had already done in chap. vi. 14 (cf. chap. iv. 25 sqq.), to the destruction which would come upon Israel through apostasy from its God.

Warning against Self-righteousness, founded upon the recital of their previous Sins.—Chap. ix.—x. 11.

Besides the more vulgar pride which entirely forgets God, and attributes success and prosperity to its own power and exertion, there is one of a more refined character, which very easily spreads—namely, pride which acknowledges the blessings of God; but instead of receiving them gratefully, as unmerited gifts of the grace of the Lord, sees in them nothing but proofs of its own righteousness and virtue. Moses therefore warned the Israelites more particularly of this dangerous enemy of the soul, by first of all declaring without reserve, that the Lord was not about to give them Canaan because of their own righteousness, but that He would exterminate the Canaanites for their own wickedness (vers. 1–6); and then showing them for their humiliation, by proofs drawn from the immediate past, how they had brought upon themselves the anger of the Lord, by their apostasy and rebellion against their God, directly after the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai; and that in such a way, that it was only by his earnest intercession that he had been able to prevent

the destruction of the people (vers. 7-24), and to secure a further renewal of the pledges of the covenant (ver. 25—chap. x. 11).

Vers. 1-6. Warning against a conceit of righteousness, with the occasion for the warning. As the Israelites were now about to cross over the Jordan ("this day," to indicate that the time was close at hand), to take possession of nations that were superior to them in size and strength (the tribes of Canaan mentioned in chap. vii. 1), and great fortified cities reaching to the heavens (cf. chap. i. 28), namely, the great and tall nation of the Enakites (chap. i. 28), before which, as was well known, no one could stand (הַתִּיַּצֵּב, as in chap. vii. 24); and as they also knew that Jehovah their God was going before them to destroy and humble these nations, they were not to say in their heart, when this was done, For my righteousness Jehovah hath brought me in to possess this land. In ver. 3, יִרְדֶּעָה הַיּוֹם is not to be taken in an imperative sense, but as expressive of the actual fact, and corresponding to ver. 1, "thou art to pass." Israel now knew for certain—namely, by the fact, which spoke so powerfully, of its having been successful against foes which it could never have conquered by itself, especially against Sihon and Og—that the Lord was going before it, as the leader and captain of His people (*Schultz*: see chap. i. 30). The threefold repetition of הוּא in ver. 3. is peculiarly emphatic. "*A consuming fire*:" as in chap. iv. 24. הוּא יִכְנִיעֵם וְגו' is more particularly defined by הַיִּשְׁמִיר, which follows: not, however, as implying that הַיִּשְׁמִיר does not signify complete destruction in this passage, but rather as explaining how the destruction would take place. Jehovah would destroy the Canaanites, by bringing them down, humbling them before Israel, so that they would be able to drive them out and destroy them quickly. "מֵהֵר, quickly, is no more opposed to chap. vii. 22, 'thou mayest not destroy them quickly,' than God's not delaying to requite (chap. vii. 10) is opposed to His long-suffering" (*Schultz*). So far as the almighty assistance of God was concerned, the Israelites would quickly overthrow the Canaanites; but for the sake of the well-being of Israel, the destruction would only take place by degrees. "*As Jehovah hath said unto thee*:" viz. Ex. xxiii. 23, 27 sqq., and at the beginning of the conflict, chap. ii. 24 sqq.—Ver. 4. When therefore Jehovah thrust out these nations before them (הִרְאֶה, as in chap. vi. 19), the Israelites were not to say within themselves, "*By (for, on account of) my righteousness Jehovah hath brought me (led me hither) to possess this land.*" The following word, וּבִרְשָׁעָתָם, is adversative: "*but because of the wickedness of these nations,*" etc.

—To impress this truth deeply upon the people, Moses repeats the thought once more in ver. 5. At the same time he mentions, in addition to righteousness, straightness or uprightness of heart, to indicate briefly that outward works do not constitute true righteousness, but that an upright state of heart is indispensable, and then enters more fully into the positive reasons. The wickedness of the Canaanites was no doubt a sufficient reason for destroying *them*, but not for giving their land to the people of Israel, since they could lay no claim to it on account of their own righteousness. The reason for giving Canaan to the Israelites was simply the promise of God, the word which the Lord had spoken to the patriarchs on oath (cf. chap. vii. 8), and therefore nothing but the free grace of God,—not any merit on the part of the Israelites who were then living, for they were a people “of a hard neck,” *i.e.* a stubborn, untractable generation. With these words, which the Lord Himself had applied to Israel in Ex. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5, Moses prepares the way for passing to the reasons for his warning against self-righteous pride, namely, the grievous sins of the Israelites against the Lord.

Vers. 7–24. He reminded the people how they had provoked the Lord in the desert, and had shown themselves rebellious against God, from the day of their departure from Egypt till their arrival in the steppes of Moab. אֲתֶּיְאָשֶׁר, for אֲשֶׁר, is the object to תִּשְׁבֹּחַ (Ewald, § 333, a.): “*how* thou hast provoked.” הִמָּרָה, generally with אֲתֶּיְאָשֶׁר (cf. chap. i. 26), to be rebellious against the commandment of the Lord: here with עַם, construed with a person, to deal rebelliously *with God*, to act rebelliously in relation to Him (cf. chap. xxxi. 27). The words, “*from the day that thou camest out,*” etc., are not to be pressed. It is to be observed, however, that the rebellion against the guidance of God commenced before they passed through the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 11). This general statement Moses then followed up with facts, first of all describing the worship of the calf at Horeb, according to its leading features (vers. 8–21), and then briefly pointing to the other rebellions of the people in the desert (vers. 22, 23).—Ver. 8. “*And indeed even in Horeb ye provoked Jehovah to wrath.*” By the *vav explic.* this sin is brought into prominence, as having been a specially grievous one. It was so because of the circumstances under which it was committed.—Vers. 9–12. When Moses went up the mountain, and stayed there forty days, entirely occupied with the holiest things, so that he neither ate nor drank, having gone up to receive the tables of the law, upon which the words were written with the finger of God,

just as the Lord had spoken them directly to the people out of the midst of the fire,—at a time, therefore, when the Israelites should also have been meditating deeply upon the words of the Lord which they had but just heard,—they acted so corruptly, as to depart at once from the way that had been pointed out, and make themselves a molten image (comp. Ex. xxxi. 18—xxxii. 6, with chaps. xxiv. 12—xxxi. 17). “*The day of the assembly,*” i.e. the day on which Moses gathered the people together before God (chap. iv. 10), calling them out of the camp, and bringing them to the Lord to the foot of Sinai (Ex. xix. 17). The construction of the sentence is this: the apodosis to “*when I was gone up*” commences with “*the Lord delivered unto me,*” in ver. 10; and the clause, “*then I abode,*” etc., in ver. 9, is a parenthesis.—The words of God in vers. 12–14 are taken almost word for word from Ex. xxxii. 7–10. הָרָרָה (ver. 14), the imperative Hiphil of רָפָה, desist from me, that I may destroy them, for הִנֵּנִיחָה לִּי, in Ex. xxxii. 10. But notwithstanding the apostasy of the people, the Lord gave Moses the tables of the covenant, not only that they might be a testimony of His holiness before the faithless nation, but still more as a testimony that, in spite of His resolution to destroy the rebellious nation, without leaving a trace behind, He would still uphold His covenant, and make of Moses a greater people. There is nothing at all to favour the opinion, that handing over the tables (ver. 11) was the first beginning of the manifestations of divine wrath (*Schultz*); and this is also at variance with the preterite, נָתַן, in ver. 11, from which it is very evident that the Lord had already given the tables to Moses, when He commanded him to go down quickly, not only to declare to the people the holiness of God, but to stop the apostasy, and by his mediatorial intervention to avert from the people the execution of the divine purpose. It is true, that when Moses came down and saw the idolatrous conduct of the people, he threw the two tables from his hands, and broke them in pieces before the eyes of the people (vers. 15–17; comp. with Ex. xxxii. 15–19), as a practical declaration that the covenant of the Lord was broken by their apostasy. But this act of Moses furnishes no proof that the Lord had given him the tables to declare His holy wrath in the sight of the people. And even if the tables of the covenant were “in a certain sense the indictments in Moses’ hands, accusing them of a capital crime” (*Schultz*), this was not the purpose for which God had given them to him. For if it had been, Moses would not have broken them in pieces, destroying, as it were, the indictments themselves, before

the people had been tried. Moses passed over the fact, that even before coming down from the mountain he endeavoured to mitigate the wrath of the Lord by his intercession (Ex. xxxii. 11-14), and simply mentioned (in vers. 15-17) how, as soon as he came down, he charged the people with their great sin; and then, in vers. 18, 19, how he spent another forty days upon the mountain fasting before God, on account of this sin, until he had averted the destructive wrath of the Lord from Israel, through his earnest intercession. The forty days that Moses spent upon the mountain, "*as at the first,*" in prayer before the Lord, are the days mentioned in Ex. xxxiv. 28 as having been passed upon Sinai for the perfect restoration of the covenant, and for the purpose of procuring the second tables (cf. chap. x. 1 sqq.).—Ver. 20. It was not from the people only, but from Aaron also, that Moses averted the wrath of God through his intercession, when it was about to destroy him. In the historical account in Ex. xxxii., there is no special reference to this intercession, as it is included in the intercession for the whole nation. On the present occasion, however, Moses gave especial prominence to this particular feature, not only that he might make the people thoroughly aware that at that time Israel could not even boast of the righteousness of its eminent men (cf. Isa. xliii. 27), but also to bring out the fact, which is described still more fully in chap. x. 6 sqq., that Aaron's investiture with the priesthood, and the maintenance of this institution, was purely a work of divine grace. It is true that at that time Aaron was not yet high priest; but he had been placed at the head of the nation in connection with *Hur*, as the representative of Moses (Ex. xxiv. 14), and was already designated by God for the high-priesthood (Ex. xxviii. 1). The fact, however, that Aaron had drawn upon himself the wrath of God in a very high degree, was intimated plainly enough in what Moses told him in Ex. xxxii. 21.—In ver. 21, Moses mentions again how he destroyed that manifested sin of the nation, namely, the molten calf (see at Ex. xxxii. 20).—Vers. 22-24. And it was not on this occasion only, viz. at Horeb, that Israel aroused the anger of the Lord its God by its sin, but it did so again and again at other places: at Taberah, by discontent at the guidance of God (Num. xi. 1-3); at Massah, by murmuring on account of the want of water (Ex. xvii. 1 sqq.); at the graves of lust, by longing for flesh (Num. xi. 4 sqq.); and at Kadesh-Barnea by unbelief, of which they had already been reminded at chap. i. 26 sqq. The list is not arranged chronologically, but advances gradually from the smaller

to the more serious forms of guilt. For Moses was seeking to sharpen the consciences of the people, and to impress upon them the fact that they had been rebellious against the Lord (see at ver. 7) from the very beginning, "from the day that I knew you."

Vers. 25-29. After vindicating in this way the thought expressed in ver. 7, by enumerating the principal rebellions of the people against their God, Moses returns in vers. 25 sqq. to the apostasy at Sinai, for the purpose of showing still further how Israel had no righteousness or ground for boasting before God, and owed its preservation, with all the saving blessings of the covenant, solely to the mercy of God and His covenant faithfulness. To this end he repeats in vers. 26-29 the essential points in his intercession for the people after their sin at Sinai, and then proceeds to explain still further, in chap. x. 1-11, how the Lord had not only renewed the tables of the covenant in consequence of this intercession (vers. 1-5), but had also established the gracious institution of the priesthood for the time to come by appointing Eleazar in Aaron's stead as soon as his father died, and setting apart the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant and attend to the holy service, and had commanded them to continue their march to Canaan, and take possession of the land promised to the fathers (vers. 6-11). With the words "thus I fell down," in ver. 25, Moses returns to the intercession already briefly mentioned in ver. 18, and recalls to the recollection of the people the essential features of his plea at that time. For the words "*the forty days and nights that I fell down,*" see at chap. i. 46. The substance of the intercession in vers. 26-29 is essentially the same as that in Ex. xxxii. 11-13; but given with such freedom as any other than Moses would hardly have allowed himself (*Schultz*), and in such a manner as to bring it into the most obvious relation to the words of God in vers. 12, 13. אֶל-תִּשְׁחָח, "*Destroy not Thy people and Thine inheritance,*" says Moses, with reference to the words of the Lord to him: "*thy people have corrupted themselves*" (ver. 12). Israel was not Moses' nation, but the nation and inheritance of Jehovah; it was not Moses, but Jehovah, who had brought it out of Egypt. True, the people were stiffnecked (cf. ver. 13); but let the Lord remember the fathers, the oath given to Abraham, which is expressly mentioned in Ex. xxxii. 13 (see at chap. vii. 8), and not turn to the stiffneckedness of the people (קִשָּׁה עֲרִי equivalent to קִשָּׁה עֲרִי, vers. 13 and 6), and to their wickedness and sin (*i.e.* not regard them and punish them). The honour of the Lord before the nations was concerned in this

(ver. 28). The land whence Israel came out ("the land" = the people of the land, as in Gen. x. 25, etc., viz. the Egyptians: the word is construed as a collective with a plural verb) must not have occasion to say, that Jehovah had not led His people into the promised land from incapacity or hatred. מִבְּלִי יָבֵלֶת recalls Num. xiv. 16. Just as "inability" would be opposed to the nature of the absolute God, so "hatred" would be opposed to the choice of Israel as the inheritance of Jehovah, which He had brought out of Egypt by His divine and almighty power (cf. Ex. vi. 6).

Chap. x. 1-11. In vers. 1-5 Moses briefly relates the success of his earnest intercession. "*At that time,*" of his intercession, God commanded him to hew out new tables, and prepare an ark in which to keep them (cf. Ex. xxxiv. 1 sqq.). Here again Moses links together such things as were substantially connected, without strictly confining himself to the chronological order, which was already well known from the historical account, inasmuch as this was not required by the general object of his address. God had already given directions for the preparation of the ark of the covenant, before the apostasy of the nation (Ex. xxv. 10 sqq.); but it was not made till after the tabernacle had been built, and the tables were only deposited in the ark when the tabernacle was consecrated (Ex. xl. 20).—Vers. 6 and 7. And the Israelites owed to the grace of their God, which was turned towards them once more, through the intercession of Moses, not only the restoration of the tables of the covenant as a pledge that the covenant itself was restored, but also the institution and maintenance of the high-priesthood and priesthood generally for the purpose of mediation between them and the Lord.¹ Moses reminds the people of this

¹ Even *Clericus* pointed out this connection, and paraphrased vers. 6 and 7 as follows: "But when, as I have said, God forgave the Hebrew people, He pardoned my brother Aaron also, who did not die till the fortieth year after we had come out of Egypt, and when we were coming round the borders of the Edomites to come hither. God also showed that He was reconciled towards him by conferring the priesthood upon him, which is now borne by his son Eleazar according to the will of God." *Clericus* has also correctly brought out the fact that Moses referred to what he had stated in chap. ix. 20 as to the wrath of God against Aaron and his intercession on his behalf, or rather that he mentioned his intercession on behalf of Aaron in that passage, because he intended to call more particular attention to the successful result of it in this. *Hengstenberg* (Dissertations, vol. ii. pp. 351-2) has since pointed out briefly, but very conclusively, the connection of thought between vers. 6, 7, and what goes before and follows after. "Moses," he says, "points out to the people how the Lord had continued unchangeable in His mercy notwithstanding all their sins.

gracious gift on the part of their God, by recalling to their memory the time when Aaron died and his son Eleazar was invested with the high-priesthood in his stead. That he may transport his hearers the more distinctly to the period in question, he lets the history itself speak, and quotes from the account of their journeys the passage which supplied the practical proof of what he desires to say. Instead of saying: And the high-priesthood also, with which Aaron was invested by the grace of God notwithstanding his sin at Sinai, the Lord has still preserved to you; for when Aaron died, He invested his son with the same honour,¹ and also directed you to continue your journey,—he proceeds in the following historical style: “*And the children of Israel took their journey from the wells of the sons of Jaakan to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son became priest in his stead. And from thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah, and from Gudgodah to Jotbath, a land of water-brooks.*” The allusion to these marches, together with the events which had taken place at Mosera, taught in very few words “not only that Aaron was forgiven at the intercession of Moses, and even honoured with the high-priesthood, the medium of grace and blessing to the people of God (*e.g.* at the wells of Bene-Jaakan) until the time of his death; but also that through this same intercession the high-priesthood was maintained in perpetuity, so that when Aaron had to die in the wilderness in consequence of a fresh sin (Num. xx. 12), it continued notwith-

Although they had rendered themselves unworthy of such goodness by their worship of the calf, He gave them the ark of the covenant with the new tables of the law in it (chap. x. 1-5). He followed up this gift of His grace by instituting the high-priesthood, and when Aaron died He caused it to be transferred to his son Eleazar (vers. 6, 7). He set apart the tribe of Levi to serve Him and bless the people in His name, and thus to be the mediators of His mercy (vers. 8, 9). In short, He omitted nothing that was requisite to place Israel in full possession of the dignity of a people of God.” There is no ground for regarding vers. 6, 7, as a gloss, as *Capellus*, *Dathe*, and *Rosenmüller* do, or vers. 6-9 as “an interpolation of a historical statement concerning the bearers of the ark of the covenant and the holy persons generally, which has no connection with Moses’ address,” as *Knobel* maintains. The want of any formal connection is quite in keeping with the spirit of simplicity which characterizes the early Hebrew diction and historical writings. “The style of the Hebrews is not to be tried by the rules of rhetoricians” (*Clericus*).

¹ “In the death of Aaron they might discern the punishment of their rebellion. But the fact that Eleazar was appointed in his place, was a sign of the paternal grace of God, who did not suffer them to be forsaken on that account” (*Calvin*).

standing, and by no means diminished in strength, as might have been feared, since it led the way from the wells to water-brooks, helped on the journey to Canaan, which was now the object of their immediate aim, and still sustained their courage and their faith" (*Schultz*). The earlier commentators observed the inward connection between the continuation of the high-priesthood and the water-brooks. *J. Gerhard*, for example, observes: "God generally associates material blessings with spiritual; as long as the ministry of the word and the observance of divine worship flourish among us, God will also provide for our temporal necessities." On the places mentioned, see pp. 244-5.

In ver. 8, Moses returns to the form of an address again, and refers to the separation of the tribe of Levi for the holy service, as a manifestation of mercy on the part of the Lord towards Israel. The expression "*at that time*" is not to be understood as relating to the time of Aaron's death in the fortieth year of the march, in which *Knobel* finds a contradiction to the other books. It refers quite generally, as in chap. ix. 20 and x. 1, to the time of which Moses is speaking here, viz. the time when the covenant was restored at Sinai. The appointment of the tribe of Levi for service at the sanctuary took place in connection with the election of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Ex. xxviii. and xxix.), although their call to this service, instead of the first-born of Israel, was not carried out till the numbering and mustering of the people (Num. i. 49 sqq., iv. 17 sqq., viii. 6 sqq.). Moses is speaking here of the election of the whole of the tribe of Levi, including the priests (Aaron and his sons), as is very evident from the account of their service. It is true that the carrying of the ark upon the march through the desert was the business of the (non-priestly) Levites, viz. the Kohathites (Num. iv. 4 sqq.); but on solemn occasions the priests had to carry it (cf. Josh. iii. 3, 6, 8, vi. 6; 1 Kings viii. 3 sqq.). "Standing before the Lord, to serve Him, and to bless in His name," was exclusively the business of the priests (cf. chap. xviii. 5, xxi. 5, and Num. vi. 23 sqq.), whereas the Levites were only assistants of the priests in their service (see at chap. xviii. 7). This tribe therefore received no share and possession with the other tribes, as was already laid down in Num. xviii. 20 with reference to the priests, and in ver. 24 with regard to all the Levites; to which passages the words "as the Lord thy God promised him" refer.—Lastly, in vers. 10, 11, Moses sums up the result of his intercession in the words, "*And I stood*

upon the mount as the first days, forty days (a resumption of chap. ix. 18 and 25); *and the Lord hearkened to me this time also* (word for word, as in chap. ix. 19). *Jehovah would not destroy thee* (Israel)." Therefore He commanded Moses to arise to depart before the people, *i.e.* as leader of the people to command and superintend their removal and march. In form, this command is connected with Ex. xxxiv. 1; but Moses refers here not only to that word of the Lord with the limitation added there in ver. 2, but to the ultimate, full, and unconditional assurance of God, in which the Lord Himself promised to go with His people and bring them to Canaan (Ex. xxxiv. 14 sqq.).

Admonition to fear and love God. The Blessing or Curse consequent upon the Fulfilment or Transgression of the Law.—Chap. x. 12-xi. 32.

Vers. 12-15. The proof that Israel had no righteousness before God is followed on the positive side by an expansion of the main law laid down in chap. vi. 4 sqq., to love God with all the heart, which is introduced by the words, "and now Israel," *sc.* now that thou hast everything without desert or worthiness, purely from forgiving grace. "*What doth the Lord thy God require of thee?*" Nothing further than that thou fearest Him, "to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve Him with all the heart and all the soul." *אֱלֹהֶיךָ*, unless, or except that, presupposes a negative clause (cf. Gen. xxxix. 9), which is implied here in the previous question, or else to be supplied as the answer. The demand for fear, love, and reverence towards the Lord, is no doubt very hard for the natural man to fulfil, and all the harder the deeper it goes into the heart; but after such manifestations of the love and grace of God, it only follows as a matter of course. "Fear, love, and obedience would naturally have taken root of themselves within the heart, if man had not corrupted his own heart." Love, which is the only thing demanded in chap. vi. 5, is here preceded by fear, which is the only thing mentioned in chap. v. 26 and vi. 24.¹ The fear of the Lord, which springs from the knowledge of one's own unholiness in the presence of the holy God, ought to form the one leading emotion in the heart prompting to walk in all the ways of the Lord, and to maintain morality of conduct in its strictest form.

¹ The fear of God is to be united with the love of God; for love without fear makes men remiss, and fear without love makes them servile and desperate (*J. Gerhard*).

This fear, which first enables us to comprehend the mercy of God, awakens love, the fruit of which is manifested in serving God with all the heart and all the soul (see chap. vi. 5). "*For thy good*," as in chap. v. 30 and vi. 24.—Vers. 14, 15. This obligation the Lord had laid upon Israel by the love with which He, to whom all the heavens and the earth, with everything upon it, belong, had chosen the patriarchs and their seed out of all nations. By "the heavens of the heavens," the idea of heaven is perfectly exhausted. This God, who might have chosen any other nation as well as Israel, or in fact all nations together, had directed His special love to Israel alone.

Vers. 16–22. Above all, therefore, they were to circumcise the foreskin of their hearts, *i.e.* to lay aside all insensibility of heart to impressions from the love of God (cf. Lev. xxvi. 41; and on the spiritual signification of circumcision, see vol. i. p. 227), and not stiffen their necks any more, *i.e.* not persist in their obstinacy, or obstinate resistance to God (cf. chap. ix. 6, 13). Without circumcision of heart, true fear of God and true love of God are both impossible. As a reason for this admonition, Moses adduces in vers. 17 sqq. the nature and acts of God. Jehovah as the absolute God and Lord is mighty and terrible towards all, without respect of person, and at the same time a just Judge and loving Protector of the helpless and oppressed. From this it follows that the true God will not tolerate haughtiness and stiffness of neck either towards Himself or towards other men, but will punish it without reserve. To set forth emphatically the infinite greatness and might of God, Moses describes Jehovah the God of Israel as the "*God of gods*," *i.e.* the supreme God, the essence of all that is divine, of all divine power and might (cf. Ps. cxxxvi. 2),—and as the "*Lord of lords*," *i.e.* the supreme, unrestricted Ruler ("the only Potentate," 1 Tim. vi. 15), above all powers in heaven and on earth, "*a great King above all gods*" (Ps. xcv. 3). Compare Rev. xvii. 14 and xix. 16, where these predicates are transferred to the exalted Son of God, as the Judge and Conqueror of all dominions and powers that are hostile to God. The predicates which follow describe the unfolding of the omnipotence of God in the government of the world, in which Jehovah manifests Himself as the great, mighty, and terrible God (Ps. lxxxix. 8), who does not regard the person (cf. Lev. xix. 15), or accept presents (cf. chap. xvi. 19), like a human judge.—Vers. 18, 19. As such, Jehovah does justice to the defenceless (orphan and widow), and exercises a loving care towards the stranger

in his oppression. For this reason the Israelites were not to close their hearts egotistically against the stranger (cf. Ex. xxii. 20). This would show whether they possessed any love to God, and had circumcised their hearts (cf. 1 John iii. 10, 17).—Vers. 20 sqq. After laying down the fundamental condition of a proper relation towards God, Moses describes the fear of God, *i.e.* true reverence of God, in its threefold manifestation, in deed (serving God), in heart (cleaving to Him; cf. chap. iv. 4), and with the mouth (swearing by His name; cf. chap. vi. 13). Such reverence as this Israel owed to its God; for “*He is thy praise, and He is thy God*” (ver. 21). He has given thee strong inducements to praise. By the great and terrible things which thine eyes have seen, He has manifested Himself as God to thee. “*Terrible things*” are those acts of divine omnipotence, which fill men with fear and trembling at the majesty of the Almighty (cf. Ex. xv. 11). עָשָׂה אֲתָךְ, “done with thee,” *i.e.* shown to thee (אָתְּ in the sense of practical help).—Ver. 22. One marvel among these great and terrible acts of the Lord was to be seen in Israel itself, which had gone down to Egypt in the persons of its fathers as a family consisting of seventy souls, and now, notwithstanding the oppression it suffered there, had grown into an innumerable nation. So marvellously had the Lord fulfilled His promise in Gen. xv. 5. By referring to this promise, Moses intended no doubt to recall to the recollection of the people the fact that the bondage of Israel in a foreign land for 400 years had also been foretold (Gen. xv. 13 sqq.). On the seventy souls, see at Gen. xlvi. 26, 27.

Chap. xi. In vers. 1-12 the other feature in the divine requirements (chap. x. 12), viz. love to the Lord their God, is still more fully developed. Love was to show itself in the distinct perception of what had to be observed towards Jehovah (to “*keep His charge*,” see at Lev. viii. 35), *i.e.* in the perpetual observance of His commandments and rights. The words, “*and His statutes*,” etc., serve to explain the general notion, “His charge.” “*All days*,” as in chap. iv. 10.—Vers. 2 sqq. To awaken this love they were now to know, *i.e.* to ponder and lay to heart, the discipline of the Lord their God. The words from “*for (I speak) not*” to “*have not seen*” are a parenthetical clause, by which Moses would impress his words most strongly upon the hearts of the older generation, which had witnessed the acts of the Lord. The clause is without any verb or predicate, but this can easily be supplied from the sense. The best suggestion is that of *Schultz*, viz. הֵרָבַרְתָּ הָהוּא, “for it is not with your

children that I have to do," not to them that this admonition applies. Moses refers to the children who had been born in the desert, as distinguished from those who, though not twenty years old when the Israelites came out of Egypt, had nevertheless seen with their own eyes the plagues inflicted upon Egypt, and who were now of mature age, viz. between forty and sixty years old, and formed, as the older and more experienced generation, the stock and kernel of the congregation assembled round him now. To the words, "*which have not known and have not seen,*" it is easy to supply from the context, "what ye have known and seen." The accusatives from "the chastisement" onwards belong to the verb of the principal sentence, "know ye this day." The accusatives which follow show what we are to understand by "the chastisement of the Lord," viz. the mighty acts of the Lord to Egypt and to Israel in the desert. The object of them all was to *educate* Israel in the fear and love of God. In this sense Moses calls them מוֹסֵר (*Eng. Ver. chastisement*), παιδεία, i.e. not punishment only, but education by the manifestation of love as well as punishment (like יָסַר in chap. iv. 36; cf. Prov. i. 2, 8, iv. 1, etc.). "*His greatness,*" etc., as in chap. iii. 24 and iv. 34. On the signs and acts in Egypt, see at chap. iv. 34, vi. 22; and on those at the Red Sea, at Ex. xiv. אֲשֶׁר הֵצִיף—עַל-פְּנֵיהֶם, "*over whose face He made the waters of the Red Sea to flow;*" cf. Ex. xiv. 26 sqq.—By the acts of God in the desert (ver. 5) we are not to understand the chastenings in Num. xi.—xv. either solely or pre-eminently, but all the manifestations of the omnipotence of God in the guidance of Israel, proofs of love as well as the penal wonders. Of the latter, the miraculous destruction of the company of Korah is specially mentioned in ver. 6 (cf. Num. xvi. 31–33). Here Moses only mentions Dathan and Abiram, the followers of Korah, and not Korah himself, probably from regard to his sons, who were not swallowed up by the earth along with their father, but had lived to perpetuate the family of Korah. "*Everything existing, which was in their following*" (see Ex. xi. 8), does not mean their possessions, but their servants, and corresponds to "all the men who belonged to Korah" in Num. xvi. 32, whereas the possessions mentioned there are included here in the "tents." הִיקָוִם is only applied to living beings, as in Gen. vii. 4 and 23.—In ver. 7 the reason is given for the admonition in ver. 2: the elders were to know (discern) the educational purpose of God in those mighty acts of the Lord, because they had seen them with their own eyes.—Vers. 8, 9. And this knowledge was to impel them to keep the law, that they

might be strong, *i.e.* spiritually strong (chap. i. 38), and not only go into the promised land, but also live long therein (cf. chap. iv. 26, vi. 3).—In vers. 10-12 Moses adduces a fresh motive for his admonition to keep the law with fidelity, founded upon the peculiar nature of the land. Canaan was a land the fertility of which was not dependent, like that of Egypt, upon its being watered by the hand of man, but was kept up by the rain of heaven which was sent down by God the Lord, so that it depended entirely upon the Lord how long its inhabitants should live therein. Egypt is described by Moses as a land which Israel sowed with seed, and watered with its foot like a garden of herbs. In Egypt there is hardly any rain at all (cf. *Herod.* ii. 4, *Diod. Sic.* i. 41, and other evidence in *Hengstenberg's* Egypt and the Books of Moses, pp. 217 sqq.). The watering of the land, which produces its fertility, is dependent upon the annual overflowing of the Nile, and, as this only lasts for about 100 days, upon the way in which this is made available for the whole year, namely, by the construction of canals and ponds throughout the land, to which the water is conducted from the Nile by forcing machines, or by actually carrying it in vessels up to the fields and plantations.¹ The expression, “with thy foot,” probably refers to the large pumping wheels still in use there, which are worked by the feet, and over which a long endless rope passes with pails attached, for drawing up the water (cf. *Niebuhr, Reise*, i. 149), the identity of which with the ἑλιξ described by *Philo* as ὑδροηλὸν ὄργανον (*de confus. ling.* i. 410) cannot possibly be called in question; provided, that is to say, we do not confound this ἑλιξ with the Archimedean water-screw mentioned by *Diod. Sic.* i. 34, and described more minutely at v. 37, the construction of which was entirely different (see my *Archæology*, ii. pp. 111-2).—The Egyptians, as genuine heathen, were so thoroughly conscious of this peculiar characteristic of their land, which made its fertility far more dependent upon the labour of human hands than upon the rain of heaven or divine providence, that *Herodotus* (ii. 13) represents them as saying, “The Greeks, with their dependence upon the gods, might be disappointed in their brightest hopes and

¹ Upon the ancient monuments we find not only the draw-well with the long rope, which is now called *Shaduf*, depicted in various ways (see *Wilkinson*, i. p. 35, ii. 4); but at *Beni-Hassan* there is a representation of two men carrying a water-vessel upon a pole on their shoulders, which they fill from a draw-well or pond, and then carry to the field (cf. *Hengstenberg*, Egypt and the Books of Moses, pp. 220-1).

suffer dreadfully from famine." The land of Canaan yielded no support to such godless self-exaltation, for it was "a land of mountains and valleys, and drank water of the rain of heaven" (לִפְנֵי מִטָּר, to denote the external cause; see *Ewald*, § 217, d.); i.e. it received its watering, the main condition of all fertility, from the rain, by the way of the rain, and therefore through the providential care of God.—Ver. 12. It was a land which Jehovah inquired after, i.e. for which He cared (דָּרַשׁ, as in Prov. xxxi. 13, Job iii. 4); His eyes were always directed towards it from the beginning of the year to the end; a land, therefore, which was dependent upon God, and in this dependence upon God peculiarly adapted to Israel, which was to live entirely to its God, and upon His grace alone.

Vers. 13–32. This peculiarity in the land of Canaan led Moses to close the first part of his discourse on the law, his exhortation to fear and love the Lord, with a reference to the blessing that would follow the faithful fulfilment of the law, and a threat of the curse which would attend apostasy to idolatry.—Vers. 13–15. If Israel would serve its God in love and faithfulness, He would give the land early and latter rain in its season, and therewith a plentiful supply of food for man and beast (see Lev. xxvi. 3 and 5; and for the further expansion of this blessing, chap. xxviii. 1–12).—Vers. 16 and 17. But if, on the other hand, their heart was foolish to turn away from the Lord and serve other gods, the wrath of the Lord would burn against them, and God would shut up the heaven, that no rain should fall and the earth should yield no produce, and they would speedily perish (cf. Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, and Deut. xxviii. 23, 24). Let them therefore impress the words now set before them very deeply upon themselves and their children (vers. 18–21, in which there is in part a verbal repetition of chap. vi. 6–9). The words, "*as the days of the heaven above the earth*," i.e. as long as the heaven continues above the earth,—in other words, to all eternity (cf. Ps. lxxxix. 30; Job xiv. 12),—belong to the main sentence, "*that your days may be multiplied*," etc. (ver. 21). "The promise to give the land to Israel for ever was not made unconditionally; an unconditional promise is precluded by the words, 'that your days may be multiplied'" (*Schultz*). (For further remarks, see at chap. xxx. 3–5.) For (vers. 22–25) if they adhered faithfully to the Lord, He would drive out before them all the nations that dwelt in the land, and would give them the land upon which they trod in all its length and breadth, and so fill the Canaanites with fear and

terror before them, that no one should be able to stand against them. (On ver. 23, cf. chap. vii. 1, 2, ix. 1, and i. 28.) The words, "every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours," are defined more precisely, and restricted to the land of Canaan on both sides of the Jordan by the boundaries which follow: "*from the desert* (of Arabia on the south), *and Lebanon* (on the north), *and from the river Euphrates* (on the east) *to the hinder sea*" (the Mediterranean on the west; see Num. xxxiv. 6). The Euphrates is given as the eastern boundary, as in chap. i. 7, according to the promise in Gen. xv. 18. (On ver. 25, cf. chap. vii. 24, ii. 25, and Ex. xxiii. 27.)—Vers. 26-28. Concluding summary. "*I set before you this day the blessing and the curse.*" The blessing, if (אָשֶׁר, ὅτε, as in Lev. iv. 22) ye hearken to the commandments of your God; the curse, if ye do not give heed to them, but turn aside from the way pointed out to you, to go after other gods. To this there are added instructions in vers. 29 and 30, that when they took possession of the land they should *give* the blessing upon Mount Gerizim and the curse upon Mount Ebal, *i.e.* should give utterance to them there, and as it were transfer them to the land to be apportioned to its inhabitants according to their attitude towards the Lord their God. (For further comment, see at chap. xxvii. 14.) The two mountains mentioned were selected for this act, no doubt because they were opposite to one another, and stood, each about 2500 feet high, in the very centre of the land not only from west to east, but also from north to south. Ebal stands upon the north side, Gerizim upon the south; between the two is *Sichem*, the present *Nabulus*, in a tolerably elevated valley, fertile, attractive, and watered by many springs, which runs from the south-east to the north-west from the foot of Gerizim to that of Ebal, and is about 1600 feet in breadth. The blessing was to be uttered upon Gerizim, and the curse upon Ebal; though not, as the earlier commentators supposed, because the peculiarities of these mountains, *viz.* the fertility of Gerizim and the barrenness of Ebal, appeared to accord with this arrangement: for when seen from the valley between, "the sides of both these mountains are equally naked and sterile;" and "the only exception in favour of the former is a small ravine coming down, opposite the west end of the town, which is indeed full of fountains and trees" (*Rob. Pal.* iii. 96, 97). The reason for selecting Gerizim for the blessings was probably, as *Schultz* supposes, the fact that it was situated on the south, towards the region of the light. "Light and blessing are essentially one. From

the light-giving face of God there come blessing and life (Ps. xvi. 11).”—In ver. 30 the situation of these mountains is more clearly defined: they were “*on the other side of the Jordan,*” *i.e.* in the land to the west of the Jordan, “*behind the way of the sunset,*” *i.e.* on the other side of the road of the west, which runs through the land on the west of the Jordan, just as another such road runs through the land on the east (*Knobel*). The reference is to the main road which ran from Upper Asia through Canaan to Egypt, as was shown by the journeys of Abraham and Jacob (Gen. xii. 6, xxxiii. 17, 18). Even at the present day the main road leads from Beisan to Jerusalem round the east side of Ebal into the valley of Sichem, and then again eastwards from Gerizim through the Mukra valley on towards the south (cf. *Rob.* iii. 94; *Ritter, Erdkunde*, xvi. pp. 658–9). “*In the land of the Canaanite who dwells in the Arabah.*” By the *Arabah*, *Knobel* understands the plain of *Nabulus*, which is not much less than four hours’ journey long, and on an average from a half to three-quarters broad, “the largest of all upon the elevated tract of land between the western plain and the valley of the Jordan” (*Rob.* iii. p. 101). This is decidedly wrong, however, as it is opposed to the fixed use of the word, and irreconcilable with the character of this plain, which, *Robinson* says, “is cultivated throughout and covered with the rich green of millet intermingled with the yellow of the ripe corn, which the country people were just reaping” (*Pal.* iii. 93). The *Arabah* is the western portion of the *Ghor* (see at chap. i. 1), and is mentioned here as that portion of the land on the west of the Jordan which lay stretched out before the eyes of the Israelites who were encamped in the steppes of Moab. “*Over against Gilgal,*” *i.e.* not the southern *Gilgal* between Jericho and the Jordan, which received its name for the first time in Josh. iv. 20 and v. 9; but probably the *Gilgal* mentioned in Josh. ix. 6, x. 6 sqq., and very frequently in the history of Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, which is only about twelve and a half miles from Gerizim in a southern direction, and has been preserved in the large village of *Jiljilia* to the south-west of Sinjil, and which stands in such an elevated position, “close to the western brow of the high mountain tract,” that you “have here a very extensive prospect over the great lower plain, and also over the sea, whilst the mountains of Gilead are seen in the east” (*Rob. Pal.* iii. 81). Judging from this description of the situation, Mount Gerizim must be visible from this *Gilgal*, so that Gerizim and Ebal might very well be described as over against

Gilgal.¹ The last definition, “*beside the terebinths of Moreh*,” is intended no doubt to call to mind the consecration of that locality even from the times of the patriarchs (*Schultz*: see at Gen. xii. 6, and xxxv. 4).—Vers. 31–2 contain the reason for these instructions, founded upon the assurance that the Israelites were going over the Jordan and would take possession of the promised land, and should therefore take care to keep the commandments of the Lord (cf. chap. iv. 5, 6).

B. EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPAL LAWS.—CHAP. XII.—XXVI.

The statutes and rights which follow in the second or special half of this address, and which consist in part of rules having regard to circumstances not contemplated by the Sinaitic laws, and partly of repetitions of laws already given, were designed as a whole to regulate the ecclesiastical, civil, and domestic life of Israel in the land of Canaan, in harmony with its calling to be the holy nation of the Lord. Moses first of all describes the religious and ecclesiastical life of the nation, in its various relations to the Lord (chap. xii.–xvi. 17); and then the political organization of the congregation, or the rights and duties of the civil and spiritual leaders of the nation (chap. xvi. 18–xviii. 22); and lastly, seeks to establish upon a permanent basis the civil and domestic well-being of the whole congregation and its individual members, by a multiplicity of precepts, intended to set before the people, as a conscientious obligation on their part, reverence and holy awe in relation to human life, to property, and to personal rights; a pious regard for the fundamental laws of the world; sanctification of domestic life and of the social bond; practical brotherly love towards the poor, the oppressed, and the needy; and righteousness of walk and conversation (chap. xix.–xxvi.).—So far as the arrangement of this address is concerned, the first two series of these laws may be easily regarded

¹ There is much less ground for the opinion of *Winer*, *Knobel*, and *Schultz*, that *Gilgal* is the *Jiljule* mentioned by *Robinson* (*Pal.* iii. 47; and *Bibl. Researches*, p. 138), which evidently corresponds to the *Galgula* placed by *Eusebius* and *Jerome* six Roman miles from *Antipatris*, and is situated to the south-east of *Kefr Saba* (*Antipatris*), on the road from Egypt to Damascus. For this place is not only farther from Gerizim and Ebal, viz. about seventeen miles, but from its position in the lowland by the sea-shore it presents no salient point for determining the situation of the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal. Still less can we agree with *Knobel*, who speaks of the village of *Kilkilia*, to the north-east of *Kefr Saba*, as the name itself has nothing in common with Gilgal.

as expositions, expansions, and completions of the commandments in the decalogue in relation to the Sabbath, and to the duty of honouring parents; and in the third series also there are unquestionably many allusions to the commandments in the second table of the decalogue. But the order in which the different laws and precepts in this last series are arranged, does not follow the order of the decalogue, so as to warrant us in looking there for the leading principle of the arrangement, as *Schultz* has done. Moses allows himself to be guided much more by analogies and the free association of ideas than by any strict regard to the decalogue; although, no doubt, the whole of the book of Deuteronomy may be described, as *Luther* says, as “a very copious and lucid explanation of the decalogue, an acquaintance with which will supply all that is requisite to a full understanding of the ten commandments.”

The one Place for the Worship of God, and the right Mode of worshipping Him.—Chap. xii.

The laws relating to the worship of the Israelites commence with a command to destroy and annihilate all places and memorials of the Canaanitish worship (vers. 2–4), and then lay it down as an established rule, that the Israelites were to worship the Lord their God with sacrifices and gifts, only in the place which He Himself should choose (vers. 5–14). On the other hand, in the land of Canaan cattle might be slain for eating and the flesh itself be consumed in any place; though sacrificial meals could only be celebrated in the place of the sanctuary appointed by the Lord (vers. 15–19). Moreover, on the extension of the borders of the land, oxen, and sheep, and goats could be slaughtered for food in any place; but the blood was not to be eaten, and consecrated gifts and votive sacrifices were not to be prepared as meals anywhere, except at the altar of the Lord (vers. 20–28). Lastly, the Israelites were not to be drawn aside by the Canaanites, to imitate them in their worship (vers. 29–31).

Vers. 1–14. On the heading in ver. 1, see chaps. vi. 1 and iv. 1. “*All the days that ye live*” relates to the more distant clause, “which ye shall observe,” etc. (cf. chap. iv. 10).—Vers. 2, 3. Ye shall destroy all the places where the Canaanites worship their gods, upon the high mountains, upon the hills, and under every green tree (cf. Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, xvii. 2; 2 Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10). The choice of mountains and hills for places of worship by most of the heathen nations, had its origin in the wide-spread belief, that men were

nearer to the Deity and to heaven there. The green trees are connected with the holy groves, of which the heathen nations were so fond, and the shady gloom of which filled the soul with holy awe at the nearness of the Deity. In the absence of groves, they chose green trees with thick foliage (Ezek. vi. 13, xx. 28), such as the vigorous oak, which attains a great age, the evergreen terebinth (Isa. i. 29, 30, lvii. 5), and the poplar or osier, which continues green even in the heat of summer (Hos. iv. 13), and whose deep shade is adapted to dispose the mind to devotion.—Ver. 3. Beside the places of worship, they were also to destroy all the idols of the Canaanitish worship, as had already been commanded in chap. vii. 5, and to blot out even their names, *i.e.* every trace of their existence (cf. chap. vii. 24).—Ver. 4. “*Ye shall not do so to Jehovah your God,*” *i.e.* not build altars and offer sacrifices to Him in any place you choose, but (vers. 5 sqq.) shall only keep yourselves (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה) to the place “*which He shall choose out of all the tribes to put His name there for His dwelling.*” Whereas the heathen seeks and worships his nature-gods, wherever he thinks he can discern in nature any trace of Divinity, the true God has not only revealed His eternal power and Godhead in the works of creation, but His personal being, which unfolds itself to the world in love and holiness, in grace and righteousness, He has made known to man, who was created in His image, in the words and works of salvation; and in these testimonies of His saving presence He has fixed for Himself a name, in which He dwells among His people. This name presents His personality, as comprehended in the word *Jehovah*, in a visible sign, the tangible pledge of His essential presence. During the journeying of the Israelites this was effected by the pillar of cloud and fire; and after the erection of the tabernacle, by the cloud in the most holy place, above the ark of the covenant, with the cherubim upon it, in which Jehovah had promised to appear to the high priest as the representative of the covenant nation. Through this, the tabernacle, and afterwards Solomon’s temple, which took its place, became the dwelling-place of the name of the Lord. But if the knowledge of the true God rested upon direct manifestations of the divine nature,—and the Lord God had for that very reason made Himself known to His people in words and deeds as their God,—then as a matter of course the mode of His worship could not be dependent upon any appointment of men, but must be determined exclusively by God Himself. The place of His worship depended upon the choice which God Himself should make, and which would be made

known by the fact that He “put His name,” *i.e.* actually manifested His own immediate presence, in one definite spot. By the building of the tabernacle, which the Lord Himself prescribed as the true spot for the revelation of His presence among His people, the place where His name was to dwell among the Israelites was already so far determined, that only the particular town or locality among the tribes of Israel where the tabernacle was to be set up after the conquest of Canaan remained to be decided. At the same time, Moses not only speaks of the Lord choosing the place among all the tribes for the erection of His sanctuary, but also of His choosing the place where He would put His name, that He might dwell there (לְשִׁכְנֵנִי from שָׁכַן, for שָׁכְנֵנִי from שָׁכַן). For the presence of the Lord was not, and was not intended, to be exclusively confined to the tabernacle (or the temple). As God of the whole earth, wherever it might be necessary, for the preservation and promotion of His kingdom, He could make known His presence, and accept the sacrifices of His people in other places, independently of this sanctuary; and there were times when this was really done. The unity of the worship, therefore, which Moses here enjoined, was not to consist in the fact that the people of Israel brought all their sacrificial offerings to the tabernacle, but in their offering them only in the spot where the Lord made His name (that is to say, His presence) known.

What Moses commanded here, was only an explanation and more emphatic repetition of the divine command in Ex. xx. 23, 24 (21 and 22); and to understand “the place which Jehovah would choose” as relating exclusively to Jerusalem or the temple-hill, is a perfectly arbitrary assumption. Shiloh, the place where the tabernacle was set up after the conquest of the land (Josh. xviii. 1), and where it stood during the whole of the times of the judges, was also chosen by the Lord (cf. Jer. vii. 12). It was not till after David had set up a tent for the ark of the covenant upon Zion, in the city of Jerusalem, which he had chosen as the capital of his kingdom, and had erected an altar for sacrifice there (2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chron. xvi.), that the will of the Lord was made known to him by the prophet Gad, that he should build an altar upon the threshing-floor of Araunah, where the angel of the Lord had appeared to him; and through this command the place was fixed for the future temple (2 Sam. xxiv. 18; 1 Chron. xxi. 18). אֵל with דָּרַשׁ, to turn in a certain direction, to inquire or to seek. שׂוּם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ, “to put His name,” *i.e.* to make known His presence, is still further defined by the following word לְשִׁכְנֵנִי, as signifying that His presence was to be

of permanent duration. It is true that this word is separated by an *athnach* from the previous clause; but it certainly cannot be connected with *תִּדְרְשׁוּ* (*ye shall seek*), not only because of the standing phrase, *לְשֵׁבֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם* ("to cause His name to dwell there," ver. 11, chap. xiv. 23, xvi. 2, 6, etc.), but also because this connection would give no fitting sense, as the infinitive *שֵׁבֵן* does not mean "a dwelling-place."—Vers. 6, 7. Thither they were to take all their sacrificial gifts, and there they were to celebrate their sacrificial meals. The gifts are classified in four pairs: (1) the sacrifices intended for the altar, burnt-offerings and slain-offerings being particularly mentioned as the two principal kinds, with which, according to Num. xv. 4 sqq., meat-offerings and drink-offerings were to be associated; (2) "your tithes and every heave-offering of your hand." By the tithes we are to understand the tithes of field-produce and cattle, commanded in Lev. xxvii. 30-33 and Num. xviii. 21-24, which were to be brought to the sanctuary because they were to be offered to the Lord, as was the case under Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 5-7). That the tithes mentioned here should be restricted to vegetable tithes (of corn, new wine, and oil), is neither allowed by the general character of the expression, nor required by the context. For instance, although, according to vers. 7 and 11, 12, as compared with ver. 17, a portion of the vegetable tithe was to be applied to the sacrificial meals, there is no ground whatever for supposing that all the sacrifices and consecrated gifts mentioned in ver. 6 were offerings of this kind, and either served as sacrificial meals, or had such meals connected with them. Burnt-offerings, for example, were not associated in any way with the sacrificial meals. The difficulty, or as some suppose "the impossibility," of delivering all the tithes from every part of the land at the place of the sanctuary, does not warrant us in departing from the simple meaning of Moses' words in the verse before us. The arrangement permitted in chap. xiv. 24, 25, with reference to the so-called second tithe,—viz. that if the sanctuary was too far off, the tithe might be sold at home, and whatever was required for the sacrificial meals might be bought at the place of the sanctuary with the money so obtained,—might possibly have been also adopted in the case of the other tithe. At all events, the fact that no reference is made to such cases as these does not warrant us in assuming the opposite. As the institution of tithes generally did not originate with the law of Moses, but is presupposed as a traditional and well-known custom,—all that is done being to define them more precisely, and regulate

the way in which they should be applied (cf. vol. ii. p. 485),—Moses does not enter here into any details as to the course to be adopted in delivering them, but merely lays down the law that all the gifts intended for the Lord were to be brought to Him at His sanctuary, and connects with this the further injunction that the Israelites were to rejoice there before the Lord, that is to say, were to celebrate their sacrificial meals at the place of His presence which He had chosen.—The gifts, from which the sacrificial meals were prepared, are not particularized here, but are supposed to be already known either from the earlier laws or from tradition. From the earlier laws we learn that the whole of the flesh of the burnt-offerings was to be consumed upon the altar, but that the flesh of the slain-offerings, except in the case of the peace-offerings, was to be applied to the sacrificial meals, with the exception of the fat pieces, and the wave-breast and heave-shoulder. With regard to the tithes, it is stated in Num. xviii. 21–24 that Jehovah had given them to the Levites as their inheritance, and that they were to give the tenth part of them to the priests. In the laws contained in the earlier books, nothing is said about the appropriation of any portion of the tithes to sacrificial meals. Yet in Deuteronomy this is simply assumed as a customary thing, and not introduced as a new commandment, when the law is laid down (in ver. 17, chap. xiv. 22 sqq., xxvi. 12 sqq.), that they were not to eat the tithe of corn, new wine, and oil within their gates (in the towns of the land), any more than the first-born of oxen and sheep, but only at the place of the sanctuary chosen by the Lord; and that if the distance was too great for the whole to be transported thither, they were to sell the tithes and firstlings at home, and then purchase at the sanctuary whatever might be required for the sacrificial meals. From these instructions it is very apparent that sacrificial meals were associated with the delivery of the tithes and firstlings to the Lord, to which a tenth part of the corn, must, and oil was applied, as well as the flesh of the first-born of edible cattle. This tenth formed the so-called second tithe (δευτέραν δεκάτην, Tob. i. 7), which is mentioned here for the first time, but not introduced as a new rule or an appendix to the former laws. It is rather taken for granted as a custom founded upon tradition, and brought into harmony with the law relating to the oneness of the sanctuary and worship.¹ “*The heave-offerings of your hand,*” which are mentioned

¹ The arguments employed by *De Wette* and *Vater* against this arrangement with regard to the vegetable tithe, which is established beyond all question by

again in Mal. iii. 8 along with the tithes, are not to be restricted to the first-fruits, as we may see from Ezek. xx. 40, where the *terumoth* are mentioned along with the first-fruits. We should rather understand them as being free gifts of love, which were consecrated to the Lord in addition to the legal first-fruits and tithes without being actual sacrifices, and which were then applied to sacrificial meals.—The other gifts were (3) נִדְבֹת and נִדְרִים, sacrifices which were offered partly in consequence of vows and partly of their own free will (see at Lev. xxiii. 38, compared with Lev. vii. 16, xxii. 21, and Num. xv. 3, xxix. 39); and lastly (4), “firstlings of your herds and of your flocks,” viz. those commanded in Ex. xiii. 2, 12 sqq., and Num. xviii. 15 sqq.

According to Ex. xiii. 15, the Israelites were to sacrifice the firstlings to the Lord; and according to Num. xviii. 8 sqq. they belonged to the holy gifts, which the Lord assigned to the priests for their maintenance, with the more precise instructions in vers. 17, 18, that the first-born of oxen, sheep, and goats were not to be redeemed, but being holy were to be burned upon the altar in the same manner as the *shelamim*, and that the flesh was to belong to the priests, like the wave-breast and right leg of the *shelamim*. These last words, it is true, are not to be understood as signifying that the only portions of the flesh of the firstlings which were to be given to the priest were the wave-breast and heave-leg, and that the remainder of the flesh was to be left to the offerer to be applied

the custom of the Jews themselves, have been so fully met by *Hengstenberg* (Dissertations, ii. 334 sqq.), that *Riehm* has nothing to adduce in reply, except the assertion that in Deut. xviii., where the revenues of the priests and Levites are given, there is nothing said about the tithe, and the tithe of the tithe, and also that the people would have been overburdened by a second tithe. But, apart from the fact that *argumenta e silentio* generally do not prove much, the first assertion rests upon the erroneous assumption that in Deut. xviii. all the revenues of the priests are given separately; whereas Moses confines himself to this general summary of the revenues of the priests and Levites enumerated singly in Num. xviii., “The firings of Jehovah shall be the inheritance of the tribe of Levi, these they shall eat,” and then urges upon the people in vers. 3-5 an addition to the revenues already established. The second objection is refuted by history. For if in later times, when the people of Israel had to pay very considerable taxes to the foreign kings under whose rule they were living, they could give a second tenth of the fruits of the ground in addition to the priests’ tithe, as we may see from Tobit i. 7, such a tax could not have been too grievous a burden for the nation in the time of its independence; to say nothing of the fact that this second tenth belonged in great part to the donors themselves, since it was consumed in sacrificial meals, to which only poor and needy persons were invited, and therefore could not be regarded as an actual tax.

to a sacrificial meal (*Hengstenberg*); but they state most unequivocally that the priest was to apply the flesh to a sacrificial meal, like the wave-breast and heave-leg of all the peace-offerings, which the priest was not even allowed to consume with his own family at home, like ordinary flesh, but to which the instructions given for all the sacrificial meals were applicable, namely, that "whoever was clean in the priest's family" might eat of it (Num. xviii. 11), and that the flesh was to be eaten on the day when the sacrifice was offered (Lev. vii. 15), or at the latest on the following morning, as in the case of the votive offering (Lev. vii. 16), and that whatever was left was to be burnt. These instructions concerning the flesh of the firstlings to be offered to the Lord no more prohibit the priest from allowing the persons who presented the firstlings to take part in the sacrificial meals, or handing over to them some portion of the flesh which belonged to himself to hold a sacrificial meal, than any other law does; on the contrary, the duty of doing this was made very plain by the fact that the presentation of firstlings is described as *זָבַח לַיהוָה* in Ex. xiii. 15, in the very first of the general instructions for their sanctification, since even in the patriarchal times the *זָבַח* was always connected with a sacrificial meal in which the offerer participated. Consequently it cannot be shown that there is any contradiction between Deuteronomy and the earlier laws with regard to the appropriation of the first-born. The command to bring the firstlings of the sacrificial animal, like all the rest of the sacrifices, to the place of His sanctuary which the Lord would choose, and to hold sacrificial meals there with the tithes of corn, new wine, and oil, and also with the firstlings of the flocks and herds, is given not merely to the laity of Israel, but to the whole of the people, including the priests and Levites, without the distinction between the tribe of Levi and the other tribes, established in the earlier laws, being even altered, much less abrogated. The Israelites were to bring all their sacrificial gifts to the place of the sanctuary to be chosen by the Lord, and there, not in all their towns, they were to eat their votive and free-will offerings in sacrificial meals. This, and only this, is what Moses commands the people both here in vers. 7 and 17, 18, and also in chap. xiv. 22 sqq. and xv. 19 sqq.¹ "*Rejoice in all that your hand has acquired.*"

¹ If, therefore, the supposed discrepancies between the law of Deuteronomy and that of Exodus and Leviticus concerning the tithes and firstlings vanish into mere appearance when the passages in Deuteronomy are correctly explained, the conclusions to which *Riehm* comes (pp. 43 sqq.)—viz. that in Deuteronomy

The phrase *מִשְׁלַח יָד* (cf. ver. 18, chap. xv. 10, xxiii. 21, xxviii. 8, 20) signifies that to which the hand is stretched out, that which a man undertakes (synonymous with *מַעֲשֶׂה*), and also what a man acquires by his activity: hence Isa. xi. 14, *מִשְׁלוֹחַ יָד*, what a man appropriates to himself with his hand, or takes possession of. *אֲשֶׁר* before *יִבְרָךְ* is dependent upon *מִשְׁלַח יָדְכֶם*, and *יִבְרָךְ* is construed with a double accusative, as in Gen. xlix. 25. The reason for these instructions is given in vers. 8, 9, namely, that this had not hitherto taken place, but that up to this day every one had done what he thought right, because they had not yet come to the rest and to the inheritance which the Lord was about to give them. The phrase, "whatsoever is right in his own eyes," is applied to actions performed according to a man's own judgment, rather than according to the standard of objective right and the law of God (cf. Judg. xvii. 6, xxi. 25). The reference is probably not so much to open idolatry, which was actually practised, according to Lev. xvii. 7, Num. xxv., Ezek. xx. 16, 17, Amos v. 25, 26, as to acts of illegality, for which some excuse might be found in the circumstances in which they were placed when wandering through the desert,—such, for example, as the omission of the daily sacrifice when the tabernacle was not set up, and others of a similar kind.—Vers. 10-14. But when the Israelites had crossed over the Jordan, and dwelt peaceably in Canaan, secured against their enemies round about, these irregularities were not to occur any more; but all the sacrifices were to be offered at the place chosen by the Lord for the dwelling-place of His name, and there the sacrificial meals were to be held with joy before the Lord. "The choice of your vows," equivalent to your chosen vows, inasmuch as every vow was something special, as the standing phrase *פְּלֵא נָדָר* (Lev. xxii. 21, and Num. xv. 3, 8) distinctly shows.—"Rejoicing before the Lord," which is the phrase applied in Lev. xxiii. 40 to the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, was to be the distinctive feature of all the sacrificial meals held by the people at the sanctuary, as is repeatedly affirmed (chap. xiv. 26, xvi. 11, xxvi. 11, xxvii. 7). This holy joy in the participation of the blessing bestowed by the Lord was to be shared not only by sons and daughters, but also by slaves (men-

the tithes and firstlings are no longer the property of the priests and Levites, and that all the laws concerning the redemption and sale of them are abrogated there—are groundless assertions, founded upon the unproved and unfounded assumption, that Deuteronomy was intended to contain a repetition of the whole of the earlier law.

servants and maid-servants), that they too might taste the friendliness of their God, and also by "*the Levite that is in your gates*" (*i.e.* your towns and hamlets; see at Ex. xx. 10). This frequently recurring description of the Levites (*cf.* ver. 18, chap. xiv. 27, xvi. 11, 14, xviii. 6, xxvi. 12) does not assume that they were homeless, which would be at variance with the allotment of towns for them to dwell in (Num. xxxv.); but simply implies what is frequently added in explanation, that the Levites had "no part nor inheritance," no share of the land as their hereditary property, and in this respect resembled strangers (chap. xiv. 21, 29, xvi. 11, etc.).¹ And the repeated injunction to invite the Levites to the sacrificial meals is not at variance with Num. xviii. 21, where the tithes are assigned to the tribe of Levi for their maintenance. For however ample this revenue may have been according to the law, it was so entirely dependent, as we have observed at p. 120, upon the honesty and conscientiousness of the people, that the Levites might very easily be brought into a straitened condition, if indifference towards the Lord and His servants should prevail throughout the nation.—In vers. 13, 14, Moses concludes by once more summing up these instructions in the admonition to beware of offering sacrifices in every place that they might choose, the burnt-offering, as the leading sacrifice, being mentioned *instar omnium*.

Vers. 15–19. But if these instructions were really to be observed by the people in Canaan, it was necessary that the law which had been given with reference to the journey through the wilderness, viz. that no animal should be slain anywhere else than at the tabernacle in the same manner as a slain-offering (Lev. xvii. 3–6), should be abolished. This is done in ver. 15, where Moses, in direct connection with what goes before, allows the people, as an exception (ךָ, only) to the rules laid down in vers. 4–14, to kill and eat flesh for their own food according to all their soul's desire. Flesh that was slaughtered for food could be eaten by both clean and unclean, such for example as the roebuck and the hart, animals which could not be offered in sacrifice, and in which, therefore, the distinction between clean and unclean on the part of the eaters did not come into consideration at all.—Ver. 16. But blood was forbidden to be

¹ The explanation given by *De Wette*, and adopted by *Riehm*, of the expression, "the Levite that is within thy gates," is perfectly arbitrary and unfounded: viz. that "the Levites did not live any longer in the towns assigned them by the earlier laws, but were scattered about in the different towns of the other tribes."

eaten (see at Lev. xvii. 10 sqq.). The blood was to be poured out upon the earth like water, that it might suck it in, receive it into its bosom (see vol. ii. p. 410).—Vers. 17 sqq. Sacrificial meals could only be held at the sanctuary; and the Levite was not to be forgotten or neglected in connection with them (see at vers. 6, 7, and 12). לֹא תִכַּל, “*thou must not*,” as in chap. vii. 22.

Vers. 20-31. These rules were still to remain in force, even when God should extend the borders of the land in accordance with His promise. This extension relates partly to the gradual but complete extermination of the Canaanites (chap. vii. 22, comp. with Ex. xxiii. 27-33), and partly to the extension of the territory of the Israelites beyond the limits of Canaan Proper, in accordance with the divine promise in Gen. xv. 18. The words “as He hath spoken to thee” refer primarily to Ex. xxiii. 27-33. (On ver. 20*b*, see ver. 15.)—In ver. 21*a*, “*if the place . . . be too far from thee*,” supplies the reason for the repeal of the law in Lev. xvii. 3, which restricted all slaughtering to the place of the sanctuary. The words “*kill . . . as I have commanded thee*” refer back to ver. 15.—Ver. 22. Only the flesh that was slaughtered was to be eaten as the hart and the roebuck (cf. ver. 15), *i.e.* was not to be made into a sacrifice. יְהִרֵי, together, *i.e.* the one just the same as the other, as in Isa. x. 8, without the clean necessarily eating along with the unclean.—Vers. 23, 24. The law relating to the blood, as in ver. 16.—“*Be strong not to eat the blood*,” *i.e.* stedfastly resist the temptation to eat it.—Ver. 25. On the promise for doing what was right in the eyes of the Lord, see chap. vi. 18.—In vers. 26, 27, the command to offer all the holy gifts at the place chosen by the Lord is enforced once more, as in vers. 6, 11, 17, 18; also to prepare the sacrifices at His altar. קִדְשִׁים, the holy offerings prescribed in the law, as in Num. xviii. 8; see at Lev. xxi. 22. The “votive offerings” are mentioned in connection with these, because vows proceeded from a spontaneous impulse. אֲשֶׁר יְהִי לָךְ, “*which are to thee*,” are binding upon thee. In ver. 27, “the flesh and the blood” are in opposition to “thy burnt-offerings:” “thy burnt-offerings, namely the flesh and blood of them,” thou shalt prepare at the altar of Jehovah; *i.e.* the flesh and blood of the burnt-offerings were to be placed upon and against the altar (see at Lev. i. 5-9). Of the slain-offerings, *i.e.* the *shelamim*, the blood was to be poured out against the altar (Lev. iii. 2, 8, 13); “the flesh thou canst eat” (cf. Lev. vii. 11 sqq.). There is no ground for seeking an antithesis in שְׁפָךְ, as *Knobel* does, to the זָרַק in the sacrificial ritual.

The indefinite expression may be explained from the retrospective allusion to ver. 24 and the purely suggestive character of the whole passage, the thing itself being supposed to be sufficiently known from the previous laws.—Ver. 28. The closing admonition is a further expansion of ver. 25 (see at ch. xi. 21).—In vers. 29–31, the exhortation goes back to the beginning again, viz. to a warning against the Canaanitish idolatry (cf. vers. 2 sqq.). When the Lord had cut off the nations of Canaan from before the Israelites, they were to take heed that they did not get into the snare behind them, *i.e.* into the sin of idolatry, which had plunged the Canaanites into destruction (cf. chap. vii. 16, 25). The clause “*after they be destroyed from before thee*” is not mere tautology, but serves to depict the danger of the snare most vividly before their eyes. The second clause, “*that thou inquire not after them*” (their gods), etc., explains more fully to the Israelites the danger which threatened them. This danger was so far a pressing one, that the whole of the heathen world was animated with the conviction, that to neglect the gods of a land would be sure to bring misfortune (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 26).—Ver. 31*a*, like ver. 4, with the reason assigned in ver. 31*b*: “for the Canaanites prepare (נִצְּוּ, as in ver. 27) all kinds of abominations for their gods,” *i.e.* present offerings to these, which Jehovah hates and abhors; they even burn their children to their idols—for example, to Moloch (see at Lev. xviii. 21).

Punishment of Idolaters, and Tempters to Idolatry.—Chap. xiii.

Ver. 1. (chap. xii. 32). The admonition to observe the whole law, without adding to it or taking from it (cf. chap. iv. 2), is regarded by many commentators as the conclusion of the previous chapter. But it is more correct to understand it as an intermediate link, closing what goes before, and introductory to what follows. Strictly speaking, the warning against inclining to the idolatry of the Canaanites (chap. xii. 29–31) forms a transition from the enforcement of the true mode of worshipping Jehovah to the laws relating to tempters to idolatry and worshippers of idols (chap. xiii.). The Israelites were to cut off not only the tempters to idolatry, but those who had been led astray to idolatry also. Three different cases are mentioned.

Vers. 2–6 (1–5). The *first* case. If a prophet, or one who had dreams, should rise up to summon to the worship of other gods, with signs and wonders which came to pass, the Israelites were not to hearken to his words, but to put him to death. The introduction

of חִלְמוֹת הַלַּיְלָה, “*a dreamer of dreams*,” along with the prophet, answers to the two media of divine revelation, the vision and the dream, by which, according to Num. xii. 6, God made known His will. With regard to the signs and wonders (*mopheth*, see at Ex. iv. 21) with which such a prophet might seek to accredit his higher mission, it is taken for granted that they come to pass (בּוֹא) ; yet for all that, the Israelites were to give no heed to such a prophet, to walk after other gods. It follows from this, that the person had not been sent by God, but was a false prophet, and that the signs and wonders which he gave were not wonders effected by God, but σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ψεύδους (“*lying signs and wonders*,” 2 Thess. ii. 9) ; *i.e.* not merely seeming miracles, but miracles wrought in the power of the wicked one, Satan, the possibility and reality of which even Christ attests (Matt. xxiv. 24).—The word אָמַר, *saying*, is dependent upon the principal verb of the sentence : “if a prophet rise up . . . saying, We will go after other gods.”—Ver. 4. God permitted false prophets to rise up with such wonders, to try the Israelites, whether they loved Him, the Lord their God, with all their heart. (נָפַח as in Gen. xxii. 1.) הַיִּשְׁכֶּם אֲהֵבִים, whether ye are loving, *i.e.* faithfully maintain your love to the Lord. It is evident from this, “that however great the importance attached to signs and wonders, they were not to be regarded among the Israelites, either as the highest test, or as absolutely decisive, but that there was a certainty in Israel, which was so much the more certain and firm than any proof from miracles could be, that it might be most decidedly opposed to it” (*Baumgarten*). This certainty, however, was not “the knowledge of Jehovah,” as *B.* supposes ; but as *Luther* correctly observes, “the word of God, which had already been received, and confirmed by its own signs,” and which the Israelites were to preserve and hold fast, without adding or subtracting anything. “In opposition to such a word, no prophets were to be received, although they rained signs and wonders ; not even an angel from heaven, as Paul says in Gal. i. 8.” The command to hearken to the prophets whom the Lord would send at a future time (chap. xviii. 18 sqq.), is not at variance with this : for even their announcements were to be judged according to the standard of the fixed word of God that had been already given ; and so far as they proclaimed anything new, the fact that what they announced did not occur was to be the criterion that they had not spoken in the name of the Lord, but in that of other gods (chap. xviii. 21, 22), so that even there the signs and wonders of the prophets are not made the criteria of their divine

mission.—Vers. 5, 6. Israel was to adhere firmly to the Lord its God (cf. chap. iv. 4), and to put to death the prophet who preached apostasy from Jehovah, the Redeemer of Israel out of the slave-house of Egypt. לְהַרְיִיחֶךָ, “to force thee from the way in which Jehovah hath commanded thee to walk.” The execution of seducers to idolatry is enjoined upon the *people*, *i.e.* the whole community, not upon single individuals, but upon the authorities who had to maintain and administer justice. “*So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.*” הָרַע is neuter, as we may see from chap. xvii. 7, as comp. with ver. 2. The formula, “so shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee,” which occurs again in chap. xvii. 7, 12, xix. 19, xxi. 21, xxii. 21, 22, 24, and xxiv. 7 (cf. chap. xix. 13 and xxi. 9), belongs to the hortatory character of Deuteronomy, in accordance with which a reason is given for all the commandments, and the observance of them is urged upon the congregation as a holy affair of the heart, which could not be expected in the objective legislation of the earlier books.

Vers. 7–12 (6–11). The *second* case was when the temptation to idolatry proceeded from the nearest blood-relations and friends. The clause, “son of thy mother,” is not intended to describe the brother as a step-brother, but simply to bring out the closeness of the fraternal relation; like the description of the wife as the wife of thy bosom, who lies in thy bosom, rests upon thy breast (as in chap. xxviii. 54; Micah vii. 5), and of the friend as “thy friend which is as thine own soul,” *i.e.* whom thou lovest as much as thy life (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 1, 3). בְּסֵתֶר belongs to יָסִית: if the temptation occurred in secret, and therefore the fact might be hidden from others. The power of love and relationship, which flesh and blood find it hard to resist, is placed here in contrast with the supposed higher or divine authority of the seducers. As the persuasion was already very seductive, from the fact that it proceeded from the nearest blood-relations and most intimate friends, and was offered in secret, it might become still more so from the fact that it recommended the worship of a deity that had nothing in common with the forbidden idols of Canaan, and the worship of which, therefore, might appear of less consequence, or commend itself by the charm of peculiarity and novelty. To prevent this deceptive influence of sin, it is expressly added in ver. 8 (7), “*of the gods nigh unto thee or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth,*” *i.e.* whatever gods there might be upon the whole circuit of the earth.—Vers. 9 (8) sqq. To such persuasion Israel was not to

yield, nor were they to spare the tempters. The accumulation of synonyms (pity, spare, conceal) serves to make the passage more emphatic. כִּפֹּה, to cover, *i.e.* to keep secret, conceal. They were to put him to death without pity, *viz.* to stone him (cf. Lev. xx. 2). That the execution even in this case was to be carried out by the regular authorities, is evident from the words, "thy hand shall be first against him to put him to death, and the hand of all the people afterwards," which presuppose the judicial procedure prescribed in chap. xvii. 7, that the witnesses were to cast the first stones at the person condemned.—Ver. 12. This was to be done, and all Israel was to hear it and fear, that no such wickedness should be performed any more in the congregation. The fear of punishment, which is given here as the ultimate end of the punishment itself, is not to be regarded as the principle lying at the foundation of the law, but simply, as *Calvin* expresses it, as "the utility and fruit of severity," one reason for carrying out the law, which is not to be confounded with the so-called deterrent theory, *i.e.* the attempt to deter from crime by the mode of punishing (see my *Archäologie*, ii. p. 262).

Vers. 13-19 (12-18). The *third* case is that of a town that had been led away to idolatry. "If thou shalt hear in one of thy cities." בְּאַחַת, not *de una*, of one, which שָׁמַע with אֶת never can mean, and does not mean even in Job xxvi. 14. The thought is not that they would hear in one city about another, as though one city had the oversight over another; but there is an inversion in the sentence, "if thou hear, that in one of thy cities . . . worthless men have risen up, and led the inhabitants astray to serve strange gods." לְאָמַר introduces the substance of what is heard, which follows in ver. 14. יָצָא merely signifies to rise up, to go forth. מִקִּרְבָּהּ, out of the midst of the people.—Ver. 15 (14). Upon this report the people as a whole, of course through their rulers, were to examine closely into the affair (הִיטֵב, an adverb, as in chap. ix. 21), whether the word was established as truth, *i.e.* the thing was founded in truth (cf. chap. xvii. 4, xxii. 20); and if it really were so, they were to smite the inhabitants of that town with the edge of the sword (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 26), putting the town and all that was in it under the ban. "All that is in it" relates to men, cattle, and the material property of the town, and not to men alone (*Schultz*). The clause from "destroying" to "therein" is a more minute definition of the punishment introduced as a parenthesis; for "the cattle thereof," which follows, is also governed by "thou shalt smite." The ban was to be executed in all its severity as upon an idolatrous city: man and beast were to be

put to death without reserve ; and its booty, *i.e.* whatever was to be found in it as booty—all material goods, therefore—were to be heaped together in the market, and burned along with the city itself. כָּלִיל לַיהוָה (*Eng. Ver.* “every whit, for the Lord thy God”) signifies “as a whole offering for the Lord” (see Lev. vi. 15, 16), *i.e.* it was to be sanctified to Him entirely by being destroyed. The town was to continue an eternal hill (or heap of ruins), never to be built up again.—Ver. 18 (17). To enforce this command still more strongly, it is expressly stated, that of all that was burned, nothing whatever was to cleave or remain hanging to the hand of Israel, that the Lord might turn from His wrath and have compassion upon the nation, *i.e.* not punish the sin of one town upon the nation as a whole, but have mercy upon it and multiply it,—make up the diminution consequent upon the destruction of the inhabitants of that town, and so fulfil the promise given to the fathers of the multiplication of their seed.—Ver. 19 (18). Jehovah would do this if Israel hearkened to His voice, to do what was right in His eyes. In what way the appropriation of property laid under the ban brought the wrath of God upon the whole congregation, is shown by the example of Achan (Josh. vii.).

Avoidance of the Mourning Customs of the Heathen, and Unclean Food. Application of the Tithe of Fruits.—Chap. xiv.

Vers. 1–21. The Israelites were not only to suffer no idolatry to rise up in their midst, but in all their walk of life to show themselves as a holy nation of the Lord ; and neither to disfigure their bodies by passionate expressions of sorrow for the dead (vers. 1 and 2), nor to defile themselves by unclean food (vers. 3–21). Both of these were opposed to their calling. To bring this to their mind, Moses introduces the laws which follow with the words, “ye are children to the Lord your God.” The divine sonship of Israel was founded upon its election and calling as the holy nation of Jehovah, which is regarded in the Old Testament not as generation by the Spirit of God, but simply as an adoption springing out of the free love of God, as the manifestation of paternal love on the part of Jehovah to Israel, which binds the son to obedience, reverence, and childlike trust towards a Creator and Father, who would train it up into a holy people (see vol. i. p. 457). The laws in ver. 1b are simply a repetition of Lev. xix. 28 and xxi. 5. לַמֵּת, with reference to, or on account of, a dead person, is more expressive than לַנֶּפֶשׁ (for a soul) in Lev. xix. 28. The reason assigned for this command in ver. 2 (as in chap. vii. 6) is simply an emphatic elucida-

tion of the first clause of ver. 1. (On the substance of the verse, see Ex. xix. 5, 6.) — Vers. 3-20. With reference to food, the Israelites were to eat nothing whatever that was abominable. In explanation of this prohibition, the laws of Lev. xi. relating to clean and unclean animals are repeated in all essential points in vers. 4-20 (for the exposition, see at Lev. xi.); also in ver. 21 the prohibition against eating any animal that had fallen down dead (as in Ex. xxxii. 30 and Lev. xvii. 15), and against boiling a kid in its mother's milk (as in Ex. xxiii. 19).

Vers. 22-29. As the Israelites were to sanctify their food, on the one hand, positively by abstinence from everything unclean, so were they, on the other hand, to do so negatively by delivering the tithes and firstlings at the place where the Lord would cause His name to dwell, and by holding festal meals on the occasion, and rejoicing there before Jehovah their God. This law is introduced with the general precept, "*Thou shalt tithe all the produce of thy seed which groweth out of the field* (שְׂאֵלֶיךָ construes with an accusative, as in Gen. ix. 10, etc.) *year by year*" (שָׁנָה שָׁנָה, i.e. every year; cf. Ewald, § 313, a.), which recalls the earlier laws concerning the tithe (Lev. xxvii. 30, and Num. xviii. 21, 26 sqq.), without repeating them one by one, for the purpose of linking on the injunction to celebrate sacrificial meals at the sanctuary from the tithes and firstlings. Moses had already directed (chap. xii. 6 sqq.) that all the sacrificial meals should take place at the sanctuary, and had then alluded to the sacrificial meals to be prepared from the tithes, though only casually, because he intended to speak of them more fully afterwards. This he does here, and includes the firstlings also, inasmuch as the presentation of them was generally associated with that of the tithes, though only casually, as he intends to revert to the firstlings again, which he does in chap. xv. 19 sqq. The connection between the tithes of the fruits of the ground and the firstlings of the cattle which were devoted to the sacrificial meals, and the tithes and first-fruits which were to be delivered to the Levites and priests, we have already discussed at chap. xii. (p. 356). The sacrificial meals were to be held before the Lord, in the place where He caused His name to dwell (see at chap. xii. 5), that Israel might learn to fear Jehovah its God always; not, however, as Schultz supposes, that by the confession of its dependence upon Him it might accustom itself more and more to the feeling of dependence. For the fear of the Lord is not merely a feeling of dependence upon Him, but also includes the notion of divine

blessedness, which is the predominant idea here, as the sacrificial meals were to furnish the occasion and object of the rejoicing before the Lord. The true meaning therefore is, that Israel might rejoice with holy reverence in the fellowship of its God.—Vers. 24 sqq. In the land of Canaan, however, where the people would be scattered over a great extent of country, there would be many for whom the fulfilment of this command would be very difficult—would, in fact, appear almost impossible. To meet this difficulty, permission was given for those who lived at a great distance from the sanctuary to sell the tithes at home, provided they could not convey them in kind, and then to spend the money so obtained in the purchase of the things required for the sacrificial meals at the place of the sanctuary. כִּי יִרְבֶּה מְאֹד, “if the way be too great (too far) for thee,” etc., *sc.* for the delivery of the tithe. The parenthetical clause, “if Jehovah thy God shall bless thee,” hardly means “if He shall extend thy territory” (*Knobel*), but if He shall bless thee by plentiful produce from the field and the cattle.—Ver. 25. “Turn it into money,” *lit.* “give it up for silver,” *sc.* the produce of the tithe; “and bind the silver in thy hand,” *const. prægnaus* for “bind it in a purse and take it in thy hand . . . and give the silver for all that thy soul desireth, for oxen and small cattle, for wine and strong drink,” to hold a joyous meal, to which the Levite was also to be invited (as in chap. xii. 12, 18, and 19).—Vers. 28 and 29. Every third year, on the other hand, they were to separate the whole of the tithe from the year’s produce (“bring forth,” *sc.* from the granary), and leave it in their gates (*i.e.* their towns), and feed the Levites, the strangers, and the widows and orphans with it. They were not to take it to the sanctuary, therefore; but according to chap. xxvi. 12 sqq., after bringing it out, were to make confession to the Lord of what they had done, and pray for His blessing. “At the end of three years:” *i.e.* when the third year, namely the civil year, which closed with the harvest (see at Ex. xxiii. 16), had come to an end. This regulation as to the time was founded upon the observance of the sabbatical year, as we may see from chap. xv. 1, where the seventh year is no other than the sabbatical year. Twice, therefore, within the period of a sabbatical year, namely in the third and sixth years, the tithe set apart for a sacrificial meal was not to be eaten at the sanctuary, but to be used in the different towns of the land in providing festal meals for those who had no possessions, viz. the Levites, strangers, widows, and orphans. Consequently this tithe cannot properly be

called the "third tithe," as it is by many of the Rabbins, but rather the "poor tithe," as it was simply in the way of applying it that it differed from the "second" (see *Hottinger, de decimis, exerc. viii.* pp. 182 sqq., and my *Archäol.* i. p. 339). As an encouragement to carry out these instructions, Moses closes in ver. 29 with an allusion to the divine blessing which would follow their observance.

On the Year of Release, the Emancipation of Hebrew Slaves, and the Sanctification of the First-born of Cattle.—Chap. xv.

Vers. 1-11. ON THE YEAR OF RELEASE.—The first two regulations in this chapter, viz. vers. 1-11 and 12-18, follow simply upon the law concerning the poor tithe in chap. xiv. 28, 29. The Israelites were not only to cause those who had no possessions (Levites, strangers, widows, and orphans) to refresh themselves with the produce of their inheritance, but they were not to force and oppress the poor. Debtors especially were not to be deprived of the blessings of the sabbatical year (vers. 1-6). "*At the end of seven years thou shalt make a release.*" The expression, "at the end of seven years," is to be understood in the same way as the corresponding phrase, "at the end of three years," in chap. xiv. 28. The end of seven years, *i.e.* of the seven years' cycle formed by the sabbatical year, is mentioned as the time when debts that had been contracted were usually wiped off or demanded, after the year's harvest had been gathered in (cf. chap. xxxi. 10, according to which the feast of Tabernacles occurred at the end of the year). שָׁמַטָּה, from שָׁמַט, to let lie, to let go (cf. Ex. xxiii. 11), does not signify a remission of the debt, the relinquishing of all claim for payment, as *Philo* and the Talmudists affirm, but simply lengthening the term, not pressing for payment. This is the explanation in ver. 2: "*This is the manner of the release*" (*shemittah*): cf. chap. xix. 4; 1 Kings ix. 15. "*Every owner of a loan of his hand shall release (leave) what he has lent to his neighbour; he shall not press his neighbour, and indeed his brother; for they have proclaimed release for Jehovah.*" As שָׁמַט (release) points unmistakeably back to Ex. xxiii. 11, it must be interpreted in the same manner here as there. And as it is not used there to denote the entire renunciation of a field or possession, so here it cannot mean the entire renunciation of what had been lent, but simply leaving it, *i.e.* not pressing for it during the seventh year. This is favoured by what follows, "*thou shalt not press thy neighbour,*" which simply forbids an unreserved demand, but does not require that the debt should be remitted or presented to the

debtor (see also *Bähr, Symbolik*, ii. pp. 570–1). “The loan of the hand:” what the hand has lent to another. “The master of the loan of the hand:” *i.e.* the owner of a loan, the lender. “His brother” defines with greater precision the idea of “a neighbour.” Calling a release, presupposes that the sabbatical year was publicly proclaimed, like the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 9). קָרָא is impersonal (“they call”), as in Gen. xi. 9 and xvi. 14. “For Jehovah:” *i.e.* in honour of Jehovah, sanctified to Him, as in Ex. xii. 42.—This law points back to the institution of the sabbatical year in Ex. xxiii. 10, Lev. xxv. 2–7, though it is not to be regarded as an appendix to the law of the sabbatical year, or an expansion of it, but simply as an exposition of what was already implied in the main provision of that law, *viz.* that the cultivation of the land should be suspended in the sabbatical year. If no harvest was gathered in, and even such produce as had grown without sowing was to be left to the poor and the beasts of the field, the landowner could have no income from which to pay his debts. The fact that the “*sabbatical year*” is not expressly mentioned, may be accounted for on the ground, that even in the principal law itself this name does not occur; and it is simply commanded that every seventh year there was to be a sabbath of rest to the land (Lev. xxv. 4). In the subsequent passages in which it is referred to (ver. 9 and chap. xxxi. 10), it is still not called a sabbatical year, but simply the “year of release,” and that not merely with reference to debtors, but also with reference to the release (*shemittah*) to be allowed to the field (Ex. xxiii. 11).—Ver. 3. The foreigner thou mayest press, but what thou hast with thy brother shall thy hand let go. נָכְרִי is a stranger of another nation, standing in no inward relation to Israel at all, and is to be distinguished from גֵּר, the foreigner who lived among the Israelites, who had a claim upon their protection and pity. This rule breathes no hatred of foreigners, but simply allows the Israelites the right of every creditor to demand his debts, and enforce the demand upon foreigners, even in the sabbatical year. There was no severity in this, because foreigners could get their ordinary income in the seventh year as well as in any other.—Ver. 4. “Only that there shall be no poor with thee.” יִהְיֶה is jussive, like the foregoing imperfects. The meaning in this connection is, “Thou needest not to remit a debt to foreigners in the seventh year; thou hast only to take care that there is no poor man with or among thee, that thou dost not cause or increase their poverty, by oppressing the brethren who have borrowed of thee.” Understood in this way, the sentence

is not at all at variance with ver. 11, where it is stated that the poor would never cease out of the land. The following clause, "for Jehovah will bless thee," etc., gives a reason for the main thought, that they were not to press the Israelitish debtor. The creditor, therefore, had no need to fear that he would suffer want, if he refrained from exacting his debt from his brother in the seventh year.—Vers. 5, 6. This blessing would not fail, if the Israelites would only hearken to the voice of the Lord; "*for Jehovah blesseth thee*" (by the perfect בִּרְכֶּךָ, the blessing is represented not as a possible and future one only, but as one already bestowed according to the counsel of God, and, so far as the commencement was concerned, already fulfilled), "*as He hath spoken*" (see at chap. i. 11). "*And thou wilt lend on pledge to many nations, but thou thyself wilt not borrow upon pledge.*" עָבַט, a denom. verb, from עָבֹט, a pledge, signifies in *Kal* to give a pledge for the purpose of borrowing; in *Hiphil*, to cause a person to give a pledge, or furnish occasion for giving a pledge, i.e. to lend upon pledge. "*And thou wilt rule over many nations,*" etc. Ruling is mentioned here as the result of superiority in wealth (cf. chap. xxviii. 1: *Schultz*).—Vers. 7-11. And in general Israel was to be ready to lend to the poor among its brethren, not to harden its heart, to be hard-hearted, but to lend to the poor brother מִחֲסָדוֹ, רִי, "the sufficiency of his need," whatever he might need to relieve his wants.—Vers. 9, 10. Thus they were also to beware "*that there was not a word in the heart, worthlessness,*" i.e. that a worthless thought did not arise in their hearts (בְּלִיעַל is the predicate of the sentence, as the more precise definition of the word that was in the heart); so that one should say, "*The seventh year is at hand, the year of release,*" sc. when I shall not be able to demand what I have lent, and "*that thine eye be evil towards thy poor brother,*" i.e. that thou cherishest ill-will towards him (cf. chap. xxviii. 54, 56), "*and givest him not, and he appeals to Jehovah against thee, and it becomes sin to thee,*" sc. which brings down upon thee the wrath of God.—Ver. 10. Thou shalt give him, and thy heart shall not become evil, i.e. discontented thereat (cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7), for Jehovah will bless thee for it (cf. Prov. xxii. 9, xxviii. 27; Ps. xli. 2; Matt. vi. 4).—Ver. 11. For the poor will never cease in the land, even the land that is richly blessed, because poverty is not only the penalty of sin, but is ordained by God for punishment and discipline.

Vers. 12-18. These provisions in favour of the poor are followed very naturally by the rules which the Israelites were to be urged to observe with reference to the *manumission of Hebrew*

slaves. It is not the reference to the sabbatical year in the foregoing precepts which forms the introduction to the laws which follow respecting the manumission of Hebrews who had become slaves, but the poverty and want which compelled Hebrew men and women to sell themselves as slaves. The seventh year, in which they were to be set free, is not the same as the sabbatical year, therefore, but the seventh year of bondage. Manumission in the seventh year of service had already been commanded in Ex. xxi. 2-6, in the rights laid down for the nation, with special reference to the conclusion of the covenant. This command is not repeated here for the purpose of extending the law to Hebrew women, who are not expressly mentioned in Ex. xxi.; for that would follow as a matter of course, in the case of a law which was quite as applicable to women as to men, and was given without any reserve to the whole congregation. It is rather repeated here as a law which already existed as a right, for the purpose of explaining the true mode of fulfilling it, viz. that it was not sufficient to give a man-servant and maid-servant their liberty after six years of service, which would not be sufficient relief to those who had been obliged to enter into slavery on account of poverty, if they had nothing with which to set up a home of their own; but love to the poor was required to do more than this, namely, to make some provision for the continued prosperity of those who were set at liberty. “*If thou let him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go (send him away) empty:*” this was the new feature which Moses added here to the previous law. “*Thou shalt load (הָעִנִּיךָ, lit. put upon the neck) of thy flock, and of thy floor (corn), and of thy press (oil and wine); wherewith thy God hath blessed thee, of that thou shalt give to him.*”—Ver. 15. They were to be induced to do this by the recollection of their own redemption out of the bondage of Egypt,—the same motive that is urged for the laws and exhortations enjoining compassion towards foreigners, servants, maids, widows, orphans, and the poor, not only in chap. v. 15, x. 19, xvi. 12, xxiv. 18, 22, but also in Ex. xxii. 20, xxiii. 9, and Lev. xix. 34.—Vers. 16, 17. But if the man-servant and the maid-servant should not wish for liberty in the sixth year, because it was well with them in the house of their master, they were not to be compelled to go, but were to be bound to eternal, i.e. lifelong bondage, in the manner prescribed in Ex. xxi. 5, 6.¹ This is repeated from

¹ *Knobel's* assertion, that the judicial process enjoined in Ex. xxi. 6 does not seem to have been usual in the author's own time, is a worthless *argumentum e silentio*.

Ex. xxi., to guard against such an application of the law as might be really cruelty under the circumstances rather than love. Manumission was only an act of love, when the person to be set free had some hope of success and of getting a living for himself; and where there was no such prospect, compelling him to accept of freedom might be equivalent to thrusting him away.—Ver. 18. If, on the other hand, the servant (or maid) wished to be set free, the master was not to think it hard; “*for the double of the wages of a day-labourer he has earned for thee for six years,*” i.e. not “twice the time of a day-labourer, so that he had really deserved twice the wages” (*Vatablius, Ad. Osiander, J. Gerhard*), for it cannot be proved from Isa. xvi. 14, that a day-labourer generally hired himself out for three years; nor yet, “he has been obliged to work much harder than a day-labourer, very often by night as well as day” (*Clericus, J. H. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Baumgarten*); but simply, “he has earned and produced so much, that if you had been obliged to keep a day-labourer in his place, it would have cost you twice as much” (*Schultz, Knobel*).

Vers. 19-23. APPLICATION OF THE FIRST-BORN OF CATTLE.—From the laws respecting the poor and slaves, to which the instructions concerning the tithes (chap. xiv. 22-29) had given occasion, Moses returns to appropriation of the first-born of the herd and flock to sacrificial meals, which he had already touched upon in chap. xii. 6, 17, and xiv. 23, and concludes by an explanation upon this point. The command, which the Lord had given when first they came out of Egypt (Ex. xiii. 2, 12), that all the first-born of the herd and flock should be sanctified to Him, is repeated here by Moses, with the express injunction that they were not to work with the first-born of cattle (by yoking them to the plough or waggon), and not to shear the first-born of sheep; that is to say, they were not to use the first-born animals which were sanctified to the Lord for their own earthly purposes, but to offer them year by year as sacrifices to the Lord, and consume them in sacrificial meals, in the manner explained at p. 357. To this he adds (vers. 21, 22) the further provision, that first-born animals, which were blind or lame, or had any other bad fault, were not to be offered in sacrifice to the Lord, but, like ordinary animals used for food, could be eaten in all the towns of the land. Although the first part of this law was involved in the general laws as to the kind of animal that could be offered in sacrifice (Lev. xxii. 19 sqq.), it was by no means unim-

portant to point out distinctly their applicability to the first-born, and add some instructions with regard to the way in which they were to be applied. (On vers. 22 and 23, see chap. xii. 15 and 16.)

On the Celebration of the Feasts of Passover, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles.—Chap. xvi. 1–17.

The annual feasts appointed by the law were to be celebrated, like the sacrificial meals, at the place which the Lord would choose for the revelation of His name; and there Israel was to rejoice before the Lord with the presentation of sacrifices. From this point of view Moses discusses the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, assuming the laws previously given concerning these festivals (Ex. xii., Lev. xxiii., and Num. xxviii. and xxix.) as already known, and simply repeating those points which related to the sacrificial meals held at these festivals. This serves to explain the reason why only those three festivals are mentioned, at which Israel had already been commanded to appear before the Lord in Ex. xxiii. 14–17, and xxxiv. 18, 24, 25, and not the feast of trumpets or day of atonement: viz. because the people were not required to assemble at the sanctuary out of the whole land on the occasion of these two festivals.¹

Vers. 1–8. Israel was to make ready the Passover to the Lord in the earing month (see at Ex. xii. 2). The precise day is supposed to be known from Ex. xii., as in Ex. xxiii. 15. עֲשֶׂה פֶסַח (*to prepare the Passover*), which is used primarily to denote the preparation of the paschal lamb for a festal meal, is employed here in a wider signification, viz. “*to keep the Passover.*” At this feast they were to slay sheep and oxen to the Lord for a Passover, at the place, etc. In ver. 2, as in ver. 1, the word “Passover” is employed in a broader sense, and includes not only the paschal lamb, but the paschal sacrifices generally, which the Rabbins embrace under the

¹ That the assembling of the people at the central sanctuary is the leading point of view under which the feasts are regarded here, has been already pointed out by *Bachmann* (*die Feste*, p. 143), who has called attention to the fact that “the place which Jehovah thy God will choose” occurs six times (vers. 2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16); and “before the face of Jehovah” three times (vers. 11 and 16 twice); and that the celebration of the feast at any other place is expressly declared to be null and void. At the same time, he has once more thoroughly exploded the contradictions which are said to exist between this chapter and the earlier festal laws, and which *Hupfeld* has revived in his comments upon the feasts, without troubling himself to notice the careful discussion of the subject by *Hüevernick* in his Introduction, and *Hengstenberg* in his Dissertations.

common name of *chagiga*; not the burnt-offerings and sin-offerings, however, prescribed in Num. xxviii. 19-26, but all the sacrifices that were slain at the feast of the Passover (*i.e.* during the seven days of the *Mazzoth*, which are included under the name of *pascha*) for the purpose of holding sacrificial meals. This is evident from the expression "*of the flock and the herd*;" as it was expressly laid down, that only a פֶּזֶז, *i.e.* a yearling animal of the sheep or goats, was to be slain for the paschal meal on the fourteenth of the month in the evening, and an ox was never slaughtered in the place of the lamb. But if any doubt could exist upon this point, it would be completely set aside by ver. 3: "*Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith.*" As the word "*therewith*" cannot possibly refer to anything else than the "Passover" in ver. 2, it is distinctly stated that the slaughtering and eating of the Passover was to last seven days, whereas the Passover lamb was to be slain and consumed in the evening of the fourteenth Abib (Ex. xii. 10). Moses called the unleavened bread "*the bread of affliction*," because the Israelites had to leave Egypt in anxious flight (Ex. xii. 11) and were therefore unable to leaven the dough (Ex. xii. 39), for the purpose of reminding the congregation of the oppression endured in Egypt, and to stir them up to gratitude towards the Lord their deliverer, that they might remember that day as long as they lived. (On the meaning of the *Mazzoth*, see at Ex. xii. 8 and 15.)—On account of the importance of the unleavened bread as a symbolical shadowing forth of the significance of the Passover, as the feast of the renewal and sanctification of the life of Israel (see vol. ii. p. 21), Moses repeats in ver. 4 two of the points in the law of the feast: first of all the one laid down in Ex. xiii. 7, that no leaven was to be seen in the land during the seven days; and secondly, the one in Ex. xxiii. 18 and xxxiv. 25, that none of the flesh of the paschal lamb was to be left till the next morning, in order that all corruption might be kept at a distance from the paschal food. Leaven, for example, sets the dough in fermentation, from which putrefaction ensues (see vol. ii. p. 15); and in the East, if flesh is kept, it very quickly decomposes. He then once more fixes the time and place for keeping the Passover (the former according to Ex. xii. 6 and Lev. xxiii. 5, etc.), and adds in ver. 7 the express regulation, that not only the slaughtering and sacrificing, but the roasting (see at Ex. xii. 9) and eating of the paschal lamb were to take place at the sanctuary, and that the next morning they could turn and go back home.

This rule contains a new feature, which Moses prescribes with reference to the keeping of the Passover in the land of Canaan, and by which he modifies the instructions for the first Passover in Egypt, to suit the altered circumstances. In Egypt, when Israel was not yet raised into the nation of Jehovah, and had as yet no sanctuary and no common altar, the different houses necessarily served as altars. But when this necessity was at an end, the slaying and eating of the Passover in the different houses were to cease, and they were both to take place at the sanctuary before the Lord, as was the case with the feast of Passover at Sinai (Num. ix. 1-5). Thus the smearing of the door-posts with the blood was tacitly abolished, since the blood was to be sprinkled upon the altar as sacrificial blood, as it had already been at Sinai (see vol. ii. p. 50). —The expression “*to thy tents*,” for going “home,” points to the time when Israel was still dwelling in tents, and had not as yet secured any fixed abodes and houses in Canaan, although this expression was retained at a still later time (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xiii. 2; 2 Sam. xix. 9, etc.). The going home in the morning after the paschal meal, is not to be understood as signifying a return to their homes in the different towns of the land, but simply, as even *Riehm* admits, to their homes or lodgings at the place of the sanctuary. How very far Moses was from intending to release the Israelites from the duty of keeping the feast for seven days, is evident from the fact that in ver. 8 he once more enforces the observance of the seven days’ feast. The two clauses, “six days thou shalt eat *mazzoth*,” and “on the seventh day shall be *azereth* (Eng. Ver. ‘a solemn assembly’) to the Lord thy God,” are not placed in antithesis to each other, so as to imply (in contradiction to vers. 3 and 4; Ex. xii. 18, 19, xiii. 6, 7, Lev. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17) that the feast of Mazzoth was to last only six days instead of seven; but the seventh day is brought into especial prominence as the *azereth* of the feast (see at Lev. xxiii. 36), simply because, in addition to the eating of *mazzoth*, there was to be an entire abstinence from work, and this particular feature might easily have fallen into neglect at the close of the feast. But just as the eating of *mazzoth* for seven days is not abolished by the first clause, so the suspension of work on the first day is not abolished by the second clause, any more than in Ex. xiii. 6 the first day is represented as a working day by the fact that the seventh day is called “a feast to Jehovah.”

Vers. 9-12. With regard to the FEAST OF WEEKS (see at Ex. xxiii. 16), it is stated that the time for its observance was to be

reckoned from the Passover. Seven weeks shall they count "*from the beginning of the sickle to the corn,*" i.e. from the time when the sickle began to be applied to the corn, or from the commencement of the corn-harvest. As the corn-harvest was opened with the presentation of the sheaf of first-fruits on the second day of the Passover, this regulation as to time coincides with the rule laid down in Lev. xxiii. 15. "*Thou shalt keep the feast to the Lord thy God according to the measure of the free gift of thy hand, which thou givest as Jehovah thy God blesseth thee.*" The $\alpha\pi. \lambda\epsilon\gamma. \text{מִסָּפֶה}$ is the standing rendering in the Chaldee for מִסָּפֶה , sufficiency, need; it probably signifies abundance, from $\text{מִסָּפֶה} = \text{מִסָּפֶה}$, to flow, to overflow, to derive. The idea is this: Israel was to keep this feast with sacrificial gifts, which every one was able to bring, according to the extent to which the Lord had blessed him, and (ver. 11) to rejoice before the Lord at the place where His name dwelt with sacrificial meals, to which the needy were to be invited (cf. xiv. 29), in remembrance of the fact that they also were bondmen in Egypt (cf. xv. 15). The "*free-will offering of the hand,*" which the Israelites were to bring with them to this feast, and with which they were to rejoice before the Lord, belonged to the free-will gifts of burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, drink-offerings, and thank-offerings, which might be offered, according to Num. xxix. 39 (cf. Lev. xxiii. 38), at every feast, along with the festal sacrifices enjoined upon the congregation. The latter were binding upon the priests and congregation, and are fully described in Num. xxviii. and xxix., so that there was no necessity for Moses to say anything further with reference to them.

Vers. 13-17. In connection with the FEAST OF TABERNACLES also, he simply enforces the observance of it at the central sanctuary, and exhorts the people to rejoice at this festival, and not only to allow their sons and daughters to participate in this joy, but also the man-servant and maid-servant, and the portionless Levites, strangers, widows, and orphans. After what had already been stated, Moses did not consider it necessary to mention expressly that this festal rejoicing was also to be manifested in joyous sacrificial meals; it was enough for him to point to the blessing which God had bestowed upon their cultivation of the corn, the olive, and the vine, and upon all the works of their hands, i.e. upon their labour generally (vers. 13-15), as there was nothing further to remark after the instructions which had already been given with reference to this feast also (Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-43; Num. xxix. 12-38).—Vers. 16, 17. In conclusion, the law is repeated, that the

men were to appear before the Lord three times a year at the three feasts just mentioned (compare Ex. xxiii. 17 with ver. 15, and chap. xxxiv. 23), with the additional clause, "*at the place which the Lord shall choose,*" and the following explanation of the words "not empty:" "*every man according to the gift of his hand, according to the blessing of Jehovah his God, which He hath given thee,*" i.e. with sacrificial gifts, as much as every one could offer, according to the blessing which he had received from God.

On the Administration of Justice and the Choice of a King.—
Chap. xvi. 18—xvii. 20.

Just as in its religious worship the Israelitish nation was to show itself to be the holy nation of Jehovah, so was it in its political relations also. This thought forms the link between the laws already given and those which follow. Civil order—that indispensable condition of the stability and prosperity of nations and states—rests upon a conscientious maintenance of right by means of a well-ordered judicial constitution and an impartial administration of justice.—For the purpose of settling the disputes of the people, Moses had already provided them with judges at Sinai, and had given the judges themselves the necessary instructions for the fulfilment of their duties (Ex. xviii.). This arrangement might suffice as long as the people were united in one camp and had Moses for a leader, who could lay before God any difficult cases that were brought to him, and give an absolute decision with divine authority. But for future times, when Israel would no longer possess a prophet and mediator like Moses, and after the conquest of Canaan would live scattered about in the towns and villages of the whole land, certain modifications and supplementary additions were necessary to adapt this judicial constitution to the altered circumstances of the people. Moses anticipates this want in the following provisions, in which he *first* of all commands the appointment of judges and officials in every town, and gives certain precise injunctions as to their judicial proceedings (chap. xvi. 18—xvii. 7); and *secondly*, appoints a higher judicial court at the place of the sanctuary for the more difficult cases (chap. xvii. 8—13); and *thirdly*, gives them a law for the future with reference to the choice of a king (vers. 14—20).

Chap. xvi. 18—xvii. 7. APPOINTMENT AND INSTRUCTION OF THE JUDGES.—Ver. 18. "*Judges and officers thou shalt appoint thee in all thy gates* (places, see at Ex. xx. 10), *which Jehovah thy God*

shall give thee, according to thy tribes." The nation is addressed as a whole, and directed to appoint for itself judges and officers, *i.e.* to choose them, and have them appointed by its rulers, just as was done at Sinai, where the people chose the judges, and Moses inducted into office the persons so chosen (cf. chap. i. 12-18). That the same course was to be adopted in future, is evident from the expression, "throughout thy tribes," *i.e.* according to thy tribes, which points back to chap. i. 13. Election by majorities was unknown to the Mosaic law. The *shoterim*, officers (*lit.* writers, see at Ex. v. 6), who were associated with the judges, according to chap. i. 15, even under the previous arrangement, were not merely messengers and servants of the courts, but secretaries and advisers of the judges, who derived their title from the fact that they had to draw up and keep the genealogical lists, and who are mentioned as already existing in Egypt as overseers of the people and of their work (see at Ex. v. 6; and for the different opinions concerning their official position, see *Selden, de Synedriis*, i. pp. 342-3). The new features, which Moses introduces here, consist simply in the fact that every place was to have its own judges and officers, whereas hitherto they had only been appointed for the larger and smaller divisions of the nation, according to their genealogical organization. Moses lays down no rule as to the number of judges and *shoterim* to be appointed in each place, because this would depend upon the number of the inhabitants; and the existing arrangement of judges over tens, hundreds, etc. (Ex. xviii. 21), would still furnish the necessary standard. The statements made by *Josephus* and the *Rabbins* with regard to the number of judges in each place are contradictory, or at all events are founded upon the circumstances of much later times (see my *Archäologie*, ii. pp. 257-8).—These judges were to judge the people with just judgment. The admonition in ver. 19 corresponds to the instructions in Ex. xxiii. 6 and 8. "Respect persons:" as in chap. i. 17. To this there is added, in ver. 20, an emphatic admonition to strive zealously to maintain justice. The repetition of the word justice is emphatic: justice, and nothing but justice, as in Gen. xiv. 10, etc. But in order to give the people and the judges appointed by them a brief practical admonition, as to the things they were more especially to observe in their administration of justice, Moses notices by way of example a few crimes that were deserving of punishment (vers. 21, 22, and chap. xvii. 1), and then proceeds in chap. xvii. 2-7 to describe more fully the judicial proceedings in the case of

idolaters.—Ver. 21. “*Thou shalt not plant thee as asherah any wood beside the altar of Jehovah.*” נָטַע, to plant, used figuratively, to plant up or erect, as in Eccles. xii. 11, Dan. xi. 25; cf. Isa. li. 16. *Asherah*, the symbol of *Astarte* (see at Ex. xxxiv. 13), cannot mean either a green tree or a grove (as *Movers, Relig. der Phönizier*, p. 572, supposes), for the simple reason that in other passages we find the words עֲשָׂה, make (1 Kings xiv. 15, xvi. 33; 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3), or הִצִּיב, set up (2 Kings xvii. 10), הֶעָמִיד, stand up (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19), and בָּנָה, build (1 Kings xiv. 23), used to denote the erection of an *asherah*, not one of which is at all suitable to a tree or grove. But what is quite decisive is the fact that in 1 Kings xiv. 23, 2 Kings xvii. 10, Jer. xvii. 2, the *asherah* is spoken of as being set up under, or by the side of, the green tree. This idol generally consisted of a wooden column; and a favourite place for setting it up was by the side of the altars of Baal.—Ver. 22. They were also to abstain from setting up any *mazzebah*, i.e. any memorial stone, or stone pillar dedicated to Baal (see at Ex. xxiii. 24).

Chap. xvii. 1. Not only did the inclination to nature-worship, such as the setting up of the idols of *Ashera* and *Baal*, belong to the crimes which merited punishment, but also a manifest transgression of the laws concerning the worship of Jehovah, such as the offering of an ox or sheep that had some fault, which was an abomination in the sight of Jehovah (see at Lev. xxii. 20 sqq.). “*Any evil thing,*” i.e. any of the faults enumerated in Lev. xxii. 22–24.—Vers. 2–7. If such a case should occur, as that a man or woman transgressed the covenant of the Lord and went after other gods and worshipped them; when it was made known, the facts were to be carefully inquired into; and if the charge were substantiated, the criminal was to be led out to the gate and stoned. On the testimony of two or three witnesses, not of one only, he was to be put to death (see at Num. xxxv. 30); and the hand of the witnesses was to be against him first to put him to death, i.e. to throw the first stones at him, and all the people were to follow. With regard to the different kinds of idolatry in ver. 3, see chap. iv. 19. (On ver. 4, see chap. xiii. 15.) “*Bring him out to thy gates,*” i.e. to one of the gates of the town in which the crime was committed. By the gates we are to understand the open space near the gates, where the judicial proceedings took place (cf. Neh. viii. 1, 3; Job xxix. 7), the sentence itself being executed outside the town (cf. chap. xxii. 24; Acts vii. 58; Heb. xiii. 12), just as it had been out-

side the camp during the journey through the wilderness (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 36), to indicate the exclusion of the criminal from the congregation, and from fellowship with God. The infliction of punishment in vers. 5 sqq. is like that prescribed in chap. xiii. 10, 11, for those who tempted others to idolatry; with this exception, that the testimony of more than one witness was required before the sentence could be executed, and the witnesses were to be the first to lift up their hands against the criminal to stone him, that they might thereby give a practical proof of the truth of their statement, and their own firm conviction that the condemned was deserving of death,—“a rule which would naturally lead to the supposition that no man would come forward as a witness without the fullest certainty or the greatest depravity” (*Schnell, das isr. Recht*).¹ הָמָּוֶה (ver. 6), the man exposed to death, who was therefore really *ipso facto* already dead. “*So shalt thou put the evil away,*” etc.: cf. chap. xiii. 6.

Vers. 8-13. THE HIGHER JUDICIAL COURT AT THE PLACE OF THE SANCTUARY.—Just as the judges appointed at Sinai were to bring to Moses whatever cases were too difficult for them to decide, that he might judge them according to the decision of God (Ex. xviii. 26 and 19); so in the future the judges of the different towns were to bring all difficult cases, which they were unable to decide, before the Levitical priests and judges at the place of the sanctuary, that a final decision might be given there.—Vers. 8 sqq. “*If there is to thee a matter too marvellous for judgment (מְפֹלֶסֶת with מְ, too wonderful, incomprehensible, or beyond carrying out, Gen. xviii. 14, i.e. too difficult to give a judicial decision upon), between blood and blood, plea and plea, stroke and stroke (i.e. too hard for you to decide according to what legal provisions a fatal blow, or dispute on some civil matter, or a bodily injury, is to be settled), disputes in thy gates (a loosely arranged apposition in this sense, disputes of different kinds, such as shall arise in thy towns); arise, and get thee to the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; and go to the Levitical priests and the judge that shall be in those days, and in-*

¹ “He assigned this part to the witnesses, chiefly because there are so many whose tongue is so slippery, not to say good for nothing, that they would boldly strangle a man with their words, when they would not dare to touch him with one of their fingers. It was the best remedy, therefore, that could be tried for restraining such levity, to refuse to admit the testimony of any man who was not ready to execute judgment with his own hand” (*Calvin*).

quire." Israel is addressed here as a nation, but the words are not to be supposed to be directed "first of all to the local courts (chap. xvi. 18), and lastly to the contending parties" (*Knobel*), nor "directly to the parties to the suit" (*Schultz*), but simply to the persons whose duty it was to administer justice in the nation, *i.e.* to the regular judges in the different towns and districts of the land. This is evident from the general fact, that the Mosaic law never recognises any appeal to higher courts by the different parties to a lawsuit, and that in this case also it is not assumed, since all that is enjoined is, that if the matter should be too difficult for the local judges to decide, they themselves were to carry it to the superior court. As *Oehler* has quite correctly observed in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*, "this superior court was not a court of appeal; for it did not adjudicate after the local court had already given a verdict, but in cases in which the latter would not trust itself to give a verdict at all." And this is more especially evident from what is stated in ver. 10, with regard to the decisions of the superior court, namely, that they were to do whatever the superior judges taught, without deviating to the right hand or to the left. This is unquestionably far more applicable to the judges of the different towns, who were to carry out exactly the sentence of the higher tribunal, than to the parties to the suit, inasmuch as the latter, at all events those who were condemned for blood (*i.e.* for murder), could not possibly be in a position to alter the decision of the court at pleasure, since it did not rest with them, but with the authorities of their town, to carry out the sentence.

Moses did not directly institute a superior tribunal at the place of the sanctuary on this occasion, but rather assumed its existence; not however its existence at that time (as *Riehm* and other modern critics suppose), but its establishment and existence in the future. Just as he gives no minute directions concerning the organization of the different local courts, but leaves this to the natural development of the judicial institutions already in existence, so he also restricts himself, so far as the higher court is concerned, to general allusions, which might serve as a guide to the national rulers of a future day, to organize it according to the existing models. He had no disorganized mob before him, but a well-ordered nation, already in possession of civil institutions, with fruitful germs for further expansion and organization. In addition to its civil classification into tribes, families, fathers' houses, and family groups, which possessed at once their rulers in their own heads, the nation had

received in the priesthood, with the high priest at the head, and the Levites as their assistants, a spiritual class, which mediated between the congregation and the Lord, and not only kept up the knowledge of right in the people as the guardian of the law, but by virtue of the high priest's office was able to lay the rights of the people before God, and in difficult cases could ask for His decision. Moreover, a leader had already been appointed for the nation, for the time immediately succeeding Moses' death; and in this nomination of Joshua, a pledge had been given that the Lord would never leave it without a supreme ruler of its civil affairs, but, along with the high priest, would also appoint a judge at the place of the central sanctuary, who would administer justice in the highest court in association with the priests. On the ground of these facts, it was enough for the future to mention the Levitical priests and the judge who would be at the place of the sanctuary, as constituting the court by which the difficult questions were to be decided.¹ For instance, the words themselves show distinctly enough, that by "the judge" we are not to understand the high priest, but the temporal judge or president of the superior court; and it is evident from the singular, "*the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord*" (ver. 12), that the high priest is included among the priests. The expression "*the priests the Levites*" (Levitical priests), which also occurs in ver. 18, chap. xviii. 1, xxi. 5, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 9, xxxi. 9, instead of "sons of Aaron," which we find in the middle books, is quite in harmony with the time and character of the book before us. As long as Aaron was living with his sons, the priesthood consisted only of himself and his sons, that is to say, of one family. Hence all the instructions in the middle books are addressed to them, and for the most part to Aaron personally (*vid.* Ex. xxviii. and xxix.; Lev. viii.-x.; Num. xviii., etc.). This was all changed when Aaron died; henceforth the priesthood consisted simply of the descendants of Aaron and his sons, who were no longer one family, but formed a distinct class in the nation, the legitimacy of which arose from its connection with the tribe of Levi, to which Aaron himself had belonged. It was evidently more appropriate, therefore, to describe them as sons of

¹ The simple fact, that the judicial court at the place of the national sanctuary is described in such general terms, furnishes a convincing proof that we have here the words of Moses, and not those of some later prophetic writer who had copied the superior court at Jerusalem of the times of the kings, as *Riehm* and the critics assume.

Levi than as sons of Aaron, which had been the title formerly given to the priests, with the exception of the high priest, viz. Aaron himself.—In connection with the superior court, however, the priests are introduced rather as knowing and teaching the law (Lev. x. 11), than as actual judges. For this reason appeal was to be made not only to them, but also to the judge, whose duty it was in any case to make the judicial inquiry and pronounce the sentence.—The object of the verb “*inquire*” (ver. 9) follows after “they shall show thee,” viz. “*the word of right*,” the judicial sentence which is sought (2 Chron. xix. 6).—Vers. 10, 11. They shall do “*according to the sound of the word which they utter*” (follow their decision exactly), and that “*according to the sound of the law which they teach*,” and “*according to the right which they shall speak*.” The sentence was to be founded upon the *Thorah*, upon the law which the priests had to teach.—Ver. 12. No one was to resist in pride, to refuse to listen to the priest or to the judge. Resistance to the priest took place when any one was dissatisfied with his interpretation of the law; to the judge, when any one was discontented with the sentence that was passed on the basis of the law. Such refractory conduct was to be punished with death, as rebellion against God, in whose name the right had been spoken (chap. i. 17). (On ver. 13, see chap. xiii. 12.)

Vers. 14–20. CHOICE AND RIGHT OF THE KING.—Vers. 14, 15. If Israel, when dwelling in the land which was given it by the Lord for a possession, should wish to appoint a king, like all the nations round about, it was to appoint the man whom Jehovah its God should choose, and that from among its brethren, *i.e.* from its own people, not a foreigner or non-Israelite. The earthly kingdom in Israel was not opposed to the theocracy, *i.e.* to the rule of Jehovah as king over the people of His possession, provided no one was made king but the person whom Jehovah should choose. The appointment of a king is not *commanded*, like the institution of judges (chap. xvi. 18), because Israel could exist under the government of Jehovah, even without an earthly king; it is simply *permitted*, in case the need should arise for a regal government. There was no necessity to describe more minutely the course to be adopted, as the people possessed the natural provision for the administration of their national affairs in their well-organized tribes, by whom this point could be decided. Moses also omits to state more particularly in what way Jehovah would make known the choice of

the king to be appointed. The congregation, no doubt, possessed one means of asking the will of the Lord in the Urim and Thummim of the high priest, provided the Lord did not reveal His will in a different manner, namely through a prophet, as He did in the election of Saul and David (1 Sam. viii., ix., and xvi.). The command not to choose a foreigner, acknowledged the right of the nation to choose. Consequently the choice on the part of the Lord may have consisted simply in His pointing out to the people, in a very evident manner, the person they were to elect, or in His confirming the choice by word and act, as in accordance with His will.—Three rules are laid down for the king himself in vers. 16-20. In the *first* place, he was not to keep many horses, or lead back the people to Egypt, to multiply horses, because Jehovah had forbidden the people to return thither by that way. The notion of modern critics, that there is an allusion in this prohibition to the constitution of the kingdom under Solomon, is so far from having any foundation, that the reason assigned—namely, the fear lest the king should lead back the people to Egypt from his love of horses, “to the end that he should multiply horses”—really precludes the time of Solomon, inasmuch as the time had then long gone by when any thought could have been entertained of leading back the people to Egypt. But such a reason would be quite in its place in Moses’ time, and only then, “when it would not seem impossible to reunite the broken band, and when the people were ready to express their longing, and even their intention, to return to Egypt on the very slightest occasion; whereas the reason assigned for the prohibition might have furnished Solomon with an excuse for regarding the prohibition itself as merely a temporary one, which was no longer binding” (*Oehler in Herzog’s Cyclopædia: vid. Hengstenberg’s Dissertations*).¹

The *second* admonition also, that the king was not to take to himself many wives, and turn away his heart (*sc.* from the Lord), nor

¹ When *Riehm* objects to this, that if such a prohibition had been unnecessary in a future age, in which the people had reached the full consciousness of its national independence, and every thought of the possibility of a reunion with the Egyptians had disappeared, Moses would never have issued it, since he must have foreseen the national independence of the people; the force of this objection rests simply upon his confounding foreseeing with assuming, and upon a thoroughly mistaken view of the prophet’s vision of the future. Even if Moses, as “a great prophet,” did foresee the future national independence of Israel, he had also had such experience of the fickle character of the people, that he could not regard the thought of returning to Egypt as absolutely an impossible one, even after the conquest of Canaan, or reject it as inconceivable. Moreover, the

greatly multiply to himself silver and gold, can be explained without the hypothesis that there is an allusion to Solomon's reign, although this king did transgress both commands (1 Kings x. 14 sqq., xi. 1 sqq.). A richly furnished harem, and the accumulation of silver and gold, were inseparably connected with the luxury of Oriental monarchs generally; so that the fear was a very natural one, that the future king of Israel might follow the general customs of the heathen in these respects.—Vers. 18 sqq. And *thirdly*, Instead of hanging his heart upon these earthly things, when he sat upon his royal throne he was to have a copy of the law written out by the Levitical priests, that he might keep the law by him, and read therein all the days of his life. כָּתַב does not involve writing with his own hand (*Philo*), but simply having it written. מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת does not mean τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο (LXX.), “this repetition of the law,” as הַזֹּאת cannot stand for הַיָּה; but a copy of this law, as most of the Rabbins correctly explain it in accordance with the Chaldee version, though they make *mishneh* to signify *duplum*, two copies (see *Hävernick*, Introduction).—Every copy of a book is really a repetition of it. “*From before the priests*,” i.e. of the law which lies before the priests or is kept by them. The object of the daily reading in the law (vers. 19b and 20) was “*to learn the fear of the Lord, and to keep His commandments*” (cf. v. 25, vi. 2, xiv. 23),

prophetic foresight of Moses was not, as *Riehm* imagines it, a foreknowledge of all the separate points in the historical development of the nation, much less a foreknowledge of the thoughts and desires of the heart, which might arise in the course of time amidst the changes that would take place in the nation. A foresight of the development of Israel into national independence, so far as we may attribute it to Moses as a prophet, was founded not upon the character of the people, but upon the divine choice and destination of Israel, which by no means precluded the possibility of their desiring to return to Egypt, even at some future time, since God Himself had threatened the people with dispersion among the heathen as the punishment for continued transgression of His covenant, and yet, notwithstanding this dispersion, had predicted the ultimate realization of His covenant of grace. And when *Riehm* still further observes, that the taste for horses, which lay at the foundation of this fear, evidently points to a later time, when the old repugnance to cavalry which existed in the nation in the days of the judges, and even under David, had disappeared; this supposed repugnance to cavalry is a fiction of the critic himself, without any historical foundation. For nothing more is related in the history, than that before the time of Solomon the Israelites had not cultivated the rearing of horses, and that David only kept 100 of the war-horses taken from the Syrians for himself, and had the others put to death (2 Sam. viii. 4). And so long as horses were neither reared nor possessed by the Israelites, there can be no ground for speaking of the old repugnance to cavalry. On the other hand, the impossibility of tracing this

that his heart might not be lifted up above his brethren, that he might not become proud (chap. viii. 14), and might not turn aside from the commandments to the right hand or to the left, that he and his descendants might live long upon the throne.

Rights of the Priests, the Levites, and the Prophets.—Chap. xviii.

In addition to the judicial order and the future king, it was necessary that the position of the priests and Levites, whose duties and rights had been regulated by previous laws, should at least be mentioned briefly and finally established (vers. 1-8), and also that the prophetic order should be fully accredited by the side of the other state authorities, and its operations regulated by a definite law (vers. 9-22).

Vers. 1-8. THE RIGHTS OF THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—With reference to these, Moses repeats *verbatim* from Num. xviii. 20, 23, 24, the essential part of the rule laid down in Num. xviii. : “*The priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel.*” “All the tribe of Levi” includes the priests and Levites. They were to eat the “firings of Jehovah and His inheritance,” as described in detail in Num. xviii. The inheritance of Jehovah consisted of the holy gifts as well as the sacrifices,

prohibition to the historical circumstances of the time of Solomon, or even a later age, is manifest in the desperate subterfuge to which *Richm* has recourse, when he connects this passage with the threat in chap. xxviii. 68, that if all the punishments suspended over them should be ineffectual, God would carry them back in ships to Egypt, and that they should there be sold to their enemies as men-servants and maid-servants, and then discovers a proof in this, that the Egyptian king Psammetichus, who sought out foreign soldiers and employed them, had left king Manasseh some horses, solely on the condition that he sent him some Israelitish infantry, and placed them at his disposal. But this is not expounding Scripture; it is putting hypotheses into it. As *Oehler* has already observed, this hypothesis has no foundation whatever in the Old Testament, nor (we may add) in the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning Psammetichus. According to *Diod.* (i. 66), Psammetichus hired soldiers from Arabia, Caria, and Ionia; and according to *Herodotus* (i. 152), he hired Ionians and Carians armed with brass, that he might conquer his rival kings with their assistance. But neither of these historians says anything at all about Israelitish infantry. And even if it were conceivable that any king of Israel or Judah could carry on such traffic in men, as to sell his own subjects to the Egyptians for horses, it is very certain that the prophets, who condemned every alliance with foreign kings, and were not silent with regard to Manasseh's idolatry would not have passed over such an abomination as this without remark or without reproof.

i.e. the tithes, firstlings, and first-fruits. Moses felt it to be superfluous to enumerate these gifts one by one from the previous laws, and also to describe the mode of their application, or define how much belonged to the priests and how much to the Levites. However true it may be that the author assigns all these gifts to the Levites generally, the conclusion drawn from this, viz. that he was not acquainted with any distinction between priests and Levites, but placed the Levites entirely on a par with the priests, is quite a false one. For, apart from the evident distinction between the priests and Levites in ver. 1, where there would be no meaning in the clause, "all the tribe of Levi," if the Levites were identical with the priests, the distinction is recognised and asserted as clearly as possible in what follows, when a portion of the slain-offerings is allotted to the priests in vers. 3-5, whilst in vers. 6-8 the Levite is allowed to join in eating the altar gifts, if he come to the place of the sanctuary and perform service there. The repetition in ver. 2 is an emphatic confirmation: "*As He hath said unto them:*" as in chap. x. 9.—Vers. 3-5. "*This shall be the right of the priests on the part of the people, on the part of those who slaughter slain-offerings, whether ox or sheep; he (the offerer) shall give the priest the shoulder, the cheek, and the stomach.*" הֵזֶרֶץ, the shoulder, *i.e.* the front leg; see Num. vi. 19. הַקֶּבֶה, the rough stomach, τὸ ἡμιστρον (LXX.), *i.e.* the fourth stomach of ruminant animals, in which the digestion of the food is completed; Lat. *omasus* or *abomasus*, though the Vulgate has *ventriculus* here. On the choice of these three pieces in particular, Münster and Fagius observe that "the sheep possesses three principal parts, the head, the feet, and the trunk; and of each of these some portion was to be given to the priest who officiated" (?). "Of each of these three principal parts of the animal," says Schultz, "some valuable piece was to be presented: the shoulder at least, and the stomach, which was regarded as particularly fat, are seen at once to have been especially good." That this arrangement is not at variance with the command in Lev. vii. 32 sqq., to give the wave-breast and heave-leg of the peace-offerings to the Lord for the priests, but simply enjoins a further gift to the priests on the part of the people, in addition to those portions which were to be given to the Lord for His servants, is sufficiently evident from the context, since the heave-leg and wave-breast belonged to the firings of Jehovah mentioned in ver. 1, which the priests had received as an inheritance from the Lord, that is to say, to the *tenuphoth* of the children of Israel, which the priests might eat with their sons and

daughters, though only with such members of their house as were levitically clean (Num. xviii. 11); and also from the words of the present command, viz. that the portions mentioned were to be a right of the priests *on the part of the people*, on the part of those who slaughtered slain-offerings, *i.e.* to be paid to the priest as a right that was due to him on the part of the people. מִשְׁפָּט was what the priest could justly claim. This right was probably accorded to the priests as a compensation for the falling off which would take place in their incomes in consequence of the repeal of the law that every animal was to be slaughtered at the sanctuary as a sacrifice (Lev. xvii.; *vid.* chap. xii. 15 sqq.).

The only thing that admits of dispute is, whether this gift was to be presented from every animal that was slaughtered at home for private use, or only from those which were slaughtered for sacrificial meals, and therefore at the place of the sanctuary. Against the former view, for which appeal is made to *Philo, Josephus* (Ant. iv. 4, 4), and the Talmud, we may adduce not only "the difficulty of carrying out such a plan" (was every Israelite who slaughtered an ox, a sheep, or a goat to carry the pieces mentioned to the priests' town, which might be many miles away, or were the priests to appoint persons to collect them?), but the general use of the words זֶבַח. The noun זֶבַח always signifies either slaughtering for a sacrificial meal or a slain sacrifice, and the verb זָבַח is never applied to ordinary slaughtering (for which שָׁחַט is the verb used), except in chap. xii. 15 and 21 in connection with the repeal of the law that every slaughtering was to be a זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים (Lev. xvii. 5); and there the use of the word זֶבַח, instead of שָׁחַט, may be accounted for from the allusion to this particular law. At the same time, the Jewish tradition is probably right, when it understands by the זֶבַח הַיִּזְבֵּחַ in this verse, κατ' οἶκον θύειν εὐωχίας ἕνεκα (*Josephus*), or ἔξω τοῦ βωμοῦ θυομένοις ἕνεκα κρεωφαγίας (*Philo*), or, as in the *Mishnah Chol.* (x. 1), refers the gift prescribed in this passage to the חולין, *profana*, and not to the מוקדשין, *consecrata*, that is to say, places it in the same category with the first-fruits, the tithe of tithes, and other less holy gifts, which might be consumed outside the court of the temple and the holy city (compare *Reland, Antiqq.* ss. P. ii. c. 4, § 11, with P. ii. c. 8, § 10). In all probability, the reference is to the slaughtering of oxen, sheep, or goats which were not intended for *shelamim* in the more limited sense, *i.e.* for one of the three species of peace-offerings (Lev. vii. 15, 16), but for festal meals in the broader sense, which were held in connection with the

sacrificial meals prepared from the *shelamim*. For it is evident that the meals held by the people at the annual feasts when they had to appear before the Lord were not all *shelamim* meals, but that other festal meals were held in connection with these, in which the priests and Levites were to share, from the laws laid down with reference to the so-called second tithe, which could not only be turned into money by those who lived at a great distance from the sanctuary, such money to be applied to the purchase of the things required for the sacrificial meals at the place of the sanctuary, but which might also be appropriated every third year to the preparation of love-feasts for the poor in the different towns of the land (chap. xiv. 22-29). For in this case the animals were not slaughtered or sacrificed as *shelamim*, at all events not in the latter instance, because the slaughtering did not take place at the sanctuary. If therefore we restrict the gift prescribed here to the slaughtering of oxen and sheep or goats for such sacrificial meals in the wider sense, not only are the difficulties connected with the execution of this command removed, but also the objection, which arises out of the general use of the expression זֶבַח זֶבַח, to the application of this expression to every slaughtering that took place for domestic use. And beside this, the passage in 1 Sam. ii. 13-16, to which *Calvin* calls attention, furnishes a historical proof that the priests could claim a portion of the flesh of the slain-offerings in addition to the heave-leg and wave-breast, since it is there charged as a sin on the part of the sons of Eli, not only that they took out of the cauldrons as much of the flesh which was boiling as they could take up with three-pronged forks, but that before the fat was burned upon the altar they asked for the pieces which belonged to the priest, to be given to them not cooked, but raw. From this *Michaelis* has drawn the correct conclusion, that even at that time the priests had a right to claim that, in addition to the portions of the sacrifices appointed by Moses in Lev. vii. 34, a further portion of the thank-offerings should be given to them; though he does not regard the passage as referring to the law before us, since he supposes this to relate to every slaughtered animal which was not placed upon the altar.

In ver. 4, Moses repeats the law concerning the first-fruits in Num. xviii. 12, 13 (cf. Ex. xxii. 28), for the purpose of extending it to the first produce of the sheep-shearing.—Ver. 5. The reason for the right accorded to the priests was the choice of them for the office of standing “to minister in the name of Jehovah,” *sc.* for all the tribes. “*In the name of Jehovah,*” not merely by the appoint-

ment, but also in the power of the Lord, as mediators of His grace. The words "*he and his sons*" point back quite to the Mosaic times, in which Aaron and his sons held the priest's office.—Vers. 6-8. As the priests were to be remembered for their service on the part of the people (vers. 3-5), so the Levite also, who came from one of the towns of the land with all the desire of his soul to the place of the sanctuary, to minister there in the name of the Lord, was to eat a similar portion to all his Levitical brethren who stood there in service before the Lord. The verb נָזַח (sojourned) does not presuppose that the Levites were houseless, but simply that they had no hereditary possession in the land as the other tribes had, and merely lived like sojourners among the Israelites in the towns which were given up to them by the other tribes (see at chap. xii. 12). "*All his brethren the Levites*" are the priests and those Levites who officiated at the sanctuary as assistants to the priests. It is assumed, therefore, that only a part of the Levites were engaged at the sanctuary, and the others lived in their towns. The apodosis follows in ver. 8, "*part like part shall they eat,*" sc. the new-comer and those already there. The former was to have the same share to eat as the latter, and to be maintained from the revenues of the sanctuary. These revenues are supposed to be already apportioned by the previous laws, so that they by no means abolish the distinction between priests and Levites. We are not to think of those portions of the sacrifices and first-fruits only which fell to the lot of the priests, nor of the tithe alone, or of the property which flowed into the sanctuary through vows or free-will offerings, or in any other way, and was kept in the treasury and storehouse, but of tithes, sacrificial portions, and free-will offerings generally, which were not set apart exclusively for the priests. לְבִדּוֹ מִמִּכְרֵי וְגו' "*beside his sold with the fathers,*" i.e. independently of what he receives from the sale of his patrimony. מִמִּכְרֵי, the sale, then the thing sold, and the price or produce of what is sold, like מִכְרֵי in Num. xx. 19. לְבִדּוֹ is unusual without מִן, and *Knobel* would read מִמִּכְרֵי, from מִכְרֵי and מִן, in consequence. עַל בֵּית־אֲבוֹת stands for הָאֲבוֹת (see at Ex. vi. 25; κατὰ τὴν πατρίαν, LXX.), according to or with the fathers' houses, i.e. the produce of the property which he possesses according to his family descent, or which is with his kindred. Whether עַל in this passage signifies "according to the measure of," or "with," in the sense of keeping or administering, cannot be decided. As the law in Lev. xxv. 33, 34, simply forbids the sale of the pasture grounds belonging to the Levites, but permits the sale

of their houses, a Levite who went to the sanctuary might either let his property in the Levitical town, and draw the yearly rent, or sell the house which belonged to him there. In any case, these words furnish a convincing proof that there is no foundation for the assertion that the book of Deuteronomy assumes or affirms that the Levites were absolutely without possessions.

Vers. 9-22. THE GIFT OF PROPHECY.—The Levitical priests, as the stated guardians and promoters of the law, had to conduct all the affairs of Israel with the Lord, not only instructing the people out of the law concerning the will of God, but sustaining and promoting the living fellowship with the Lord both of individuals and of the whole congregation, by the offering of sacrifices and service at the altar. But if the covenant fellowship with Himself and His grace, in which Jehovah had placed Israel as His people of possession, was to be manifested and preserved as a living reality amidst all changes in the political development of the nation and in the circumstances of private life, it would not do for the revelations from God to cease with the giving of the law and the death of Moses. For, as *Schultz* observes, “however the revelation of the law might aim at completeness, and even have regard to the more remote circumstances of the future, as, for example, where the king is referred to; yet in the transition from extraordinary circumstances into a more settled condition, which it foretells in chap. xvii. 14, and which actually took place under Samuel when the nation grew older (chap. iv. 25), and in the decline and apostasy which certainly awaited it according to chap. xxxi. 16-29, when false prophets should arise, by whom they were in danger of being led astray (chap. xiii. 2 and xviii. 20), as well as in the restoration which would follow after the infliction of punishment (chap. iv. 29, 30, xxx. 1 sqq); in all these great changes which awaited Israel from inward necessity, the revelation of the will of the Lord which they possessed in the law would nevertheless be insufficient.” The priesthood, with its ordinances, would not suffice for that. As the promise of direct communications from God through the Urim and Thummim of the high priest was restricted to the single circumstance of the right of the whole congregation being endangered, and did not extend to the satisfaction of the religious necessities of individuals, it could afford no godly satisfaction to that desire for supernatural knowledge which arose at times in the hearts of individuals, and for which the heathen oracles made such ample

provision in ungodly ways. If Israel therefore was to be preserved in faithfulness towards God, and attain the end of its calling as the congregation of the Lord, it was necessary that the Lord should make known His counsel and will at the proper time through the medium of prophets, and bestow upon it in sure prophetic words what the heathen nations endeavoured to discover and secure by means of augury and soothsaying. This is the point of view from which Moses promises the sending of prophets in vers. 15-18, and lays down in vers. 19-22 the criteria for distinguishing between true and false prophets, as we may clearly see from the fact that in vers. 9-14 he introduces this promise with a warning against resorting to heathen augury, soothsaying, and witchcraft.

Vers. 9 sqq. When Israel came into the land of Canaan, it was "*not to learn to do like the abominations of these nations*" (the Canaanites or heathen). There was not to be found in it any who caused his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, *i.e.* any worshipper of Moloch (see at Lev. xviii. 21), or one who practised soothsaying (see at Num. xxiii. 23), or a wizard (see at Lev. xix. 26), or a snake-charmer (see at Lev. xix. 26), or a conjurer, or one who pronounced a ban (חָבַר חָבַר, probably referring to the custom of binding or banning by magical knots), a necromancer and wise man (see at Lev. xix. 31), or one who asked the dead, *i.e.* who sought oracles from the dead. Moses groups together all the words which the language contained for the different modes of exploring the future and discovering the will of God, for the purpose of forbidding every description of soothsaying, and places the prohibition of Moloch-worship at the head, to show the inward connection between soothsaying and idolatry, possibly because februation, or passing children through the fire in the worship of Moloch, was more intimately connected with soothsaying and magic than any other description of idolatry.—Ver. 12. Whoever did this was an abomination to the Lord, and it was because of this abomination that He rooted out the Canaanites before Israel (cf. Lev. xviii. 24 sqq.).—Vers. 13 and 14. Israel, on the other hand, was to be *blameless* with Jehovah (עָם, in its intercourse with the Lord). Though the heathen whom they exterminated before them hearkened to conjurers and soothsayers, Jehovah their God had not allowed anything of the kind to them. וְאַתָּה is placed first as a nominative absolute, for the sake of emphasis: "*but thou, so far as thou art concerned, not so.*" כֵּן, *thus*, just so, such things (cf. Ex. x. 14). וְנָתַן, to grant, to allow (as in Gen. xx. 6, etc.).—Ver. 15. "A

prophet out of the midst of thee, out of thy brethren, as I am, will Jehovah thy God raise up to thee; to him shall ye hearken." When Moses thus attaches to the prohibition against hearkening to soothsayers and practising soothsaying, the promise that Jehovah would raise up a prophet, etc., and contrasts what the Lord would do for His people with what He did not allow, it is perfectly evident from this simple connection alone, apart from the further context of the passage, in which Moses treats of the temporal and spiritual rulers of Israel (chap. xvii. and xviii.), that the promise neither relates to one particular prophet, nor directly and exclusively to the Messiah, but treats of the sending of prophets generally. And this is also confirmed by what follows with reference to true and false prophets, which presupposes the rise of a plurality of prophets, and shows most incontrovertibly that it is not one prophet only, nor the Messiah exclusively, who is promised here. It by no means follows from the use of the singular, "a prophet," that Moses is speaking of one particular prophet only; but the idea expressed is this, that at any time when the people stood in need of a mediator with God like Moses, God would invariably send a prophet. The words, "out of the midst of thee, of thy brethren," imply that there would be no necessity for Israel to turn to heathen soothsayers or prophets, but that it would find the men within itself who would make known the word of the Lord. The expression, "like unto me," is explained by what follows in vers. 16-18 with regard to the circumstances, under which the Lord had given the promise that He would send a prophet. It was at Sinai; when the people were filled with mortal alarm, after hearing the ten words which God addressed to them out of the fire, and entreated Moses to act as mediator between the Lord and themselves, that God might not speak directly to them any more. At that time the Lord gave the promise that He would raise up a prophet, and put His words into his mouth, that he might speak to the people all that the Lord commanded (cf. chap. v. 20 sqq.). The promised prophet, therefore, was to resemble Moses in this respect, that he would act as mediator between Jehovah and the people, and make known the words or the will of the Lord. Consequently the meaning contained in the expression "like unto me" was not that the future prophet would resemble Moses in all respects,—a meaning which has been introduced into it through an unwarrantable use of Num. xii. 6-8, Deut. xxxiv. 10, and Heb. iii. 2, 5, for the purpose of proving the direct application of the promise to the Messiah alone, to the exclusion of the prophets of the Old Testament.

If the resemblance of the future prophet to Moses, expressed in the words "like unto me," be understood as indicating the precise form in which God revealed Himself to Moses, speaking with him mouth to mouth, and not in a dream or vision, a discrepancy is introduced between this expression and the words which follow in ver. 18, "I will put My words in his mouth;" since this expresses not the particular mode in which Moses received the revelations from God, in contrast with the rest of the prophets, but simply that form of divine communication or inspiration which was common to all the prophets (*vid.* Jer. i. 9, v. 14).

But whilst we are obliged to give up the direct and exclusive reference of this promise to the Messiah, which was the prevailing opinion in the early Church, and has been revived by *Kurtz*, *Aubertin*, and *Tholuck*, as not in accordance with the context or the words themselves, we cannot, on the other hand, agree with *v. Hofmann*, *Baur*, and *Knobel*, in restricting the passage to the Old Testament prophets, to the exclusion of the Messiah. There is no warrant for this limitation of the word "prophet," since the expectation of the Messiah was not unknown to Moses and the Israel of his time, but was actually expressed in the promise of the seed of the woman, and Jacob's prophecy concerning *Shiloh*; so that *O. v. Gerlach* is perfectly right in observing, that "this is a prediction of Christ as the true Prophet, precisely like that of the seed of the woman in Gen. iii. 15." The occasion, also, on which Moses received the promise of the "prophet" from the Lord, which he here communicated to the people,—namely, when the people desired a mediator between themselves and the Lord at Sinai, and this desire on their part was pleasing to the Lord,—shows that the promise should be understood in the full sense of the words, without any limitation whatever; that is to say, that Christ, in whom the prophetic character culminated and was completed, is to be included. Even *Ewald* admits, that "the prophet like unto Moses, whom God would raise up out of Israel and for Israel, can only be the true prophet generally;" and *Baur* also allows, that "historical exposition will not mistake the anticipatory reference of this expression to Christ, which is involved in the expectation that, in the future completion of the plan of salvation, the prophetic gift would form an essential element." And lastly, the comparison instituted between the promised prophet and Moses, compels us to regard the words as referring to the Messiah. The words, "like unto me," "like unto thee," no more warrant us in excluding the Messiah on

the one hand, than in excluding the Old Testament prophets on the other, since it is unquestionably affirmed that the prophet of the future would be as perfectly equal to his calling as Moses was to his,¹—that He would carry out the mediation between the Lord and the people in the manner and the power of Moses. In this respect not one of the Old Testament prophets was fully equal to Moses, as is distinctly stated in chap. xxxiv. 10. All the prophets of the Old Testament stood within the sphere of the economy of the law, which was founded through the mediatorial office of Moses; and even in their predictions of the future, they simply continued to build upon the foundation which was laid by Moses, and therefore prophesied of the coming of the servant of the Lord, who, as the Prophet of all prophets, would restore Jacob, and carry out the law and right of the Lord to the nations, even to the end of the world (Isa. xlii., xlix., l., lxi.). This prophecy, therefore, is very properly referred to Jesus Christ in the New Testament, as having been fulfilled in Him. Not only had Philip this passage in his mind when he said to Nathanael, “We have found Him of whom Moses in the law did write, Jesus of Nazareth,” whilst Stephen saw the promise of the prophet like unto Moses fulfilled in Christ (Acts vii. 37); but Peter also expressly quotes it in Acts iii. 22, 23, as referring to Christ; and even the Lord applies it to Himself in John v. 45–47, when He says to the Jews, “Moses, in whom ye trust, will accuse you; for if ye believed Moses, ye would also believe Me: for Moses wrote of Me.” In John xii. 48–50, again, the reference to vers. 18 and 19 of this chapter is quite unmistakeable; and in the words, “hear ye Him,” which were uttered from the cloud at the transfiguration of Jesus (Matt. xvii. 5), the expression in ver. 15, “unto Him shall ye hearken,” is used *verbatim* with reference to Christ. Even the Samaritans founded their expectation of the Messiah (John iv. 25) upon these words of Moses.²

Vers. 16–22. With this assurance the Lord had fully granted the request of the people, “*according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God;*” and Israel, therefore, was all the more bound to hearken to the prophets, whom God would raise up from the midst of itself, and not to resort to heathen soothsayers. (On the

¹ Let any one paraphrase the passage thus: “A prophet inferior indeed to me, but yet the channel of divine revelations,” and he will soon feel how unsuitable it is” (*Hengstenberg*).

² On the history of the exposition of this passage, see *Hengstenberg's Christology*.

fact itself, comp. chap. v. 20 sqq. with Ex. xx. 15-17.) "*In the day of the assembly*," as in chap. ix. 10, x. 4.—The instructions as to their behaviour towards the prophets are given by Moses (vers. 19, 20) in the name of the Lord, for the purpose of enforcing obedience with all the greater emphasis. Whoever did not hearken to the words of the prophet who spoke in the name of the Lord, of him the Lord would require it, *i.e.* visit the disobedience with punishment (cf. Ps. x. 4, 13). On the other hand, the prophet who spoke in the name of the Lord what the Lord had not commanded him, *i.e.* proclaimed the thoughts of his own heart as divine revelations (cf. Num. xvi. 28), should die, like the prophet who spoke in the name of other gods. With וַיִּמָּוֶת, the predicate is introduced in the form of an apodosis.—Vers. 21, 22. The false prophet was to be discovered by the fact, that the word proclaimed by him did not follow or come to pass, *i.e.* that his prophecy was not fulfilled. Of him they were not to be afraid. By this injunction the occurrence of what had been predicted is made the criterion of true prophecy, and not signs and wonders, which false prophets could also perform (cf. chap. xiii. 2 sqq.).

Laws concerning the Cities of Refuge, the Sacredness of Landmarks, and the Punishment of False Witnesses.—Chap. xix.

After laying down the most important features in the national constitution, Moses glances at the manifold circumstances of civil and family life, and notices in this and the two following chapters the different ways in which the lives of individuals might be endangered, for the purpose of awakening in the minds of the people a holy reverence for human life.

Vers. 1-13. The laws concerning the CITIES OF REFUGE FOR UNINTENTIONAL MANSLAYERS are not a mere repetition of the laws given in Num. xxxv. 9-34, but rather an admonition to carry out those laws, with special reference to the future extension of the boundaries of the land.—Vers. 1-7. As Moses had already set apart the cities of refuge for the land on the east of the Jordan (chap. iv. 41 sqq.), he is speaking here simply of the land on the west, which Israel was to take possession of before long; and supplements the instructions in Num. xxxv. 14, with directions to maintain the roads to the cities of refuge which were to be set apart in Canaan itself, and to divide the land into three parts, viz. for the purpose of setting apart these cities, so that one city might be chosen for the purpose in every third of the land. For further remarks upon

this point, as well as with regard to the use of these cities (vers. 4-7), see at Num. xxxv. 11 sqq.—In vers. 8-10 there follow the fresh instructions, that if the Lord should extend the borders of Israel, according to His promise given to the patriarchs, and should give them the whole land from the Nile to the Euphrates, according to Gen. xv. 18, they were to add three other cities of refuge to these three, for the purpose of preventing the shedding of innocent blood. The three new cities of refuge cannot be the three appointed in Num. xxxv. 14 for the land on this side of the Jordan, nor the three mentioned in ver. 7 on the other side of Jordan, as *Knobel* and others suppose. Nor can we adopt *Hengstenberg's* view, that the three new ones are the same as the three mentioned in vers. 2 and 7, since they are expressly distinguished from “these three.” The meaning is altogether a different one. The circumstances supposed by Moses never existed, since the Israelites did not fulfil the conditions laid down in ver. 9, viz. that they should keep the law faithfully, and love the Lord their God (cf. chap. iv. 6, vi. 5, etc.). The extension of the power of Israel to the Euphrates under David and Solomon, did not bring the land as far as this river into their actual possession, since the conquered kingdoms of Aram were still inhabited by the Aramæans, who, though conquered, were only rendered tributary. And the Tyrians and Phœnicians, who belonged to the Canaanitish population, were not even attacked by David.—Ver. 10. Innocent blood would be shed if the unintentional manslayer was not protected against the avenger of blood, by the erection of cities of refuge in every part of the land. If Israel neglected this duty, it would bring blood-guiltiness upon itself (“*and so blood be upon thee*”), because it had not done what was requisite to prevent the shedding of innocent blood.—Vers. 11-13. But whatever care was to be taken by means of free cities to prevent the shedding of blood, the cities of refuge were not to be asylæ for criminals who were deserving of death, nor to afford protection to those who had slain a neighbour out of hatred. If such murderers should flee to the free city, the elders (magistrates) of his own town were to fetch him out, and deliver him up to the avenger of blood, that he might die. The law laid down in Num. xxxv. 16-21 is here still more minutely defined; but this does not transfer to the elders the duty of instituting a judicial inquiry, and deciding the matter, as *Riehm* follows *Vater* and *De Wette* in maintaining, for the purpose of proving that there is a discrepancy between Deuteronomy and the previous legislation. They are simply commanded to perform the

duty devolving upon them as magistrates and administrators of local affairs. (On ver. 13, see chap. xiii. 8 and 5.)

Ver. 14. The prohibition against REMOVING A NEIGHBOUR'S LANDMARK, which his ancestors had placed, is inserted here, not because landmarks were of special importance in relation to the free cities, and the removal of them might possibly be fatal to the unintentional manslayer (as *Clericus* and *Rosenmüller* assume), for the general terms of the prohibition are at variance with this, viz. "thy neighbour's landmark," and "in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit in the land;" but on account of the close connection in which a man's possession as the means of his support stood to the life of the man himself, "because property by which life is supported participates in the sacredness of life itself, just as in chap. xx. 19, 20, sparing the fruit-trees is mentioned in connection with the men who were to be spared" (*Schultz*). A curse was to be pronounced upon the remover of landmarks, according to chap. xxvii. 17, just as upon one who cursed his father, who led a blind man astray, or perverted the rights of orphans and widows (cf. Hos. v. 10; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10). Landmarks were regarded as sacred among other nations also; by the Romans, for example, they were held to be so sacred, that whoever removed them was to be put to death.

Vers. 15-21. THE PUNISHMENT OF A FALSE WITNESS.—To secure life and property against false accusations, Moses lays down the law in ver. 15, that one witness only was not "to rise up against any one with reference to any crime or sin, with every sin that one commits" (*i.e.* to appear before a court of justice, or be accepted as sufficient), but everything was to be established upon the testimony of two or three witnesses. The rule laid down in chap. xvii. 6 and Num. xxxv. 30 for capital crimes, is raised hereby into a law of general application (see at Num. xxxv. 30). קוּם (in ver. 15*b*), to stand, *i.e.* to acquire legal force.—But as it was not always possible to bring forward two or three witnesses, and the statement of one witness could not well be disregarded, in vers. 16-18 Moses refers accusations of this kind to the higher tribunal at the sanctuary for investigation and decision, and appoints the same punishment for a false witness, which would have fallen upon the person accused, if he had been convicted of the crime with which he was charged. לְעֵנוּת בּוֹ קָרָה, "to testify against his departure," *sc.* from the law of God, not merely falling away into idolatry (chap. xiii. 6), but any

kind of crime, as we may gather from ver. 19, which would be visited with capital punishment.—Ver. 17. The two men between whom the dispute lay, the accused and the witness, were to come before Jehovah, viz. before the priests and judges who should be in those days,—namely, at the place of the sanctuary, where Jehovah dwelt among His people (cf. chap. xvii. 9), and not before the local courts, as *Knobel* supposes. These judges were to investigate the case most thoroughly (cf. chap. xiii. 15); and if the witness had spoken lies, they were to do to him as he thought to do to his brother. The words from “*behold*” to “*his brother*” are parenthetical circumstantial clauses: “*And, behold, is the witness a false witness, has he spoken a lie against his brother? Ye shall do,*” etc. מַחֲשֵׁב, generally to meditate evil. On ver. 20, see chap. xiii. 12.—Ver. 21. The *lex talionis* was to be applied without reserve (see at Ex. xxi. 23; Lev. xxiv. 20). According to *Diod. Sic.* (i. 77), the same law existed in Egypt with reference to false accusers.

Instructions for future Wars.—Chap. xx.

The instructions in this chapter have reference to the wars which Israel might wage in future against non-Canaanitish nations (vers. 15 sqq.), and enjoin it as a duty upon the people of God to spare as much as possible the lives of their own soldiers and also of their enemies. All wars against their enemies, even though they were superior to them in resources, were to be entered upon by them without fear in reliance upon the might of their God; and they were therefore to exempt from military service not only those who had just entered into new social relations, and had not enjoyed the pleasures of them, but also the timid and fainthearted (vers. 1–9). Moreover, whenever they besieged hostile towns, they were to offer peace to their enemies, excepting only the Canaanites; and even if it were not accepted, they were to let the defenceless (viz. women and children) live, and not to destroy the fruit-trees before the fortifications (vers. 10–20).

Vers. 1–9. INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO MILITARY SERVICE.—If the Israelites went out to battle against their foes, and saw horses and chariots, a people more numerous than they were, they were not to be afraid, because Jehovah their God was with them. Horses and chariots constituted the principal strength of the enemies round about Israel; not of the Egyptians only (Ex. xiv. 7), and of the Canaanites and Philistines (Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. iv. 3,

1 Sam. xiii. 5), but of the Syrians also (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 Chron. xviii. 4, xix. 18; cf. Ps. xx. 8).—Vers. 2-4. If they were thus drawing near to war, *i.e.* arranging themselves for war for the purpose of being mustered and marching in order into the battle (not just as the battle was commencing), the priest was to address the warriors, and infuse courage into them by pointing to the help of the Lord. “*The priest*” is not the high priest, but the priest who accompanied the army, like Phinehas in the war against the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 6; cf. 1 Sam. iv. 4, 11, 2 Chron. xiii. 12), whom the Rabbins call מִשְׁיַח הַמִּלְחָמָה (the anointed of the battle), and raise to the highest dignity next to the high priest, no doubt simply upon the ground of Num. xxxi. 6 (see *Lundius, jüd. Heiligth.* p. 523).—Vers. 5-9. Moreover, the *shoterim*, whose duty it was, as the keepers of the genealogical tables, to appoint the men who were bound to serve, were to release such of the men who had been summoned to the war as had entered into domestic relations, which would make it a harder thing for them to be exposed to death than for any of the others: for example, any man who had built a new house and had not yet consecrated it, or had planted a vineyard and not yet eaten any of the fruit of it, or was betrothed to a wife and had not yet married her,—that such persons might not die before they had enjoyed the fruits of what they had done. “*Who is the man, who,*” *i.e.* whoever, every man who. “*Consecrated the house,*” viz. by taking possession and dwelling in it; entrance into the house was probably connected with a hospitable entertainment. According to *Josephus* (Ant. iv. 8, 41), the enjoyment of them was to last a year (according to the analogy of chap. xxiv. 5). The Rabbins elaborated special ceremonies, among which *Jonathan* in his Targum describes the fastening of slips with sentences out of the law written upon them to the door-posts, as being the most important (see at chap. vi. 9: for further details, see *Selden, de Synedriis* l. iii. c. 14, 15). *Cerem* is hardly to be restricted to vineyards, but applied to olive-plantations as well (see at Lev. xix. 10). הָלַל, to make common, is to be explained from the fact, that when fruit-trees were planted (Lev. xix. 23 sqq.), or vines set (Judg. xix. 24), the fruit was not to be eaten for the first three years, and that of the fourth year was to be consecrated to the Lord; and it was only the fruit that was gathered in the fifth year which could be applied by the owner to his own use,—in other words, could be made common. The command to send away from the army to his own home a man who was betrothed but had not yet

taken his wife, is extended still further in chap. xxiv. 5, where it is stated that a newly married man was to be exempt for a whole year from military service and other public burdens. The intention of these instructions was neither to send away all persons who were unwilling to go into the war, and thus avoid the danger of their interfering with the readiness and courage of the rest of the army in prospect of the battle, nor to spare the lives of those persons to whom life was especially dear; but rather to avoid depriving any member of the covenant nation of his enjoyment of the good things of this life bestowed upon him by the Lord.—Ver. 8. The first intention only existed in the case of the timid (the soft-hearted or despondent). *לֵב יִפְּסֵהוּ*, that the heart of thy brethren “*may not flow away*,” *i.e.* may not become despondent (as in Gen. xvii. 15, etc.).—Ver. 9. When this was finished, the *shoterim* were to appoint captains at the head of the people (of war). *יִפְקֹדוּ*, to inspect, to muster, then to give the oversight, to set a person over anything (Num. iii. 10, iv. 27). The meaning “to lead the command” (*Schultz*) cannot be sustained; and if “captains of the armies” were the subject, and reference were made to the commanders in the war, the article would not be omitted. If the *shoterim* had to raise men for the war and organize the army, the division of the men into hosts (*zebaoth*) and the appointment of the leaders would also form part of the duties of their office.

Vers. 10–20. INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING SIEGES.—Vers. 10, 11. On advancing against a town to attack it, they were “*to call to it for peace*,” *i.e.* to summon it to make a peaceable surrender and submission (cf. Judg. xxi. 13). “*If it answered peace*,” *i.e.* returned an answer conducing to peace, and “*opened*” (*sc.* its gates), the whole of its inhabitants were to become tributary to Israel, and serve it; consequently even those who were armed were not to be put to death, for Israel was not to shed blood unnecessarily. *עַבְדָּם* does not mean feudal *service*, but a feudal slave (see at Ex. i. 11).—Vers. 12, 13. If the hostile town, however, did not make peace, but prepared for war, the Israelites were to besiege it; and if Jehovah gave it into their hands, they were to slay all the men in it without reserve (“with the edge of the sword,” see at Gen. xxxiv. 26); but the women and children and all that was in the city, all its spoil, they were to take as prey for themselves, and to consume (eat) the spoil, *i.e.* to make use of it for their own maintenance.—Vers. 15–18. It was in this way that Israel was to

act with towns that were far off; but not with the towns of the Canaanites (*"these nations"*), which Jehovah gave them for an inheritance. In these no soul was to be left alive; but these nations were to be laid under the ban, *i.e.* altogether exterminated, that they might not teach the Israelites their abominations and sins (cf. chap. vii. 1-4, xii. 31). כָּל־נְשָׁמָה, *lit.* every breath, *i.e.* everything living, by which, however, human beings alone are to be understood (comp. Josh. x. 40, xi. 11, with chap. xi. 14).—Vers. 19, 20. When they besieged a town a long time to conquer it, they were not to destroy its trees, to swing the axe upon them. That we are to understand by עֵץ the fruit-trees in the environs and gardens of the town, is evident from the motive appended: "*for of them (מֵמֶנּוּ) thou eatest, and thou shalt not hew them down.*" The meaning is: thou mayest suppress and destroy the men, but not the trees which supply thee with food. "*For is the tree of the field a man, that it should come into siege before thee?*" This is evidently the only suitable interpretation of the difficult words עֵץ הַשָּׂדֶה בְּיַד הָאָדָם, and the one which has been expressed by all the older commentators, though in different ways. But it is one which can only be sustained grammatically by adopting the view propounded by *Clericus* and others: viz. by pointing the noun הָאָדָם with ה interrog., instead of הָאָדָם, and taking אָדָם as the object, which its position in the sentence fully warrants (cf. *Ewald*, § 324, *b.* and 306, *b.*). The Masoretic punctuation is founded upon the explanation given by *Aben Ezra*, "Man is a tree of the field, *i.e.* lives upon and is fed by the fruits of the trees," which *Schultz* expresses in this way, "Man is bound up with the tree of the field, *i.e.* has his life in, or from, the tree of the field,"—an explanation, however, which cannot be defended by appealing to chap. xxiv. 6, Eccl. xii. 13, Ezek. xii. 10, as these three passages are of a different kind. In no way whatever can הָאָדָם be taken as the subject of the sentence, as this would not give any rational meaning. And if it were rendered as the object, in such sense as this, The tree of the field is a thing or affair of man, it would hardly have the article.—Ver. 20. "*Only the trees which thou knowest that they are not trees of eating (i.e. do not bear edible fruits), mayest thou hew down, and build a rampart against the town till it come down,*" *i.e.* fall down from its eminence. For יָרַר as applied to the falling or sinking of lofty fortifications, see chap. xxviii. 52, Isa. xxxii. 19. מָצוֹר, compressing or forcing down; hence, as applied to towns, בּוֹא בְּמָצוֹר, to come into siege, *i.e.* to be besieged (ver. 19; 2 Kings

xxiv. 10, xxv. 2). In ver. 20 it is used to denote the object, viz. the means of hemming in a town, *i.e.* the besieging rampart (cf. Ezek. iv. 2).

Expiation of an uncertain Murder. Treatment of a Wife who had been taken captive. Right of the First-born. Punishment of a refractory Son. Burial of a Man who had been hanged.—Chap. xxi.

The reason for grouping together these five laws, which are apparently so different from one another, as well as for attaching them to the previous regulations, is to be found in the desire to bring out distinctly the sacredness of life and of personal rights from every point of view, and impress it upon the covenant nation.

Vers. 1-9. EXPIATION OF A MURDER COMMITTED BY AN UNKNOWN HAND.—Vers. 1 and 2. If any one was found lying in a field in the land of Israel (נָפֵל fallen, then lying, Judg. iii. 25, iv. 22), having been put to death without its being known who had killed him (לֹא נִדָּע וְנִרְאָה, a circumstantial clause, attached without a copula, see *Ewald*, § 341, *b.* 3), the elders and judges, *sc.* of the neighbouring towns,—the former as representatives of the communities, the latter as administrators of right,—were to go out and measure to the towns which lay round about the slain man, *i.e.* measure the distance of the body from the towns that were lying round about, to ascertain first of all which was the nearest town.—Vers. 3, 4. This nearest town was then required to expiate the blood-guiltiness, not only because the suspicion of the crime or of participation in the crime fell soonest upon it, but because the guilt connected with the shedding of innocent blood rested as a burden upon it before all others. To this end the elders were to take a heifer (young cow), with which no work had ever been done, and which had not yet drawn in the yoke, *i.e.* whose vital force had not been diminished by labour (see at Num. xix. 2), and bring it down into a brook-valley with water constantly flowing, and there break its neck. The expression, “*it shall be that the city,*” is more fully defined by “*the elders of the city shall take.*” The elders were to perform the act of expiation in the name of the city. As the murderer was not to be found, an animal was to be put to death in his stead, and suffer the punishment of the murderer. The slaying of the animal was not an expiatory sacrifice, and consequently there was no slaughtering and sprinkling of the blood; but, as the mode of death, viz. breaking the neck (*vid.* Ex. xiii. 13), clearly

shows, it was a symbolical infliction of the punishment that should have been borne by the murderer, upon the animal which was substituted for him. To be able to take the guilt upon itself and bear it, the animal was to be in the full and undiminished possession of its vital powers. The slaying was to take place in a נַחַל אֵיתָן, a valley with water constantly flowing through it, which was not worked (cultivated) and sown. This regulation as to the locality in which the act of expiation was to be performed was probably founded upon the idea, that the water of the brook-valley would suck in the blood and clean it away, and that the blood sucked in by the earth would not be brought to light again by the ploughing and working of the soil.—Ver. 5. The priests were to come near during this transaction; *i.e.* some priests from the nearest Levitical town were to be present at it, not to conduct the affair, but as those whom Jehovah had chosen to serve Him and to bless in His name (cf. chap. xviii. 5), and according to whose mouth (words) every dispute and every stroke happened (cf. chap. xvii. 8), *i.e.* simply as those who were authorized by the Lord, and as the representatives of the divine right, to receive the explanation and petition of the elders, and acknowledge the legal validity of the act.—Vers. 6-8. The elders of the town were to wash their hands over the slain heifer, *i.e.* to cleanse themselves by this symbolical act from the suspicion of any guilt on the part of the inhabitants of the town in the murder that had been committed (cf. Ps. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13; Matt. xxvii. 24), and then answer (to the charge involved in what had taken place), and say, “*Our hands have not shed this blood* (on the singular שָׁפַךְ, see *Ewald*, § 317, a.), *and our eyes have not seen*” (*sc.* the shedding of blood), *i.e.* we have neither any part in the crime nor any knowledge of it: “*grant forgiveness* (*lit.* ‘cover up,’ viz. the blood-guiltiness) *to Thy people . . . and give not innocent blood in the midst of Thy people Israel,*” *i.e.* lay not upon us the innocent blood that has been shed by imputation and punishment. “*And the blood shall be forgiven them,*” *i.e.* the bloodshed or murder shall not be imputed to them. On נִכְפַּר, a mixed form from the Niphal and Hithpael, see *Ges.* § 55, and *Ewald*, § 132, c.—Ver. 9. In this way Israel was to wipe away the innocent blood (the bloodshed) from its midst (cf. Num. xxxv. 33). If the murderer were discovered afterwards, of course the punishment of death which had been inflicted vicariously upon the animal, simply because the criminal himself could not be found, would still fall upon him.

Vers. 10-14. TREATMENT OF A WIFE WHO HAD BEEN A PRISONER OF WAR.—If an Israelite saw among the captives, who had been brought away in a war against foreign nations, a woman of beautiful figure, and loved her, and took her as his wife, he was to allow her a month's time in his house, to bewail her separation from her home and kindred, and accustom herself to her new condition of life, before he married her. What is said here does not apply to the wars with the Canaanites, who were to be cut off (*vid.* chap. vii. 3), but, as a comparison of the introductory words in ver. 1 with chap. xx. 1 clearly shows, to the wars which Israel would carry on with surrounding nations after the conquest of Canaan. שְׁבִיָּה and שְׁבִי, the captivity, for the captives.—Vers. 12, 13. When the woman was taken home to the house of the man who had loved her, she was to shave her head, and make, *i.e.* cut, her nails (*cf.* 2 Sam. xix. 25),—both customary signs of purification (on this signification of the cutting of the hair, see Lev. xiv. 8 and Num. viii. 7),—as symbols of her passing out of the state of a slave, and of her reception into the fellowship of the covenant nation. This is perfectly obvious in her laying aside her prisoner's clothes. After putting off the signs of captivity, she was to sit (*dwelt*) in the house, and bewail her father and mother for a month, *i.e.* console herself for her separation from her parents, whom she had lost, that she might be able to forget her people and her father's house (Ps. xlv. 11), and give herself up henceforth in love to her husband with an undivided heart. The intention of these laws was not to protect the woman against any outbreak of rude passion on the part of the man, but rather to give her time and leisure to loosen herself inwardly from the natural fellowship of her nation and kindred, and to acquire affection towards the fellowship of the people of God, into which she had entered against her will, that her heart might cherish love to the God of Israel, who had given her favour in the eyes of her master, and had taken from her the misery and reproach of slavery. By her master becoming her husband, she entered into the rights of a daughter of Israel, who had been sold by her father to a man to be his wife (Ex. xxi. 7 sqq.). If after this her husband should find no pleasure in her, he was to let her go לְנַפְשָׁהּ, *i.e.* at her free will, and not sell her for money (*cf.* Ex. xxi. 8). “*Thou shalt not put constraint upon her, because thou hast humbled her.*” הִתְעַבֵּר, which only occurs again in chap. xxiv. 7, probably signifies to throw oneself upon a person, to practise violence towards him (*cf. Ges. thes. p.* 1046).

Vers. 15-17. **THE RIGHT OF THE FIRST-BORN.**—Whilst the previous law was intended to protect the slave taken in war against the caprice of her Israelitish master, the law which follows is directed against the abuse of paternal authority in favour of a favourite wife. If a man had two wives, of whom one was beloved and the other hated, —as was the case, for example, with Jacob,—and had sons by both his wives, but the first-born by the wife he hated, he was not, when dividing his property as their inheritance, to make the son of the wife he loved the first-born, *i.e.* was not to give him the inheritance of the first-born, but was to treat the son of the hated wife, who was really the first-born son, as such, and to give him a double share of all his possession. בְּבִר, to make or institute as first-born. עַל־פְּנֵי בֶן וְגו', over (by) the face of, *i.e.* opposite to the first-born son of the hated, when he was present; in other words, “during his lifetime” (cf. Gen. xi. 28). יָבִיר, to regard as that which he is, the rightful first-born. The inheritance of the first-born consisted in “*a mouth of two*” (*i.e.* a mouthful, portion, share of two) of all that was by him, all that he possessed. Consequently the first-born inherited twice as much as any of the other sons. “*Beginning of his strength*” (as in Gen. xlix. 3). This right of primogeniture did not originate with Moses, but was simply secured by him against arbitrary invasion. It was founded, no doubt, upon hereditary tradition; just as we find in many other nations, that certain privileges are secured to the first-born sons above those born afterwards.

Vers. 18-21. **PUNISHMENT OF A REFRACTORY SON.**—The laws upon this point aim not only at the defence, but also at the limitation, of parental authority. If any one's son was unmanageable and refractory, not hearkening to the voice of his parents, even when they chastised him, his father and mother were to take him and lead him out to the elders of the town into the gate of the place. The elders are not regarded here as judges in the strict sense of the word, but as magistrates, who had to uphold the parental authority, and administer the local police. The gate of the town was the forum, where the public affairs of the place were discussed (cf. chap. xxii. 15, xxv. 7); as it is in the present day in Syria (*Seetzen*, R. ii. p. 88), and among the Moors (*Höst*, Nachrichten v. Marokkos, p. 239). —Ver. 20. Here they were to accuse the son as being unmanageable, refractory, disobedient, as “a glutton and a drunkard.” These last accusations show the reason for the unmanageableness and refractoriness.—Ver. 21. In consequence of this accusation, all the

men of the town were to stone him, so that he died. By this the right was taken away from the parents of putting an incorrigible son to death (cf. Prov. xix. 18), whilst at the same time the parental authority was fully preserved. Nothing is said about any evidence of the charge brought by the parents, or about any judicial inquiry generally. "In such a case the charge was a proof in itself. For if the heart of a father and mother could be brought to such a point as to give up their child to the judge before the community of the nation, everything would have been done that a judge would need to know" (*Schnell, d. isr. Recht*, p. 11).—On ver. 21*b*, cf. chap. xiii. 6 and 12.

Vers. 22 and 23. BURIAL OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN HANGED. —If there was a sin upon a man, כִּשְׁפָט מָוֶת, *lit.* a right of death, *i.e.* a capital crime (cf. chap. xix. 6 and xxii. 26), and he was put to death, and they hanged him upon a tree (wood), his body was not to remain upon the wood over night, but they were to bury him on the same day upon which he was hanged; "*for the hanged man is a curse of God*," and they were not to defile the land which Jehovah gave for an inheritance. The hanging, not of criminals who were to be put to death, but of those who had been executed with the sword, was an intensification of the punishment of death (see at Num. xxv. 4), inasmuch as the body was thereby exposed to peculiar kinds of abominations. Moses commanded the burial of those who had been hanged upon the day of their execution,—that is to say, as we may see from the application of this law in Josh. viii. 29, x. 26, 27, before sunset,—because the hanged man, being a curse of God, defiled the land. The land was defiled not only by vices and crimes (cf. Lev. xviii. 24, 28; Num. xxxv. 34), but also by the exposure to view of criminals who had been punished with death, and thus had been smitten by the curse of God, inasmuch as their shameful deeds were thereby publicly exposed to view. We are not to think of any bodily defilement of the land through the decomposition consequent upon death, as *J. D. Mich.* and *Sommer* suppose; so that there is no ground for speaking of any discrepancy between this and the old law.—(On the application of this law to Christ, see Gal. iii. 13.)—This regulation is appended very loosely to what precedes. The link of connection is contained in the thought, that with the punishment of the wicked the recollection of their crimes was also to be removed.

The Duty to love one's Neighbour ; and Warning against a Violation of the Natural Order of Things. Instructions to sanctify the Marriage State.—Chap. xxii.

Going deeper and deeper into the manifold relations of the national life, Moses first of all explains in vers. 1-12 the attitude of an Israelite, on the one hand, towards a neighbour ; and, on the other hand, towards the natural classification and arrangement of things, and shows how love should rule in the midst of all these relations. The different relations brought under consideration are selected rather by way of examples, and therefore follow one another without any link of connection, for the purpose of exhibiting the truth in certain concrete cases, and showing how the covenant people were to hold all the arrangements of God sacred, whether in nature or in social life.

Vers. 1-12. In vers. 1-4 Moses shows, by a still further expansion of Ex. xxiii. 4, 5, how the property of a neighbour was to be regarded and preserved. If any man saw an ox or a sheep of his brother's (fellow-countryman) going astray, he was not to draw back from it, but to bring it back to his brother ; and if the owner lived at a distance, or was unknown, he was to take it into his own house or farm, till he came to seek it. He was also to do the same with an ass or any other property that another had lost.—Ver. 4. A fallen animal belonging to another he was also to help up (as in Ex. xxiii. 5 : except that in this case, instead of a brother generally, an enemy or hater is mentioned).—Ver. 5. As the property of a neighbour was to be sacred in the estimation of an Israelite, so also the divine distinction of the sexes, which was kept sacred in civil life by the clothing peculiar to each sex, was to be not less but even more sacredly observed. "*There shall not be man's things upon a woman, and a man shall not put on a woman's clothes.*" עֵלִי does not signify clothing merely, nor arms only, but includes every kind of domestic and other utensils (as in Ex. xxii. 6 ; Lev. xi. 32, xiii. 49). The immediate design of this prohibition was not to prevent licentiousness, or to oppose idolatrous practices (the proofs which *Spencer* has adduced of the existence of such usages among heathen nations are very far-fetched) ; but to maintain the sanctity of that distinction of the sexes which was established by the creation of man and woman, and in relation to which Israel was not to sin. Every violation or wiping out of this distinction—such even, for example, as the emancipation of a woman—was unnatural, and therefore an abomi-

nation in the sight of God.—Vers. 6, 7. The affectionate relation of parents to their young, which God had established even in the animal world, was also to be kept just as sacred. If any one found a bird's nest by the road upon a tree, or upon the ground, with young ones or eggs, and the mother sitting upon them, he was not to take the mother with the young ones, but to let the mother fly, and only take the young. נִקְרָה for נִקְרָא, as in Ex. v. 3. The command is related to the one in Lev. xxii. 28 and Ex. xxiii. 19, and is placed upon a par with the commandment relating to parents, by the fact that obedience is urged upon the people by the same promise in both instances (*vid.* chap. v. 16; Ex. xx. 12).—Ver. 8. Still less were they to expose human life to danger through carelessness. “*If thou build a new house, make a rim (maakeh)—i.e. a balustrade—to thy roof, that thou bring not blood-guiltiness upon thy house, if any one fall from it.*” The roofs of the Israelitish houses were flat, as they mostly are in the East, so that the inhabitants often lived upon them (Josh. ii. 6; 2 Sam. xi. 2; Matt. x. 27).—In vers. 9–11, there follow several prohibitions against mixing together the things which are separated in God's creation, consisting partly of a verbal repetition of Lev. xix. 19 (see the explanation of this passage).—To this there is appended in ver. 12 the law concerning the tassels upon the hem of the upper garment (Num. xv. 37 sqq.), which were to remind the Israelites of their calling, to walk before the Lord in faithful fulfilment of the commandments of God (see the commentary upon this passage).

Vers. 13–29. LAWS OF CHASTITY AND MARRIAGE.—Higher and still holier than the order of nature stands the moral order of marriage, upon which the well-being not only of domestic life, but also of the civil commonwealth of nations, depends. Marriage must be founded upon fidelity and chastity on the part of those who are married. To foster this, and secure it against outbreaks of malice and evil lust, was the design and object of the laws which follow. The first (vers. 13–21) relates to the chastity of a woman on entering into the married state, which might be called in question by her husband, either from malice or with justice. The former case is that which Moses treats of first of all. If a man took a wife, and came to her, and hated her, *i.e.* turned against her after gratifying his carnal desires (like Amnon, for example, 2 Sam. xiii. 15), and in order to get rid of her again, attributed “deeds or things of words” to her, *i.e.* things which give occasion for words or talk, and

so brought an evil name upon her, saying, that on coming to her he did not find virginity in her. בְּתוּלִים, virginity, here the signs of it, viz., according to ver. 17, the marks of a first intercourse upon the bed-clothes or dress.—Vers. 15 sqq. In such a case the parents of the young woman (הַנַּעֲרָה for הַנַּעֲרָה, as in Gen. xxiv. 14, 28, according to the earliest usage of the books of Moses, a virgin, then also a young woman, e.g. Ruth ii. 6, iv. 12) were to bring the matter before the elders of the town into the gate (the judicial forum; see chap. xxi. 19), and establish the chastity and innocence of their daughter by spreading the bed-clothes before them. It was not necessary to this end that the parents should have taken possession of the spotted bed-clothes directly after the marriage night, as is customarily done by the Bedouins and the lower classes of the Moslem in Egypt and Syria (cf. *Niebuhr, Besch. v. Arab.* pp. 35 sqq.; *Arvieux, merkw. Nachr.* iii. p. 258; *Burckhardt, Beduinen*, p. 214, etc.). It was sufficient that the cloth should be kept, in case such a proof might be required.—Vers. 18 sqq. The elders, as the magistrates of the place, were then to send for the man who had so calumniated his young wife, and to chastise him (יָצַר, as in chap. xxi. 18, used to denote bodily chastisement, though the limitation of the number of strokes to forty save one, may have been a later institution of the schools); and in addition to this they were to impose a fine upon him of 100 shekels of silver, which he was to pay to the father of the young wife for his malicious calumny of an Israelitish maiden,—twice as much as the seducer of a virgin was to pay to her father for the reproach brought upon him by the humiliation of his daughter (ver. 29); and lastly, they were to deprive the man of the right of divorce from his wife.—Vers. 20, 21. In the other case, however, if the man's words were true, and the girl had not been found to be a virgin, the elders were to bring her out before the door of her father's house, and the men of the town were to stone her to death, because she had committed a folly in Israel (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7), to commit fornication in her father's house. The punishment of death was to be inflicted upon her, not so much because she had committed fornication, as because notwithstanding this she had allowed a man to marry her as a spotless virgin, and possibly even after her betrothal had gone with another man (cf. vers. 23, 24). There is no ground for thinking of unnatural wantonness, as *Knobel* does.—Ver. 22. If any one lay with a married woman, they were both of them to be put to death as adulterers (cf. Lev. xx. 10).

Vers. 23–29. In connection with the seduction of a virgin (נַעֲרָה, *puella*, a marriageable girl; בְּתוּלָה, *virgo immaculata*, a virgin), two, or really three, cases are distinguished; viz. (1) whether she was betrothed (vers. 23–27), or not betrothed (vers. 28, 29); (2) if she were betrothed, whether it was (a) in the town (vers. 23, 24) or (b) in the open field (vers. 25–27) that she had been violated by a man.—Vers. 23, 24. If a betrothed virgin had allowed a man to have intercourse with her (*i.e.* one who was not her bridegroom), they were both of them, the man and the girl, to be led out to the gate of the town, and stoned that they might die: the girl, because she had not cried in the city, *i.e.* had not called for help, and consequently was to be regarded as consenting to the deed; the man, because he had humbled his neighbour's wife. The betrothed woman was placed in this respect upon a par with a married woman, and in fact is expressly called a wife in ver. 24. Betrothal was the first step towards marriage, even if it was not a solemn act attested by witnesses. Written agreements of marriage were not introduced till a later period (Tobit vii. 14; *Tr. Ketuboth* i. 2).—Vers. 25–27. If, on the other hand, a man met a betrothed girl in the field, and laid hold of her and lay with her, the man alone was to die, and nothing was to be done to the girl. “*There is in the damsel no death-sin (i.e. no sin to be punished with death); but as when a man riseth against his neighbour and slayeth him, even so is this matter.*” In the open field the girl had called for help, but no one had helped her. It was therefore a forcible rape.—Vers. 28, 29. The last case: if a virgin was not betrothed, and a man seized her and lay with her, and they were found, *i.e.* discovered or convicted of their deed, the man was to pay the father of the girl fifty shekels of silver, for the reproach brought upon him and his house, and to marry the girl whom he had humbled, without ever being able to divorce her. This case is similar to the one mentioned in Ex. xxii. 15, 16. The omission to mention the possibility of the father refusing to give him his daughter for a wife, makes no essential difference. It is assumed as self-evident here, that such a right was possessed by the father.

Ver. 30 (or chap. xxiii. 1). This verse, in which the prohibition of incest is renewed by a repetition of the first provision in the earlier law (Lev. xviii. 7, 8), is no doubt much better adapted to form the close of the laws of chastity and marriage, than the introduction to the laws which follow concerning the right of citizenship in the congregation of the Lord.

Regulations as to the Right of Citizenship in the Congregation of the Lord.—Chap. xxiii.

From the sanctification of the house and the domestic relation, to which the laws of marriage and chastity in the previous chapter pointed, Moses proceeds to instructions concerning the sanctification of their union as a congregation: he gives directions as to the exclusion of certain persons from the congregation of the Lord, and the reception of others into it (vers. 1-8); as to the preservation of the purity of the camp in time of war (vers. 9-14); as to the reception of foreign slaves into the land, and the removal of licentious persons out of it (vers. 15-18); and lastly, as to certain duties of citizenship (19-25).

Vers. 1-8. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION OF THE LORD.—Ver. 1. Into the congregation of the Lord there was not to come, *i.e.* not to be received, any person who was mutilated in his sexual member. פְּצוּעֵ-דָבָה, literally wounded by crushing, *i.e.* mutilated in this way; *Vulg.* *eunuchus attritis vel amputatis testiculis*. Not only animals (see at Lev. xxii. 24), but men also, were castrated in this way. כְּרוֹת שִׁפְכָה was one whose sexual member was cut off; *Vulg.* *abscisso veretro*. According to *Mishnah Jebam.* vi. 2, “*contusus דָּבָהּ est omnis, cujus testiculi vulnerati sunt, vel certe unus eorum; exsectus (כְּרוֹת), cujus membrum virile præcisum est.*” In the modern East, emasculation is generally performed in this way (see *Tournefort, Reise.* ii. p. 259, and *Burckhardt, Nubien*, pp. 450, 451). The reason for the exclusion of emasculated persons from the congregation of Jehovah, *i.e.* not merely from office (*officio et publico magistratu*, *Luth.*) and from marriage with an Israelitish woman (*Fag., C. a Lap.*, and others), but from admission into the covenant fellowship of Israel with the Lord, is to be found in the mutilation of the nature of man as created by God, which was irreconcilable with the character of the people of God. Nature is not destroyed by grace, but sanctified and transformed. This law, however, was one of the ordinances intended for the period of infancy, and has lost its significance with the spread of the kingdom of God over all the nations of the earth (Isa. lvi. 4).—Ver. 2. So also with the כְּמוֹר, *i.e.* not persons begotten out of wedlock, illegitimate children generally (*LXX., Vulg.*), but, according to the *Talmud* and the *Rabbins*, those who were begotten in incest or adultery (cf. *Ges. thes.* p. 781). The etymology

of the word is obscure. The only other place in which it occurs is Zech. ix. 6; and it is neither contracted from מוֹם and זָר (according to the *Talmud*, and *Hitzig* on Zech. ix. 6), nor from זָר מַעֵם (*Geiger Urschr.* p. 52), but in all probability is to be derived from a root מִזָּר, synonymous with the Arabic word "to be corrupt, or foul." The additional clause, "*not even in the tenth generation*," precludes all possibility of their ever being received. Ten is the number of complete exclusion. In ver. 3, therefore, "*for ever*" is added. The reason is the same as in the case of mutilated persons, namely, their springing from a connection opposed to the divine order of the creation.—Vers. 3–6. Also no Ammonite or Moabite was to be received, not even in the tenth generation; not, however, because their forefathers were begotten in incest (Gen. xix. 30 sqq.), as *Knobel* supposes, but on account of the hostility they had manifested to the establishment of the kingdom of God. Not only had they failed to give Israel a hospitable reception on its journey (see at chap. ii. 29), but they (viz. the king of the Moabites) had even hired Balaam to curse Israel. In this way they had brought upon themselves the curse which falls upon all those who curse Israel, according to the infallible word of God (Gen. xii. 3), the truth of which even Balaam was obliged to attest in the presence of Balak (Num. xxiv. 9); although out of love to Israel the Lord turned the curse of Balaam into a blessing (cf. Num. xxii.–xxiv.). For this reason Israel was never to seek their welfare and prosperity, i.e. to make this an object of its care ("to seek," as in Jer. xxix. 7); not indeed from personal hatred, for the purpose of repaying evil with evil, since this neither induced Moses to publish the prohibition, nor instigated Ezra when he put the law in force, by compelling the separation of all Ammonitish, Moabitish, and Canaanitish wives from the newly established congregation in Jerusalem (Ezra ix. 12). How far Moses was from being influenced by such motives of personal or national revenge is evident, apart from the prohibition in chap. ii. 9 and 19 against making war upon the Moabites and Ammonites, from the command which follows in vers. 8 and 9 with reference to the Edomites and Egyptians. These nations had also manifested hostility to the Israelites. Edom had come against them when they desired to march peaceably through his land (Num. xx. 18 sqq.), and the Pharaohs of Egypt had heavily oppressed them. Nevertheless, Israel was to keep the bond of kindred sacred ("he is thy brother"), and not to forget in the case of the Egyptians the benefits derived from their sojourn in their land. Their children

might come into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation, *i.e.* the great-grandchildren of Edomites or Egyptians, who had lived as strangers in Israel (see at Ex. xx. 5). Such persons might be incorporated into the covenant nation by circumcision.

Vers. 9-14. PRESERVATION OF THE PURITY OF THE CAMP IN TIME OF WAR.—The bodily appearance of the people was also to correspond to the sacredness of Israel as the congregation of the Lord, especially when they gathered in hosts around their God. “*When thou marchest out as a camp against thine enemies, beware of every evil thing.*” What is meant by an “evil thing” is stated in vers. 10-13, *viz.* uncleanness, and uncleanliness of the body.—Vers. 10, 11. The person who had become unclean through a nightly occurrence, was to go out of the camp and remain there till he had cleansed himself in the evening. On the journey through the desert, none but those who were affected with uncleanness of a longer duration were to be removed from the camp (Num. v. 2); but when they were encamped, this law was to apply to even lighter defilements.—Vers. 12, 13. The camp of war was also not to be defiled with the dirt of excrements. Outside the camp there was to be a space or place (רָצוּץ, as in Num. ii. 17) for the necessities of nature, and among their implements they were to have a spade, with which they were to dig when they sate down, and then cover it up again. מַטְבֵּי, generally a plug, here a tool for sticking in, *i.e.* for digging into the ground.—Ver. 14. For the camp was to be (to be kept) holy, because Jehovah walked in the midst of it, in order that He might not see “*nakedness of a thing,*” *i.e.* anything to be ashamed of (see at chap. xxiv. 1) in the people, “*and turn away from thee.*” There was nothing shameful in the excrement itself; but the want of reverence, which the people would display through not removing it, would offend the Lord and drive Him out of the camp of Israel.

Vers. 15-18. TOLERATION AND NON-TOLERATION IN THE CONGREGATION OF THE LORD.—Vers. 15, 16. A slave who had escaped from his master to Israel was not to be given up, but to be allowed to dwell in the land, wherever he might choose, and not to be oppressed. The reference is to a slave who had fled to them from a foreign country, on account of the harsh treatment which he had received from his heathen master. The plural מִצְרַיִם denotes the rule.—Vers. 17, 18. On the other hand, male and female prostitutes of Israelitish descent were not to be tolerated; *i.e.* it was

not to be allowed, that either a male or female among the Israelites should give himself up to prostitution as an act of religious worship. The exclusion of foreign prostitutes was involved in the command to root out the Canaanites. קִדְּשָׁה and קִדְּשָׁה were persons who prostituted themselves in the worship of the Canaanitish Astarte (see at Gen. xxxviii. 21).—"The wages of a prostitute and the money of dogs shall not come into the house of the Lord on account of (ל, for the more remote cause, Ewald, § 217) any vow; for even both these (viz. even the prostitute and dog, not merely their dishonourable gains) are abomination unto the Lord thy God." "The hire of a whore" is what the *kedeshah* was paid for giving herself up. "The price of a dog" is not the price paid for the sale of a dog (*Bochart, Spencer, Iken, Baumgarten*, etc.), but is a figurative expression used to denote the gains of the *kadesh*, who was called *κίναϊδος* by the Greeks, and received his name from the dog-like manner in which the male *kadesh* debased himself (see Rev. xxii. 15, where the unclean are distinctly called "dogs").

Vers. 19-25. DIFFERENT THEOCRATIC RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.—Vers. 19, 20. Of his brother (*i.e.* his countryman), the Israelite was not to take interest for money, food, or anything else that he lent to him; but only of strangers (non-Israelites: cf. Ex. xxii. 24 and Lev. xxv. 36, 37).—Vers. 21-23. Vows vowed to the Lord were to be fulfilled without delay; but omitting to vow was not a sin. (On vows themselves, see at Lev. xxvii. and Num. xxx. 2 sqq.) נִדְּבָה is an accusative defining the meaning more fully: in free will, spontaneously.—Vers. 24, 25. In the vineyard and corn-field of a neighbour they might eat at pleasure to still their hunger, but they were not to put anything into a vessel, or swing a sickle upon another's corn, that is to say, carry away any store of grapes or ears of corn. כִּנְפֹצֵת, according to thy desire, or appetite (cf. chap. xiv. 26). "*Pluck the ears:*" cf. Matt. xii. 1; Luke vi. 1.—The right of hungry persons, when passing through a field, to pluck ears of corn, and rub out the grains and eat, is still recognised among the Arabs (*vid. Rob. Pal.* ii. 192).

On Divorce. Warnings against want of Affection or Injustice.—
Chap. xxiv.

Vers. 1-5 contain two laws concerning the relation of a man to his wife. The first (vers. 1-4) has reference to divorce. In these verses, however, divorce is not established as a right; all that is

done is, that in case of a divorce a reunion with the divorced wife is forbidden, if in the meantime she had married another man, even though the second husband had also put her away, or had died. The four verses form a period, in which vers. 1-3 are the clauses of the protasis, which describe the matter treated about; and ver. 4 contains the apodosis, with the law concerning the point in question. If a man married a wife, and he put her away with a letter of divorce, because she did not please him any longer, and the divorced woman married another man, and he either put her away in the same manner or died, the first husband could not take her as his wife again. The putting away (divorce) of a wife with a letter of divorce, which the husband gave to the wife whom he put away, is assumed as a custom founded upon tradition. This tradition left the question of divorce entirely at the will of the husband: "*if the wife does not find favour in his eyes (i.e. does not please him), because he has found in her something shameful*" (chap. xxiii. 15). עֲרוּהָ, nakedness, shame, disgrace (Isa. xx. 4; 1 Sam. xx. 30); in connection with דָּבָר, the shame of a thing, i.e. a shameful thing (LXX. ἄσχημον πράγμα; Vulg. aliquam fœtiditatem). The meaning of this expression as a ground of divorce was disputed even among the Rabbins. *Hillel's* school interpret it in the widest and most lax manner possible, according to the explanation of the Pharisees in Matt. xix. 3, "for every cause." They no doubt followed the rendering of *Onkelos*, עֲבִירַת פְּתָנִים, the transgression of a thing; but this is contrary to the use of the word עֲרוּהָ, to which the interpretation given by *Shammai* adhered more strictly. His explanation of עֲרוּהָ דָּבָר is "*rem impudicam, libidinem, lasciviam, impudicitiam.*" Adultery, to which some of the Rabbins would restrict the expression, is certainly not to be thought of, because this was to be punished with death.¹ סִפְרֵי בְרִיתָהּ, βιβλίον ἀποστασίλου, a letter of divorce; בְּרִיתָהּ, hewing off, cutting off, sc. from the man, with whom the wife was to be one flesh (Gen. ii. 24). The custom of giving letters of divorce was probably adopted by the Israelites in Egypt, where the practice of writing had already found its way into all the relations of life.² The law that the first husband could not take his divorced wife back again, if she had

¹ For the different views of the Rabbins upon this subject, see *Mishnah tract. Gittin* ix. 10; *Buxtorf, de sponsal. et divort.* pp. 88 sqq.; *Selden, uxor ebr.* l. iii. c. 18 and 20; and *Lightfoot, horæ ebr. et talm. ad Matth.* v. 31 sq.

² The rabbinical rules on the grounds of divorce and the letter of divorce, according to *Maimonides*, have been collected by *Surenhusius, ad Mishn. tr.*

married another husband in the meantime, even supposing that the second husband was dead, would necessarily put a check upon frivolous divorces. Moses could not entirely abolish the traditional custom, if only "because of the hardness of the people's hearts" (Matt. xix. 8). The thought, therefore, of the impossibility of reunion with the first husband, after the wife had contracted a second marriage, would put some restraint upon a frivolous rupture of the marriage tie: it would have this effect, that whilst, on the one hand, the man would reflect when inducements to divorce his wife presented themselves, and would recall a rash act if it had been performed, before the wife he had put away had married another husband; on the other hand, the wife would yield more readily to the will of her husband, and seek to avoid furnishing him with an inducement for divorce. But this effect would be still more readily produced by the reason assigned by Moses, namely, that the divorced woman was defiled (הַטְּמָאָה, *Hothpael*, as in Num. i. 47) by her marriage with a second husband. The second marriage of a woman who had been divorced is designated by Moses a defilement of the woman, primarily no doubt with reference to the fact that the *emissio seminis* in sexual intercourse rendered unclean, though not merely in the sense of such a defilement as was removed in the evening by simple washing, but as a moral defilement, *i.e.* blemishing, desecration of the sexual communion which was sanctified by marriage, in the same sense in which adultery is called a defilement in Lev. xviii. 20 and Num. v. 13, 14. Thus the second marriage of a divorced woman was placed *implicite* upon a par with adultery, and some approach made towards the teaching of Christ concerning marriage: "Who-soever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery" (Matt. v. 32).—But if the second marriage of a divorced woman was a moral defilement, of course the wife could not marry the first again even after the death of her second husband, not only because such a reunion would lower the dignity of the woman, and the woman would appear too much like property, which could be disposed of at one time and reclaimed at another (*Schultz*), but because the defilement of the wife would be thereby repeated, and even increased, as the moral defilement which the divorced wife acquired through the second marriage was not removed by a divorce from the second husband, nor yet by his death. Such defilement was *Gittin*, c. 1 (T. iii. pp. 322 sq. of the *Mishnah of Sur.*), where different specimens of letters of divorce are given; the latter also in *Lightfoot, l.c.*

an abomination before Jehovah, by which they would cause the land to sin, *i.e.* stain it with sin, as much as by the sins of incest and unnatural licentiousness (Lev. xviii. 25).

Attached to this law, which is intended to prevent a frivolous severance of the marriage tie, there is another in ver. 5, which was of a more positive character, and adapted to fortify the marriage bond. The newly married man was not required to perform military service for a whole year; "*and there shall not come (anything) upon him with regard to any matter.*" The meaning of this last clause is to be found in what follows: "*Free shall he be for his house for a year;*" *i.e.* they shall put no public burdens upon him, that he may devote himself entirely to his newly established domestic relations, and be able to gladden his wife (compare chap. xx. 7).

Vers. 6-9. *Various Prohibitions.*—Ver. 6. "*No man shall take in pledge the handmill and millstone, for he (who does this) is pawning life.*" רַחִים, the handmill; רֶכֶב, *lit.* the runner, *i.e.* the upper millstone. Neither the whole mill nor the upper millstone was to be asked for as a pledge, by which the mill would be rendered useless, since the handmill was indispensable for preparing the daily food for the house; so that whoever took them away injured life itself, by withdrawing what was indispensable to the preservation of life. The mill is mentioned as one specimen of articles of this kind, like the clothing in Ex. xxii. 25, 26, which served the poor man as bed-clothes also. Breaches of this commandment are reprov'd in Amos ii. 8; Job xxii. 6; Prov. xx. 16, xxii. 27, xxvii. 13.—Ver. 7. Repetition of the law against man-stealing (Ex. xxi. 16).—Vers. 8, 9. The command, "*Take heed by the plague of leprosy to observe diligently and to do according to all that the priests teach thee,*" etc., does not mean, that when they saw signs of leprosy they were to be upon their guard, to observe everything that the priests directed them, as *Knobel* and many others suppose. For, in the first place, the reference to the punishment of Miriam with leprosy is by no means appropriate to such a thought as this, since Miriam did not act in opposition to the priests after she had been smitten with leprosy, but brought leprosy upon herself as a punishment, by her rebellion against Moses (Num. xii. 10 sqq.). And in the second place, this view cannot be reconciled with הָשָׁמֵר בְּנִנְע, since הָשָׁמֵר with בְּ, either to be upon one's guard against (before) anything (2 Sam. xx. 10), or when taken in connection with בְּנַפְשׁ, to beware by the soul, *i.e.* for the

sake of the worth of the soul (Jer. xvii. 21). The thought here, therefore, is, "Be on thy guard because of the plague of leprosy," *i.e.* that thou dost not get it, have to bear it, as the reward for thy rebellion against what the priests teach according to the commandment of the Lord. "Watch diligently, that thou do not incur the plague of leprosy" (*Vulgate*); or, "that thou do not sin, so as to be punished with leprosy" (*J. H. Michaelis*).

Vers. 10–15. *Warning against oppressing the Poor.*—Vers. 10, 11. If a loan of any kind was lent to a neighbour, the lender was not to go into his house to pledge (take) a pledge, but was to let the borrower bring the pledge out. The meaning is, that they were to leave it to the borrower to give a pledge, and not compel him to give up something as a pledge that might be indispensable to him.—Vers. 12, 13. And if the man was in distress (צָרָה), the lender was not to lie (sleep) upon his pledge, since the poor man had very often nothing but his upper garment, in which he slept, to give as a pledge. This was to be returned to him in the evening. (A repetition of Ex. xxii. 25, 26.) On the expression, "it shall be righteousness unto thee," see chap. vi. 25.—Vers. 14, 15. They were not to oppress a poor and distressed labourer, by withholding his wages. This command is repeated here from Lev. xix. 13, with special reference to the distress of the poor man. "*And to it (his wages) he lifts up his soul:*" *i.e.* he feels a longing for it. "Lifts up his soul:" as in Ps. xxiv. 4; Hos. iv. 8; Jer. xxii. 27. On ver. 15b, see chap. xv. 9 and Jas. v. 4.

Vers. 16–18. *Warning against Injustice.*—Ver. 16. Fathers were not to be put to death upon (along with) their sons, nor sons upon (along with) their fathers, *i.e.* they were not to suffer the punishment of death with them for crimes in which they had no share; but every one was to be punished simply for his own sin. This command was important, to prevent an unwarrantable and abusive application of the law which is manifest in the movements of divine justice to the criminal jurisprudence of the land (Ex. xx. 5), since it was a common thing among heathen nations—*e.g.* the Persians, Macedonians, and others—for the children and families of criminals to be also put to death (cf. Esther ix. 13, 14; *Herod.* iii. 19; *Ammian Marcell.* xxiii. 6; *Curtius*, vi. 11, 20, etc.). An example of the carrying out of this law is to be found in 2 Kings xiv. 6, 2 Chron. xxv. 4. In vers. 17, 18, the law against perverting the right of strangers, orphans, and widows, is repeated from Ex. xxii. 20, 21, and xxiii. 9; and an addition is made, namely, that they were not

to take a widow's raiment in pledge (cf. Lev. xix. 33, 34).—Vers. 19-22. Directions to allow strangers, widows, and orphans to glean in time of harvest (as in Lev. xix. 9, 10, and xxiii. 22). The reason is given in ver. 22, viz. the same as in ver. 18 and chap. xv. 15.

Laws relating to Corporal Punishment; Levirate Marriages; and Just Weights and Measures.—Chap. xxv.

Vers. 1-3. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.—The rule respecting the corporal punishment to be inflicted upon a guilty man is introduced in ver. 1 with the general law, that in a dispute between two men the court was to give right to the man who was right, and to pronounce the guilty man guilty (cf. Ex. xxii. 8 and xxiii. 7).—Ver. 2. If the guilty man was sentenced to stripes, he was to receive his punishment in the presence of the judge, and not more than forty stripes, that he might not become contemptible in the eyes of the people. בֶּן הַסֹּדֶה, son of stripes, i.e. a man liable to stripes, like son (child) of death, in 1 Sam. xx. 31. “According to the need of his crime in number,” i.e. as many stripes as his crime deserved.—Ver. 3. “Forty shall ye beat him, and not add,” i.e. at most forty stripes, and not more. The strokes were administered with a stick upon the back (Prov. x. 13, xix. 29, xxvi. 3, etc.). This was the Egyptian mode of whipping, as we may see depicted upon the monuments, when the culprits lie flat upon the ground, and being held fast by the hands and feet, receive their strokes in the presence of the judge (*vid. Wilkinson*, ii. p. 11, and *Rosellini*, ii. 3, p. 274, 78). The number forty was not to be exceeded, because a larger number of strokes with a stick would not only endanger health and life, but disgrace the man: “that thy brother do not become contemptible in thine eyes.” If he had deserved a severer punishment, he was to be executed. In Turkey the punishments inflicted are much more severe, viz. from fifty to a hundred lashes with a whip; and they are at the same time inhuman (see *v. Tornauw, Moslem. Recht*, p. 234). The number, forty, was probably chosen with reference to its symbolical significance, which it had derived from Gen. vii. 12 onwards, as the full measure of judgment. The Rabbins fixed the number at forty save one (*vid. 2 Cor. xi. 24*), from a scrupulous fear of transgressing the letter of the law, in case a mistake should be made in the counting; yet they felt no conscientious scruples about using a whip of twisted thongs instead of a stick (*vid. tract. Macc. iii. 12; Buxtorf, Synag. Jud.* pp. 522-3; and *Lundius, Jüd. Heiligth.* p. 472).—Ver. 4. The command not to put a muzzle upon the ox when threshing, is

no doubt proverbial in its nature, and even in the context before us is not intended to apply merely literally to an ox employed in threshing, but to be understood in the general sense in which the Apostle Paul uses it in 1 Cor. ix. 9 and 1 Tim. v. 18, viz. that a labourer was not to be deprived of his wages. As the mode of threshing presupposed here—namely, with oxen yoked together, and driven to and fro over the corn that had been strewn upon the floor, that they might kick out the grains with their hoofs—has been retained to the present day in the East, so has also the custom of leaving the animals employed in threshing without a muzzle (*vid. Hoest, Marokos*, p. 129; *Wellst. Arabien*, i. p. 194; *Robinson*, Pal. ii. pp. 206–7, iii. p. 6), although the Mosaic injunctions are not so strictly observed by the Christians as by the Mohammedans (*Robinson*, ii. p. 207).

Vers. 5–10. ON LEVIRATE MARRIAGES.—Vers. 5, 6. If brothers lived together, and one of them died childless, the wife of the deceased was not to be married outside (*i.e.* away from the family) to a strange man (one not belonging to her kindred); her brother-in-law was to come to her and take her for his wife, and perform the duty of a brother-in-law to her. דָּבַר, *denom.* from דָּבַר, a brother-in-law, husband's brother, *lit.* to act the brother-in-law, *i.e.* perform the duty of a brother-in-law, which consisted in his marrying his deceased brother's widow, and begetting a son or children with her, the first-born of whom was "to stand upon the name of his deceased brother," *i.e.* be placed in the family of the deceased, and be recognised as the heir of his property, that his name (the name of the man who had died childless) might not be wiped out or vanish out of Israel. The provision, "without having a son" (*ben*), has been correctly interpreted by the LXX., *Vulg.*, *Josephus* (*Ant.* iv. 8, 23), and the *Rabbins*, as signifying childless (having no seed, *Matt.* xxii. 25); for if the deceased had simply a daughter, according to *Num.* xxvii. 4 sqq., the perpetuation of his house and name was to be ensured through her. The obligation of a brother-in-law's marriage only existed in cases where the brothers had lived together, *i.e.* in one and the same place, not necessarily in one house or with a common domestic establishment and home (*vid. Gen.* xiii. 6, xxxvi. 7).—This custom of a brother-in-law's (Levirate) marriage, which is met with in different nations, and was an old traditional custom among the Israelites (see at *Gen.* xxxviii. 8 sqq.), had its natural roots in the desire inherent in man,

who is formed for immortality, and connected with the hitherto undeveloped belief in an eternal life, to secure a continued personal existence for himself and immortality for his name, through the perpetuation of his family and in the life of the son who took his place. This desire was not suppressed in Israel by divine revelation, but rather increased, inasmuch as the promises given to the patriarchs were bound up with the preservation and propagation of their seed and name. The promise given to Abraham for his seed would of necessity not only raise the begetting of children in the religious views of the Israelites into a work desired by God and well-pleasing to Him, but would also give this significance to the traditional custom of preserving the name and family by the substitution of a marriage of duty, that they would thereby secure to themselves and their family a share in the blessing of promise. Moses therefore recognised this custom as perfectly justifiable; but he sought to restrain it within such limits, that it should not present any impediment to the sanctification of marriage aimed at by the law. He took away the compulsory character, which it hitherto possessed, by prescribing in vers. 7 sqq., that if the surviving brother refused to marry his widowed sister-in-law, she was to bring the matter into the gate before the elders of the town (*vid.* chap. xxi. 19), *i.e.* before the magistrates; and if the brother-in-law still persisted in his refusal, she was to take his shoe from off his foot and spit in his face, with these words: "*So let it be done to the man who does not build up his brother's house.*" The taking off of the shoe was an ancient custom in Israel, adopted, according to Ruth iv. 7, in cases of redemption and exchange, for the purpose of confirming commercial transactions. The usage arose from the fact, that when any one took possession of landed property he did so by treading upon the soil, and asserting his right of possession by standing upon it in his shoes. In this way the taking off of the shoe and handing it to another became a symbol of the renunciation of a man's position and property,—a symbol which was also common among the Indians and the ancient Germans (see my *Archäologie*, ii. p. 66). But the custom was an ignominious one in such a case as this, when the shoe was publicly taken off the foot of the brother-in-law by the widow whom he refused to marry. He was thus deprived of the position which he ought to have occupied in relation to her and to his deceased brother, or to his paternal house; and the disgrace involved in this was still further heightened by the fact that his sister-in-law spat in his face. This

is the meaning of the words (cf. Num. xii. 14), and not merely spit on the ground before his eyes, as *Saalschütz* and others as well as the Talmudists (*tr. Jebam.* xii. 6) render it, for the purpose of diminishing the disgrace. “*Build up his brother’s house*,” i.e. lay the foundation of a family or posterity for him (cf. Gen. xvi. 2).—In addition to this, the unwilling brother-in-law was to receive a name of ridicule in Israel: “*House of the shoe taken off*” (הַלִּיזָן הַנֶּעֱלָ), taken off as to his shoe; cf. *Ewald*, § 288, b.), i.e. of the barefooted man, equivalent to “the miserable fellow;” for it was only in miserable circumstances that the Hebrews went barefoot (*vid.* Isa. xx. 2, 3; Micah i. 8; 2 Sam. xv. 30). If the brother-in-law bore this reproach upon himself and his house, he was released from his duty as a brother-in-law. By these regulations the brother-in-law’s marriage was no doubt recognised as a duty of affection towards his deceased brother, but it was not made a command, the neglect of which would involve guilt and punishment. Within these limits the brother-in-law’s marriage might co-exist with the prohibition of marriage with a brother’s wife; “whereas, if the deceased brother had a son or children, such a marriage was forbidden as prejudicial to the fraternal relation. In cases where the deceased was childless, it was commanded as a duty of affection for the building up of the brother’s house, and the preservation of his family and name. By the former prohibition, the house (family) of the brother was kept in its integrity, whilst by the latter command its permanent duration was secured. In both cases the deceased brother was honoured, and the fraternal affection preserved as the moral foundation of his house” (*vid.* my *Archäologie*, pp. 64, 65).

Vers. 11 and 12. “But in order that the great independence which is here accorded to a childless widow in relation to her brother-in-law, might not be interpreted as a false freedom granted to the female sex” (*Baumgarten*), the law is added immediately afterwards, that a woman whose husband was quarrelling with another, and who should come to his assistance by laying hold of the secret parts of the man who was striking her husband, should have her hand cut off.

Vers. 13–19. The duty of integrity in trade is once more enforced in vers. 13–16 (as in Lev. xix. 35, 36). “*Stone and stone*,” i.e. two kinds of stones for weighing (cf. Ps. xii. 3), viz. large ones for buying and small ones for selling. On the promise in ver. 15b, see chap. iv. 26, v. 16; ver. 16a, as in chap. xxii. 5, xviii. 12, etc. In the concluding words, ver. 16b, “*all that do unrighteously*,” Moses

sums up all breaches of the law.—Vers. 17-19. But whilst the Israelites were to make love the guiding principle of their conduct in their dealings with a neighbour, and even with strangers and foes, this love was not to degenerate into weakness or indifference towards open ungodliness. To impress this truth upon the people, Moses concludes the discourse on the law by reminding them of the crafty enmity manifested towards them by Amalek on their march out of Egypt, and with the command to root out the Amalekites (cf. Ex. xvii. 9-16). This heathen nation had come against Israel on its journey, viz. at Rephidim in Horeb, and had attacked its rear: “*All the enfeebled behind thee, whilst thou wast faint and weary, without fearing God.*” וַיִּבֶּן, *lit.* to tail, hence to attack or destroy the rear of an army or of a travelling people (cf. Josh. x. 19). For this reason, when the Lord should have given Israel rest in the land of its inheritance, it was to root out the remembrance of Amalek under heaven. (On the execution of this command, see 1 Sam. xv.) “*Thou shalt not forget it:*” an emphatic enforcement of the “remember” in ver. 17.

Thanksgiving and Prayer at the Presentation of First-fruits and Tithes.—Chap. xxvi.

To the exposition of the commandments and rights of Israel Moses adds, in closing, another ordinance respecting those gifts, which were most intimately connected with social and domestic life, viz. the first-fruits and second tithes, for the purpose of giving the proper consecration to the attitude of the nation towards its Lord and God.

Vers. 1-11. Of the first of the fruit of the ground, which was presented from the land received from the Lord, the Israelite was to take a portion (מִרְאֲשִׁית with מֵן partitive), and bring it in a basket to the place of the sanctuary, and give it to the priest who should be there, with the words, “*I have made known to-day to the Lord thy God, that I have come into the land which the Lord swore to our fathers to give us,*” upon which the priest should take the basket and put it down before the altar of Jehovah (vers. 1-4). From the partitive מִרְאֲשִׁית we cannot infer, as *Schultz* supposes, that the first-fruits were not to be all delivered at the sanctuary, any more than this can be inferred from Ex. xxiii. 19 (see the explanation of this passage). All that is implied is, that, for the purpose described afterwards, it was not necessary to put all the offerings of first-fruits into a basket and set them down before the altar. טָנָה

(vers. 2, 4, and chap. xxviii. 5, 17) is a basket of wicker-work, and not, as *Knobel* maintains, the Deuteronomist's word for צִנְנֶנֶת (Ex. xvi. 33). "The priest" is not the high priest, but the priest who had to attend to the altar-service and receive the sacrificial gifts.—The words, "I have to-day made known to the Lord thy God," refer to the practical confession which was made by the presentation of the first-fruits. The fruit was the tangible proof that they were in possession of the land, and the presentation of the first of this fruit the practical confession that they were indebted to the Lord for the land. This confession the offerer was also to embody in a prayer of thanksgiving, after the basket had been received by the priest, in which he confessed that he and his people owed their existence and welfare to the grace of God, manifested in the miraculous redemption of Israel out of the oppression of Egypt and their guidance into Canaan.—Ver. 5. אֲרָמִי אֲבִר אָבִי, "a lost (perishing) Aramæan was my father" (not the Aramæan, *Laban*, wanted to destroy my father, *Jacob*, as the *Chald.*, *Arab.*, *Luther*, and others render it). אֲבִר signifies not only going astray, wandering, but perishing, in danger of perishing, as in Job xxix. 13, Prov. xxxi. 6, etc. Jacob is referred to, for it was he who went down to Egypt in few men. He is mentioned as the tribe-father of the nation, because the nation was directly descended from his sons, and also derived its name of *Israel* from him. Jacob is called an Aramæan, not only because of his long sojourn in Aramæa (Gen. xxix.–xxxi.), but also because he got his wives and children there (cf. Hos. xii. 13); and the relatives of the patriarchs had accompanied Abraham from Chaldæa to Mesopotamia (Aram; see Gen. xi. 30). בְּמִחֵי מְעַט, consisting of few men (בְּ, the so-called *beth essent.*, as in chap. x. 22, Ex. vi. 3, etc.; *vid. Ewald*, § 299, q.). Compare Gen. xxxiv. 30, where Jacob himself describes his family as "few in number." On the number in the family that migrated into Egypt, reckoned at seventy souls, see the explanation at Gen. xli. 27. On the multiplication in Egypt into a great and strong people, see Ex. i. 7, 9; and on the oppression endured there, Ex. i. 11–22, and ii. 23 sqq.—The guidance out of Egypt amidst great signs (ver. 8), as in chap. iv. 34.—Ver. 10. "So shalt thou set it down (the basket with the first-fruits) before Jehovah." These words are not to be understood, as *Clericus*, *Knobel*, and others suppose, in direct opposition to vers. 4 and 5, as implying that the offerer had held the basket in his hand during the prayer, but simply as a remark which closes the instructions.—Ver. 11. Rejoicing in

all the good, etc., points to the joy connected with the sacrificial meal, which followed the act of worship (as in chap. xii. 12). The presentation of the first-fruits took place, no doubt, on their pilgrimages to the sanctuary at the three yearly festivals (chap. xvi.); but it is quite without ground that *Riehm* restricts these words to the sacrificial meals to be prepared from the tithes, as if they had been the only sacrificial meals (see at chap. xviii. 3).

Vers. 12-15. The delivery of the tithes, like the presentation of the first-fruits, was also to be sanctified by prayer before the Lord. It is true that only a prayer after taking the second tithe in the third year is commanded here; but that is simply because this tithe was appropriated everywhere throughout the land to festal meals for the poor and destitute (chap. xiv. 28), when prayer before the Lord would not follow *per analogiam* from the previous injunction concerning the presentation of first-fruits, as it would in the case of the tithes with which sacrificial meals were prepared at the sanctuary (chap. xiv. 22 sqq.). לַעֲשֹׂה is the infinitive Hiphil for לַחֲשֹׁב, as in Neh. x. 39 (on this form, *vid. Ges.* § 53, 3 Anm. 2 and 7, and *Ew.* § 131, *b.* and 244, *b.*). "Saying before the Lord" does not denote prayer in the sanctuary (at the tabernacle), but, as in Gen. xxvii. 7, simply prayer before God the omnipresent One, who is enthroned in heaven (ver. 15), and blesses His people from above from His holy habitation. The declaration of having fulfilled the commandments of God refers primarily to the directions concerning the tithes, and was such a rendering of an account as springs from the consciousness that a man very easily transgresses the commandments of God, and has nothing in common with the blindness of pharisaic self-righteousness. "*I have cleaned out the holy out of my house:*" the holy is that which is sanctified to God, that which belongs to the Lord and His servants, as in Lev. xxi. 22. בִּיעַר signifies not only to remove, but to clean out, wipe out. That which was sanctified to God appeared as a debt, which was to be wiped out of a man's house (*Schultz*).—Ver. 14. "*I have not eaten thereof in my sorrow.*" אֲנִי, from אָנָּה, tribulation, distress, signifies here in all probability mourning, and judging from what follows, mourning for the dead, equivalent to "in a mourning condition," *i.e.* in a state of legal (Levitical) uncleanness; so that אֲנִי really corresponded to the אֲנִי which follows, except that אֲנִי includes every kind of legal uncleanness. "*I have removed nothing thereof as unclean,*" *i.e.* while in the state of an unclean person. Not only not eaten of any, but not removed any of it from the house, carried

it away in an unclean state, in which they were forbidden to touch the holy gifts (Lev. xxii. 3). "*And not given (any) of it on account of the dead.*" This most probably refers to the custom of sending provisions into a house of mourning, to prepare meals for the mourners (2 Sam. iii. 25; Jer. xvi. 7; Hos. ix. 4; Tobit iv. 17). A house of mourning, with its inhabitants, was regarded as unclean; consequently nothing could be carried into it of that which was sanctified. There is no good ground for thinking of idolatrous customs, or of any special superstition attached to the bread of mourning; nor is there any ground for understanding the words as referring to the later Jewish custom of putting provisions into the grave along with the corpse, to which the Septuagint rendering, οὐκ ἔδωκα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ τεθνηκότι, points. (On ver. 15, see Isa. lxiii. 15.)

Vers. 16–19. At the close of his discourse, Moses sums up the whole in the earnest admonition that Israel would give the Lord its God occasion to fulfil the promised glorification of His people, by keeping His commandments with all their heart and soul.—Ver. 16. On this day the Lord commanded Israel to keep these laws and rights with all the heart and all the soul (cf. chap. vi. 5, x. 12 sqq.). There are two important points contained in this (vers. 17 sqq.). The acceptance of the laws laid before them on the part of the Israelites involved a practical declaration that the nation would accept Jehovah as its God, and walk in His way (ver. 17); and the giving of the law on the part of the Lord was a practical confirmation of His promise that Israel should be His people of possession, which He would glorify above all nations (vers. 18, 19). "*Thou hast let the Lord say to-day to be thy God,*" i.e. hast given Him occasion to say to thee that He will be thy God, manifest Himself to thee as thy God. "*And to walk in His ways, and to keep His laws,*" etc., for "and that thou wouldst walk in His ways, and keep His laws." The acceptance of Jehovah as its God involved *eo ipso* a willingness to walk in His ways.—Vers. 18, 19. At the same time, Jehovah had caused the people to be told that they were His treasured people of possession, as He had said in Ex. xix. 5, 6; and that if they kept all His commandments, He would set them highest above all nations whom He had created, "for praise, and for a name, and for glory," i.e. make them an object of praise, and renown, and glorification of God, the Lord and Creator of Israel, among all nations (*vid.* Jer. xxxiii. 9 and xiii. 11; Zeph. iii. 19, 20). "*And that it should become a holy people unto the Lord,*" as He had already said in Ex. xix. 6. The sanctification of Israel was the

design and end of its divine election, and would be accomplished in the glory to which the people of God were to be exalted (see the commentary on Ex. xix. 5, 6). The *Hiphil* הִאָמִיר, which is only found here, has no other meaning than this, "to cause a person to say," or "give him occasion to say;" and this is perfectly appropriate here, whereas the other meaning suggested, "to exalt," has no tenable support either in the paraphrastic rendering of these verses in the ancient versions, or in the Hithpael in Ps. xciv. 4, and moreover is altogether unsuitable in ver. 17.

III.—THIRD DISCOURSE, OR RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT.

CHAP. XXVII.—XXX.

THE conclusion of the covenant in the land of Moab, as the last address in this section (chap. xxix. and xxx.) is called in the heading (chap. xxviii. 69) and in the introduction (chap. xxix. 9 sqq.), *i.e.* the renewal of the covenant concluded at Horeb, commences with instructions to set up the law in a solemn manner in the land of Canaan after crossing over the Jordan (chap. xxvii.). After this there follows an elaborate exposition of the blessings and curses which would come upon the people according to their attitude towards the law (chap. xxviii.). And lastly, Moses places the whole nation with a solemn address before the face of the Lord, and sets before it once more the blessing and the curse in powerful and alarming words, with the exhortation to choose the blessing and life (chap. xxix. and xxx.).

ON THE SETTING UP OF THE LAW IN THE LAND OF CANAAN.—

CHAP. XXVII.

The instructions upon this point are divisible into two: viz. (*a*) to set up large stones covered with lime upon Mount Ebal, after crossing into Canaan, and to build an altar there for the presentation of burnt-offerings and slain-offerings, and to write the law upon these stones (vers. 1–8); and (*b*) to proclaim the blessing and curse of the law upon Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (vers. 11–26). These two instructions are bound together by the command to observe the law (vers. 9 and 10), in which the internal or essential connection of the two is manifested externally also. The fulfilment

of these directions after the entrance of Israel into Canaan is described in Josh. viii. 30–35. The act itself had a symbolical meaning. The writing of the law upon stones, which were erected on a mountain in the midst of the land, with the solemn proclamation of blessings and curses, was a practical acknowledgment of the law of the Lord on the part of Israel,—a substantial declaration that they would make the law the rule and standard of their life and conduct in the land which the Lord had given them for an inheritance.

Vers. 1–10. The command in ver. 1 to keep the whole law (שָׁמַר, *inf. abs.* for the imperative, as in Ex. xiii. 3, etc.), with which the instructions that follow are introduced, indicates at the very outset the purpose for which the law written upon stones was to be set up in Canaan, namely, as a public testimony that the Israelites who were entering into Canaan possessed in the law their rule and source of life. The command itself is given by Moses, together with the elders, because the latter had to see to the execution of it after Moses' death; on the other hand, the priests are mentioned along with Moses in ver. 9, because it was their special duty to superintend the fulfilment of the commands of God.—Vers. 2 and 3 contain the general instructions; vers. 4–8, more minute details. In the appointment of the time, "*on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan into the land,*" etc., the word "*day*" must not be pressed, but is to be understood in a broader sense, as signifying the time when Israel should have entered the land and taken possession of it. The stones to be set up were to be covered with lime, or gypsum (whether *sid* signifies lime or gypsum cannot be determined), and all the words of the law were to be written upon them. The writing, therefore, was not to be cut into the stones and then covered with lime (as *J. D. Mich., Ros.*), but to be inscribed upon the plaistered stones, as was the custom in Egypt, where the walls of buildings, and even monumental stones, which they were about to paint with figures and hieroglyphics, were first of all covered with a coating of lime or gypsum, and then the figures painted upon this (see the testimonies of *Minutoli, Heeren, Prokesch in Hengstenberg's Dissertations*, i. 433, and *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 90). The object of this writing was not to hand down the law in this manner to posterity without alteration, but, as has already been stated, simply to set forth a public acknowledgment of the law on the part of the people, first of all for the sake of the generation which took possession of the land, and for posterity, only so far as this act was recorded in the book of Joshua and thus trans-

mitted to future generations.—Ver. 3. Upon the stones there were to be written “*all the words of this law* :” obviously, therefore, not only the blessings and curses in vers. 15-26 (as *Josephus*, *Ant.* iv. 8, 44, *Masius*, *Clericus*, and others maintain), nor only Deuteronomy (*J. Gerhard*, *A. Osiander*, *Vater*, etc.), since this contained no independent “second law,” but the whole of the Mosaic law; not, indeed, the entire Pentateuch, with its historical narratives, its geographical, ethnographical, and other notices, but simply the legal part of it,—the commandments, statutes, and rights of the *Thorah*. But whether all the 613 commandments contained in the Pentateuch, according to the Jewish reckoning (vid. *Bertheau*, *die 7 Gruppen Mos. Ges.* p. 12), or only the quintessence of them, with the omission of the numerous repetitions of different commands, cannot be decided, and is of no importance to the matter in hand. The object aimed at would be attained by writing the essential kernel of the whole law; though the possibility of all the commandments being written, of course without the reasons and exhortations connected with them, cannot be denied, since it is not stated how many stones were set up, but simply that large stones were to be taken, which would therefore contain a great deal. In the clause, “*that thou mayest come into the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee*,” etc., the coming involves the permanent possession of the land. Not only the treading or conquest of Canaan, but the maintenance of the conquered land as a permanent hereditary possession, was promised to Israel; but it would only permanently rejoice in the fulfilment of this promise, if it set up the law of its God in the land, and observed it.—Vers. 4-8. In the further expansion of this command, Moses first of all fixes the place where the stones were to be set up, namely, upon Mount Ebal (see at chap. xi. 29),—not upon Gerizim, according to the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch; for since the discussion of the question by *Verschuir* (*dissertt. phil. exeg. diss.* 3) and *Gesenius* (*de Pent. Samar.* p. 61), it may be regarded as an established fact, that this reading is an arbitrary alteration. The following clause, “*thou shalt plaister*,” etc., is a repetition in the earliest form of historical writing among the Hebrews. To this there are appended in vers. 5-7 the new and further instructions, that an altar was to be built upon Ebal, and burnt-offerings and slain-offerings to be sacrificed upon it. The notion that this altar was to be built of the stones with the law written upon them, or even with a portion of them, needs no refutation, as it has not the slightest support in the words

of the text. For according to these the altar was to be built of unhewn stones (therefore not of the stones covered with cement), in obedience to the law in Ex. xx. 22 (see the exposition of this passage, where the reason for this is discussed). The spot selected for the setting up of the stones with the law written upon it, as well as for the altar and the offering of sacrifice, was Ebal, the mountain upon which the curses were to be proclaimed; not Gerizim, which was appointed for the publication of the blessings, for the very same reason for which only the curses to be proclaimed are given in vers. 14 sqq. and not the blessings,—not, as *Schultz* supposes, because the law in connection with the curse speaks more forcibly to sinful man than in connection with the blessing, or because the curse, which manifests itself on every hand in human life, sounds more credible than the promise; but, as the *Berleburger Bible* expresses it, “to show how the law and economy of the Old Testament would denounce the curse which rests upon the whole human race because of sin, to awaken a desire for the Messiah, who was to take away the curse and bring the true blessing instead.” For however remote the allusion to the Messiah may be here, the truth is unquestionably pointed out in these instructions, that the law primarily and chiefly brings a curse upon man because of the sinfulness of his nature, as Moses himself announces to the people in chap. xxxi. 16, 17. And for this very reason the book of the law was to be laid by the side of the ark of the covenant as a “testimony against Israel” (chap. xxxi. 26). But the altar was built for the offering of sacrifices, to mould and consecrate the setting up of the law upon the stones into a renewal of the covenant. In the burnt-offerings Israel gave itself up to the Lord with all its life and labour, and in the sacrificial meal it entered into the enjoyment of the blessings of divine grace, to taste of the blessedness of vital communion with its God. By connecting the sacrificial ceremony with the setting up of the law, Israel gave a practical testimony to the fact that its life and blessedness were founded upon its observance of the law. The sacrifices and the sacrificial meal have the same signification here as at the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 11).—In ver. 8 the writing of the law upon the stones is commanded once more, and the further injunction is added, “*very plainly*.”—The writing of the law is mentioned last, as being the most important, and not because it was to take place after the sacrificial ceremony. The different instructions are arranged according to their character, and not in chronological order.

The words of Moses which follow in vers. 9 and 10, "*Be silent, and hearken, O Israel; To-day thou hast become the people of the Lord thy God,*" show the significance of the act enjoined; although primarily they simply summon the Israelites to listen attentively to the still further commands. When Israel renewed the covenant with the Lord, by solemnly setting up the law in Canaan, it became thereby the nation of God, and bound itself, at the same time, to hearken to the voice of the Lord and keep His commandments, as it had already done (cf. chap. xxvi. 17, 18).

Vers. 11-26. With the solemn erection of the stones with the law written upon them, Israel was to transfer to the land the blessing and curse of the law, as was already commanded in chap. xi. 29; that is to say, according to the more minute explanation of the command which is given here, the people themselves were solemnly to give expression to the blessing and the curse: to the former upon Mount Gerizim, and to the latter upon Ebal. On the situation of these mountains, see at chap. xi. 29. To this end six tribes were to station themselves upon the top or side of Gerizim, and six upon the top or side of Ebal. The blessing was to be uttered by the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, who sprang from the two wives of Jacob; and the curse by Reuben, with the two sons of Leah's maid Zilpah, and by Zebulun, with Dan and Naphtali, the sons of Rachel's maid Bilhah. It was natural that the utterance of the blessing should be assigned to the tribes which sprang from Jacob's proper wives, since the sons of the wives occupied a higher position than the sons of the maids,—just as the blessing had pre-eminence over the curse. But in order to secure the division into two sixes, it was necessary that two of the eight sons of the wives should be associated with those who pronounced the curses. The choice fell upon Reuben, because he had forfeited his right of primogeniture by his incest (Gen. xlix. 4), and upon Zebulun, as the youngest son of Leah. "*They shall stand there upon the curse:*" i.e. to pronounce the curse.—Ver. 14. "*And the Levites shall lift up and speak to all the men of Israel with a high (loud) voice:*" i.e. they shall pronounce the different formularies of blessing and cursing, turning towards the tribes to whom these utterances apply; and all the men of Israel shall answer "*Amen,*" to take to themselves the blessing and the curse, as uttered by them; just as in the case of the priestly blessing in Num. v. 22, and in connection with every oath, in which the person swearing took upon himself the oath that was pronounced, by reply-

ing "Amen." "*The Levites*" are not all the members of the tribe of Levi, but those "in whom the spiritual character of Levi was most decidedly manifested" (*Baumgarten*), *i.e.* the Levitical priests, as the guardians and teachers of the law, and those who carried the ark of the covenant (Josh. viii. 33). From the passage in Joshua, where the fulfilment of the Mosaic injunctions is recorded, we learn that the Levitical priests stationed themselves in the centre between the two mountains, with the ark of the covenant, and that the people took up their position, on both sides, opposite to the ark, *viz.* six tribes on Gerizim, and six on Ebal. The priests, who stood in the midst, by the ark of the covenant, then pronounced the different formularies of blessing and cursing, to which the six tribes answered "Amen." From the expression "all the men of Israel," it is perfectly evident that in this particular ceremony the people were not represented by their elders or heads, but were present in the persons of all their adult men who were over twenty years of age; and with this Josh. viii. 33, when rightly interpreted, fully harmonizes.

In vers. 15–26 there follow *twelve* curses, answering to the number of the tribes of Israel. The *first* is directed against those who make graven or molten images of Jehovah, and set them up in secret, that is to say, against secret breaches of the second commandment (Ex. xx. 4); the *second* against contempt of, or want of reverence towards, parents (Ex. xxi. 17); the *third* against those who remove boundaries (chap. xix. 14); the *fourth* against the man who leads the blind astray (Lev. xix. 14); the *fifth* against those who pervert the right of orphans and widows (chap. xxiv. 17); the *sixth* against incest with a mother (chap. xxiii. 1; Lev. xviii. 8); the *seventh* against unnatural vices (Lev. xviii. 23); the *eighth* and *ninth* against incest with a sister or a mother-in-law (Lev. xviii. 9 and 17); the *tenth* against secret murder (Ex. xx. 13; Num. xxxv. 16 sqq.); the *eleventh* against judicial murder ("he that taketh reward to slay a soul, *namely*, innocent blood:" Ex. xxiii. 7, 8); the *twelfth* against the man who does not set up the words of this law to do them, who does not make the laws the model and standard of his life and conduct. From this last curse, which applied to every breach of the law, it evidently follows, that the different sins and transgressions already mentioned were only selected by way of example, and for the most part were such as could easily be concealed from the judicial authorities. At the same time, "the office of the law is shown in this last utterance,

the summing up of all the rest, to have been pre-eminently to proclaim condemnation. Every conscious act of transgression subjects the sinner to the curse of God, from which none but He who has become a curse for us can possibly deliver us" (Gal. iii. 10, 13. *O. v. Gerlach*).—On the reason why the blessings are not given, see the remarks on ver. 4. As the curses against particular transgressions of the law simply mention some peculiarly grievous sins by way of example, it would be easy to single out corresponding blessings from the general contents of the law: *e.g.* "Blessed be he who faithfully follows the Lord his God, or loves Him with the heart, who honours his father and his mother," etc.; and lastly, all the blessings of the law could be summed up in the words, "Blessed be he who setteth up the words of this law, to do them."

BLESSING AND CURSE.—CHAP. XXVIII. 1-68.

For the purpose of impressing upon the hearts of all the people in the most emphatic manner both the blessing which Israel was to proclaim upon Gerizim, and the curse which it was to proclaim upon Ebal, Moses now unfolds the blessing of fidelity to the law and the curse of transgression in a longer address, in which he once more resumes, sums up, and expands still further the promises and threats of the law in Ex. xxiii. 20-33, and Lev. xxvi.

Vers. 1-14. THE BLESSING.—Ver. 1. If Israel would hearken to the voice of the Lord its God, the Lord would make it the highest of all the nations of the earth. This thought, with which the discourse on the law in chap. xxvi. 19 terminated, forms the theme, and in a certain sense the heading, of the following description of the blessing, through which the Lord, according to the more distinct declaration in ver. 2, would glorify His people above all the nations of the earth. The indispensable condition for obtaining this blessing, was obedience to the word of the Lord, or keeping His commandments. To impress this *conditio sine qua non* thoroughly upon the people, Moses not only repeats it at the commencement (ver. 2), and in the middle (ver. 9), but also at the close (vers. 13, 14), in both a positive and a negative form. In ver. 2, "the way in which Israel was to be exalted is pointed out" (*Schultz*); and thus the theme is more precisely indicated, and the elaboration of it is introduced. "All these blessings (those mentioned singly in what follows) will come upon thee and reach thee." The blessings are represented as actual powers, which follow the footsteps of the nation, and over-

take it. In vers. 3-6, the fulness of the blessing of God in all the relations of life is depicted in a sixfold repetition of the word "blessed." Israel will be blessed in the town and in the field, the two spheres in which its life moves (ver. 3); blessed will be the fruit of the body, of the earth, and of the cattle, *i.e.* in all its productions (ver. 4; for each one, see chap. vii. 13, 14); blessed will be the basket (chap. xxvi. 2) in which the fruits are kept, and the kneading-trough (Ex. xii. 34) in which the daily bread is prepared (ver. 5); blessed will the nation be in all its undertakings ("coming in and going out;" *vid.* Num. xxvii. 17).—Vers. 7-14 describe the influence and effect of the blessing upon all the circumstances and situations in which the nation might be placed: in vers. 7-10, with reference (*a*) to the attitude of Israel towards its enemies (ver. 7); (*b*) to its trade and handicraft (ver. 8); (*c*) to its attitude towards all the nations of the earth (vers. 9, 10). The optative forms, יְיָ and יְיָ (in vers. 7 and 8), are worthy of notice. They show that Moses not only proclaimed the blessing to the people, but desired it for them, because he knew that Israel would not always or perfectly fulfil the condition upon which it was to be bestowed. "*May the Lord be pleased to give thine enemies . . . smitten before thee,*" *i.e.* give them up to thee as smitten (נָתַן לְפָנַי, to give up before a person, to deliver up to him: cf. chap. i. 8), so that they shall come out against thee by one way, and flee from thee by seven ways, *i.e.* in wild dispersion (cf. Lev. xxvi. 7, 8).—Ver. 8. "*May the Lord command the blessing with thee* (put it at thy disposal) *in thy barns* (granaries, store-rooms) *and in all thy business*" ("to set the hand;" see chap. xii. 7).—Vers. 9, 10. "*The Lord will exalt thee for a holy nation to Himself, . . . so that all the nations of the earth shall see that the name of Jehovah is named upon thee, and shall fear before thee.*" The Lord had called Israel as a holy nation, when He concluded the covenant with it (Ex. xix. 5, 6). This promise, to which the words "as He hath sworn unto thee" point back, and which is called an oath, because it was founded upon the promises given to the patriarchs on oath (Gen. xxii. 16), and was given *implicite* in them, the Lord would fulfil to His people, and cause the holiness and glory of Israel to be so clearly manifested, that all nations should perceive or see "*that the name of the Lord is named upon Israel.*" The name of the Lord is the revelation of His glorious nature. It is named upon Israel, when Israel is transformed into the glory of the divine nature (cf. Isa. lxiii. 19; Jer. xiv. 9). It was only in feeble commencements that this blessing was fulfilled upon Israel under the Old Tes-

tament; and it is not till the restoration of Israel, which is to take place in the future according to Rom. xi. 25 sqq., that its complete fulfilment will be attained. In vers. 11 and 12, Moses returns to the earthly blessing, for the purpose of unfolding this still further. "*Superabundance will the Lord give thee for good (i.e. for happiness and prosperity; vid. chap. xxx. 9), in fruit of thy body,*" etc. (cf. ver. 4). He would open His good treasure-house, the heaven, to give rain to the land in its season (cf. chap. xi. 14; Lev. xxvi. 4, 5), and bless the work of the hands, *i.e.* the cultivation of the soil, so that Israel would be able to lend to many, according to the prospect already set before it in chap. xv. 6.—Vers. 13, 14. By such blessings He would "*make Israel the head, and not the tail,*"—a figure taken from life (*vid.* Isa. ix. 13), the meaning of which is obvious, and is given literally in the next sentence, "*thou wilt be above only, and not beneath,*" *i.e.* thou wilt rise more and more, and increase in wealth, power, and dignity. With this the discourse returns to its commencement; and the promise of blessing closes with another emphatic repetition of the condition on which the fulfilment depended (vers. 13*b* and 14. On ver. 14, see chap. v. 29, xi. 28).

Vers. 15-68. THE CURSE, in case Israel should not hearken to the voice of its God, to keep His commandments. After the announcement that all these (the following) curses would come upon the disobedient nation (ver. 15), the curse is proclaimed in all its extent, as covering all the relations of life, in a sixfold repetition of the word "cursed" (vers. 16-19, as above in vers. 3-6); and the fulfilment of this threat in plagues and diseases, drought and famine, war, devastation of the land, and captivity of the people, is so depicted, that the infliction of these punishments stands out to view in ever increasing extent and fearfulness. We are not to record this, however, as a gradual heightening of the judgments of God, in proportion to the increasing rebellion of Israel, as in Lev. xxvi. 14 sqq., although it is obvious that the punishments threatened did not fall upon the nation all at once.—Vers. 16-19 correspond precisely to vers. 3-6, so as to set forth the curse as the counterpart of the blessing, except that the basket and kneading-trough are mentioned before the fruit of the body.

Vers. 20-26. The *first* view, in which the bursting of the threatened curse upon the disobedient people is proclaimed in all its forms. First of all, quite generally in ver. 20. "*The Lord will send the curse against thee, consternation and threatening in every undertaking*

of thy hand which thou carriest out (see chap. xii. 7), till thou be destroyed, till thou perish quickly, because of the wickedness of thy doings, because thou hast forsaken Me." The three words, *מְאַרֶה*, *מְהוּמָה*, and *מְנוּעָרָה*, are synonymous, and are connected together to strengthen the thought. *מְאַרֶה*, curse or malediction; *מְהוּמָה*, the consternation produced by the curse of God, namely, the confusion with which God smites His foes (see at chap. vii. 23); *מְנוּעָרָה* is the threatening word of the divine wrath.—Then vers. 21 sqq. in detail. "The Lord will make the pestilence fasten upon (cleave to) thee, till He hath destroyed thee out of the land . . . to smite thee with giddiness and fever (cf. Lev. xxvi. 16), inflammation, burning, and sword, blasting of corn, and mildew (of the seed);" seven diseases therefore (seven as the stamp of the works of God), whilst pestilence in particular is mentioned first, as the most terrible enemy of life. *דִּלְקָה*, from *דָּלַק* to burn, and *חֲרָר*, from *חָרַר* to glow, signify inflammatory diseases, burning fevers; the distinction between these and *קִדְחָה* cannot be determined. Instead of *חֶרֶב*, the sword as the instrument of death, used to designate slaughter and death, the *Vulgate*, *Arabic*, and *Samaritan* have adopted the reading *חֶרֶב*, *æstus*, heat (Gen. xxxi. 40), or drought, according to which there would be four evils mentioned by which human life is attacked, and three which are injurious to the corn. But as the *LXX.*, *Jon.*, *Syr.*, and others read *חֶרֶב*, this alteration is very questionable, especially as the reading can be fully defended in this connection; and one objection to the alteration is, that drought is threatened for the first time in vers. 23, 24. *שִׁדְדָּפוֹן*, from *שָׁדַף* to singe or blacken, and *יִרְקָוֹן*, from *יָרַק* to be yellowish, refer to two diseases which attack the corn: the former to the withering or burning of the ears, caused by the east wind (Gen. xli. 23); the other to the effect produced by a warm wind in Arabia, by which the green ears are turned yellow, so that they bear no grains of corn.—Vers. 23, 24. To this should be added terrible drought, without a drop of rain from heaven (cf. Lev. xxvi. 19). Instead of rain, dust and ashes should fall from heaven. *נָתַן* construed with a double accusative: to make the rain of the land into dust and ashes, to give it in the form of dust and ashes. When the heat is very great, the air in Palestine is often full of dust and sand, the wind assuming the form of a burning sirocco, so that the air resembles the glowing heat at the mouth of a furnace (*Robinson*, ii. 504).—Vers. 25, 26. Defeat in battle, the very opposite of the blessing promised in ver. 7. Israel should become *לְעֻצָּה*, "a moving to and fro," i.e. so to speak, "a ball for

all the kingdoms of the earth to play with" (*Schultz*). זָעָה, here and at Ezek. xxiii. 46, is not a transposed and later form of זָעָה, which has a different meaning in Isa. xxviii. 19, but the original, uncontracted form, which was afterwards condensed into זָעָה; for this, and not זָעָה, is the way in which the *Chethib* should be read in Jer. xv. 4, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, xxxiv. 17, and 2 Chron. xxix. 8, where this threat is repeated (*vid. Ewald*, § 53, *b.*). The corpses of those who were slain by the foe should serve as food for the birds of prey and wild beasts—the greatest ignominy that could fall upon the dead, and therefore frequently held out as a threat against the ungodly (Jer. vii. 33, xvi. 4; 1 Kings xiv. 11, etc.).

Vers. 27-34. The *second* view depicts still further the visitation of God both by diseases of body and soul, and also by plunder and oppression on the part of their enemies.—In ver. 27 four incurable diseases of the body are threatened: the ulcer of Egypt (see at Ex. ix. 9), *i.e.* the form of leprosy peculiar to Egypt, *elephantiasis* (*Aegypti peculiare malum*: *Plin.* xxvi. c. 1, s. 5), which differed from *lepra tuberosa*, however, or tubercular leprosy (ver. 35; cf. Job ii. 7), in degree only, and not in its essential characteristics (see *Tobler, mediz. Topogr. v. Jerus.* p. 51). עֲפָלִים, from עָפַל, a swelling, rising, signifies a tumour, and according to the Rabbins a disease of the anus: in men, *tumor in posticis partibus*; in women, *durius quoddam οἰδημα in utero*. It was with this disease that the Philistines were smitten (1 Sam. v.). נִרְבַּ (see Lev. xxi. 20) and חָרַם, from חָרַם, to scrape or scratch, also a kind of itch, of which there are several forms in Syria and Egypt.—Vers. 28, 29. In addition to this, there would come idiocy, blindness, and confusion of mind,—three psychical maladies; for although עֵרָוֶן signifies primarily bodily blindness, the position of the word between idiocy and confusion of heart, *i.e.* of the understanding, points to mental blindness here.—Ver. 29 leads to the same conclusion, where it is stated that Israel would grope in the bright noon-day, like a blind man in the dark, and not make his ways prosper, *i.e.* not hit upon the right road which led to the goal and to salvation, would have no good fortune or success in its undertakings (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 7). Being thus smitten in body and soul, it would be *only* (אֵין as in chap. xvi. 15), *i.e.* utterly, oppressed and spoiled evermore. These words introduce the picture of the other calamity, viz. the plundering of the nation and the land by enemies (vers. 30-33). Wife, house, vineyard, ox, ass, and sheep would be taken away by the foe; sons and daughters would be carried away into captivity

before the eyes of the people, who would see it and pine after the children, *i.e.* with sorrow and longing after them; “*and thy hand shall not be to thee towards God,*” *i.e.* all power and help will fail thee. (On this proverbial expression, see Gen. xxxi. 29; and on חָלַל, in ver. 30, see at chap. xx. 6.)—In vers. 33, 34, this threat is summed up in the following manner: the fruit of the field and all their productions would be devoured by a strange nation, and Israel would be only oppressed and crushed to pieces all its days, and become mad on account of what its eyes would be compelled to see.

Vers. 35–46. The *third* view.—With the words, “*the Lord will smite thee,*” Moses resumes in ver. 35 the threat of ver. 27, to set forth the calamities already threatened under a new aspect, namely, as signs of the rejection of Israel from covenant fellowship with the Lord.—Ver. 35. The Lord would smite the people with grievous abscesses in the knees and thighs, that should be incurable, even from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head. צִחָן רֶגֶל is the so-called joint-leprosy, a form of the *lepra tuberosa* (*vid. Pruner*, p. 167). From the clause, however, “*from the sole of thy foot unto the top of thy head,*” it is evident that the threat is not to be restricted to this species of leprosy, since “the upper parts of the body often remain in a perfectly normal state in cases of leprosy in the joints; and after the diseased parts have fallen off, the patients recover their previous health to a certain degree” (*Pruner*). Moses mentions this as being a disease of such a nature, that it would render it utterly impossible for those who were afflicted with it either to stand or walk, and then heightens the threat by adding the words, “*from the sole of the foot to the top of the head.*” Leprosy excluded from fellowship with the Lord, and deprived the nation of the character of a nation of God.—Vers. 36, 37. The loss of their spiritual character would be followed by the dissolution of the covenant fellowship. This thought connects ver. 36 with ver. 35, and not the thought that Israel being afflicted with leprosy would be obliged to go into captivity, and in this state would become an object of abhorrence to the heathen (*Schultz*). The Lord would bring the nation and its king to a foreign nation that it did not know, and thrust them into bondage, so that it would be obliged to serve other gods,—wood and stone (*vid. chap. iv. 28*),—and would become an object of disgust, a proverb, and a byword to all nations whither God should drive it (*vid. 1 Kings ix. 7; Jer. xxiv. 9*).—Vers. 38 sqq. Even in their own land the curse would fall upon every kind of labour and enterprise. Much

seed would give little to reap, because the locust would devour the seed; the planting and dressing of the vineyard would furnish no wine to drink, because the worm would devour the vine. תולעת is probably the ψ or ξ of the Greeks, the *convolvulus* of the Romans, our vine-weevil.—Ver. 40. They would have many olive-trees in the land, but not anoint themselves with oil, because the olive-tree would be rooted out or plundered (שָׁלַח, Niphal of שָׁלַח, as in chap. xix. 5, not the Kal of שָׁלַח, which cannot be shown to have the intransitive meaning *elabi*).—Ver. 41. Sons and daughters would they beget, but not keep, because they would have to go into captivity.—Ver. 42. All the trees and fruits of the land would the buzzer take possession of. צִלְצַל, from צָלַץ to *buzz*, a rhetorical epithet applied to *locusts*, not the grasshopper, which does not injure the fruits of the tree or ground sufficiently for the term שָׂרַץ, “to take possession of,” to be applicable to it.—Ver. 43. Israel would be utterly impoverished, and would sink lower and lower, whilst the stranger in the midst of it would, on the contrary, get above it very high; not indeed “because he had no possession, but was dependent upon resources of other kinds” (*Schultz*), but rather because he would be exempted with all his possessions from the curse of God, just as the Israelites had been exempted from the plagues which came upon the Egyptians (Ex. ix. 6, 7, 26).—Ver. 44. The opposite of vers. 12 and 13 would come to pass.—In ver. 46 the address returns to its commencement in ver. 15, with the terrible threat, “*These curses shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever*,” for the purpose of making a pause, if not of bringing the whole to a close. The curses were for a sign and wonder (מוֹפֶת, that which excites astonishment and terror), inasmuch as their magnitude and terrible character manifested most clearly the supernatural interposition of God (*vid.* chap. xxix. 23). “*For ever*” applies to the generation smitten by the curse, which would remain for ever rejected, though without involving the perpetual rejection of the whole nation, or the impossibility of the conversion and restoration of a remnant, or of a holy seed (Isa. x. 22, vi. 13; Rom. ix. 27, xi. 5).

Vers. 47-57. The *fourth* view.—Although in what precedes every side of the national life has been brought under the curse, yet love to his people, and the desire to preserve them from the curse, by holding up before them the dreadful severity of the wrath of God, impel the faithful servant of the Lord to go still further, and depict more minutely still the dreadful horrors consequent upon

Israel being given up to the power of the heathen, and first of all in vers. 47–57 the horrible calamities which would burst upon Israel on the conquest of the land and its fortresses by its foes.—Vers. 47, 48. Because it had not served the Lord its God with joy and gladness of heart, “*for the abundance of all*,” *i.e.* for the abundance of all the blessings bestowed upon it by its God, it would serve its enemies in hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and want of everything, and wear an iron yoke, *i.e.* be obliged to perform the hardest tributary service till it was destroyed (הַשְׁמִיד for הַשְׁמִיד, as in chap. vii. 24).—Vers. 49, 50. The Lord would bring against it from afar a barbarous, hardhearted nation, which knew no pity. “*From afar*” is still further strengthened by the addition of the words, “*from the end of the earth.*” The greater the distance off, the more terrible does the foe appear. He flies thence like an eagle, which plunges with violence upon its prey, and carries it off with its claws; and Israel does not understand its language, so as to be able to soften its barbarity, or come to any terms. A people “*firm, hard of face*,” *i.e.* upon whom nothing makes an impression (*vid.* Isa. i. 7),—a description of the audacity and shamelessness of its appearance (Dan. viii. 23; cf. Prov. vii. 13, xxi. 29), which spares neither old men nor boys. This description no doubt applies to the Chaldeans, who are described as flying eagles in Hab. i. 6 sqq., Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22, Ezek. xvii. 3, 7, as in the verses before us; but it applies to other enemies of Israel beside these, namely to the great imperial powers generally, the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Romans, whom the Lord raised up as the executors of His curse upon His rebellious people. Isaiah therefore depicts the Assyrians in a similar manner, namely, as a people with an unintelligible language (chap. v. 26, xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19), and describes the cruelty of the Medes in chap. xiii. 17, 18, with an unmistakeable allusion to ver. 50 of the present threat.—Vers. 51 sqq. This foe would consume all the fruit of the cattle and the land, *i.e.* everything which the nation had acquired through agriculture and the breeding of stock, without leaving it anything, until it was utterly destroyed (see chap. vii. 13), and would oppress, *i.e.* besiege it in all its gates (towns, *vid.* chap. xii. 12), till the lofty and strong walls upon which they relied should fall (יָרַד as in chap. xx. 20).—Ver. 53. It would so distress Israel, that in their distress and siege they would be driven to eat the fruit of their body, and the flesh of their own children (with regard to the fulfilment of this, see the remarks on Lev. xxvi. 29).—This horrible distress is depicted still more fully

in vers. 54-57, where the words, "*in the siege and in the straitness,*" etc. (ver. 53*b*), are repeated as a *refrain*, with their appalling sound, in vers. 55 and 57.—Vers. 54, 55. The effeminate and luxurious man would look with ill-favour upon his brother, the wife of his bosom, and his remaining children, "*to give*" (so that he would not give) to one of them of the flesh of his children which he was consuming, because there was nothing left to him in the siege. "*His eye shall be evil,*" *i.e.* look with envy or ill-favour (cf. chap. xv. 9). מַבְלִי הַשָּׂאִיר, on account of there not being anything left for himself. בְּלִי with בְּלִי signifies literally "*all not,*" *i.e.* nothing at all. הַשָּׂאִיר, an infinitive, as in chap. iii. 3 (see at ver. 48).—Vers. 56, 57. The delicate and luxurious woman, who had not attempted to put her feet to the ground (had always been carried therefore either upon a litter or an ass: cf. Judg. v. 10, and *Arvieux, Sitten der Beduinen* Ar. p. 143), from tenderness and delicacy—her eye would look with envy upon the husband of her bosom and her children, and that (*vav expl.*) because of (for) her after-birth, which cometh out from between her feet, and because of her children which she bears (*sc.* during the siege); "*for she will eat them secretly in the want of everything,*" that is to say, first of all attempt to appease her hunger with the after-birth, and then, when there was no more left, with her own children. To such an awful height would the famine rise!

Vers. 58-68. The *fifth* and last view.—And yet these horrible calamities would not be the end of the distress. The full measure of the divine curse would be poured out upon Israel, when its disobedience had become hardened into disregard of the glorious and fearful name of the Lord its God. To point this out, Moses describes the resistance of the people in ver. 58; not, as in vers. 15 and 45, as not hearkening to the voice of the Lord to keep all His commandments, which he (Moses) had commanded this day, or which Jehovah had commanded (ver. 45), but as "not observing to do all the words which are written in this book, to fear the glorified and fearful name," (*viz.*) Jehovah its God. "*This book*" is not Deuteronomy, even if we should assume that Moses had not first of all delivered the discourses in this book to the people and then written them down, but had first of all written them down and then read them to the people (see at chap. xxxi. 9), but the book of the law, *i.e.* the Pentateuch, so far as it was already written. This is evident from vers. 60, 61, according to which the grievous diseases of Egypt were written in this book of the law, which points to the book of Exodus, where grievous diseases occur among the Egyptian

plagues. In fact, Moses could not have thought of merely laying the people under the obligation to keep the laws of the book of Deuteronomy, since this book does not contain all the essential laws of the covenant, and was never intended to form an independent book of the law. The infinitive clause, "*to fear*," etc., serves to explain the previous clause, "*to do*," etc., whether we regard the two clauses as co-ordinate, or the second as subordinate to the first. Doing all the commandments of the law must show and prove itself in fearing the revealed name of the Lord. Where this fear is wanting, the outward observance of the commandments can only be a pharisaic work-righteousness, which is equivalent to a transgression of the law. But the object of this fear was not to be a God, according to human ideas of the nature and working of God; it was to be "*this glorified and fearful name*," i.e. Jehovah the absolute God, as He glorifies Himself and shows Himself to be fearful in His doings upon earth. "*The name*," as in Lev. xxiv. 11. נִכְפָּר in a reflective sense, as in Ex. xiv. 4, 17, 18; Lev. x. 3.—Ver. 59. If Israel should not do this, the Lord would make its strokes and the strokes of its seed wonderful, i.e. would visit the people and their descendants with extraordinary strokes, with great and lasting strokes, and with evil and lasting diseases (ver. 60), and would bring all the pestilences of Egypt upon it. הִשָּׁב, to turn back, inasmuch as Israel was set free from them by the deliverance out of Egypt. מַדְּיָהּ is construed with the plural as a collective noun.—Ver. 61. Also every disease and every stroke that was not written in this book of the law,—not only those that were written in the book of the law, but those also that did not stand therein. The diseases of Egypt that were written in the book of the law include the murrain of cattle, the boils and blains, and the death of the first-born (Ex. ix. 1–10, xii. 29); and the strokes (מִכָּה) the rest of the plagues, viz. the frogs, gnats, dog-flies, hail, locusts, and darkness (Ex. viii.–x.). יַעֲלֶם, an uncommon and harder form of יָעַל (Judg. xvi. 3; cf. *Ewald*, § 138, a.).—Ver. 62. Israel would be almost annihilated thereby. "*Ye will be left in few people* (a small number; cf. chap. xxvi. 5), *whereas ye were as numerous as the stars of heaven*."

Vers. 63 sqq. Yea, the Lord would find His pleasure in the destruction and annihilation of Israel, as He had previously rejoiced in blessing and multiplying it. With this bold anthropomorphic expression Moses seeks to remove from the nation the last prop of false confidence in the mercy of God. Greatly as the sin of man

troubles God, and little as the pleasure may be which He has in the death of the wicked, yet the holiness of His love demands the punishment and destruction of those who despise the riches of His goodness and long-suffering; so that He displays His glory in the judgment and destruction of the wicked no less than in blessing and prospering the righteous.—Vers. 63*b* and 64. Those who had not succumbed to the plagues and strokes of God, would be torn from the land of their inheritance, and scattered among all nations to the end of the earth, and there be compelled to serve other gods, which are wood and stone, which have no life and no sensation, and therefore can hear no prayer, and cannot deliver out of any distress (cf. chap. iv. 27 sqq.).—Vers. 65, 66. When banished thus among all nations, Israel would find no ease or rest, not even rest for the sole of its foot, *i.e.* no place where it could quietly set its foot, and remain and have peace in its heart. To this extreme distress of homeless banishment there would be added “*a trembling heart, failing of the eyes (the light of life), and despair of soul*” (*vid.* Lev. xxvi. 36 sqq.).—Ver. 66. “*Thy life will be hung up before thee,*” *i.e.* will be like some valued object, hanging by a thin thread before thine eyes, which any moment might tear down (*Knobel*), that is to say, will be ever hanging in the greatest danger. “*Thou wilt not believe in thy life,*” *i.e.* thou wilt despair of its preservation (cf. Job xxiv. 22).¹—Ver. 67. In the morning they would wish it were evening, and in the evening would wish it were morning, from perpetual dread of what each day or night would bring.—Ver. 68. Last of all, Moses mentions the worst, namely, their being taken back to Egypt into ignominious slavery. “If the exodus was the birth of the nation of God as such, return would be its death” (*Schultz*). “*In ships:*” *i.e.* in a way which would cut off every possibility of escape. The clause, “*by the way whereof I spake unto thee, thou shalt see it no more again,*” is not a more precise explanation of the expression “in ships,” for it was not in ships that Israel came out of Egypt, but by land, through the desert; on the contrary, it simply serves to strengthen the announcement, “The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again,” namely, in the sense that God would cause them to take a road which they would never have seen again if they had continued in faithful dependence upon the Lord.

¹ “I have never seen a passage which describes more clearly the misery of a guilty conscience, in words and thoughts so fitting and appropriate. For this is just the way in which a man is affected, who knows that God is offended, *i.e.* who is harassed with the consciousness of sin” (*Luther*).

This was the way to Egypt, in reality such a return to this land as Israel ought never to have experienced, namely, a return to slavery. “*There shall ye be sold to your enemies as servants and maids, and there shall be no buyer;*” i.e. no one will buy you as slaves. This clause, which indicates the utmost contempt, is quite sufficient to overthrow the opinion of *Ewald*, *Riehm*, and others, already referred to at pp. 385–6, namely, that this verse refers to Psammetichus, who procured some Israelitish infantry from Manasseh. Egypt is simply mentioned as a land where Israel had lived in ignominious bondage. “As a fulfilment of a certain kind, we might no doubt adduce the fact that Titus sent 17,000 adult Jews to Egypt to perform hard labour there, and had those who were under 17 years of age publicly sold (*Josephus, de bell. Jud. vi. 9, 2*), and also that under Hadrian Jews without number were sold at Rachel’s grave (*Jerome, ad Jer. 31*). But the word of God is not so contracted, that it can be limited to one single fact. The curses were fulfilled in the time of the Romans in Egypt (*vid. Philo in Flacc., and leg. ad Caium*), but they were also fulfilled in a horrible manner during the middle ages (*vid. Depping, die Juden im Mittelalter*); and they are still in course of fulfilment, even though they are frequently less sensibly felt” (*Schultz*).—Ver. 69 (or chap. xxix. 1) is not the close of the address in chap. v.–xxviii., as *Schultz*, *Knobel*, and others suppose; but the heading to chap. xxix. xxx., which relate to the making of the covenant mentioned in this verse (*vid. chap. xxix. 12, 14*).

CONCLUSION OF THE COVENANT IN THE LAND OF MOAB.—

CHAP. XXIX. AND XXX.

The addresses which follow in chap. xxix. and xxx. are announced in the heading in chap. xxix. 1 as “*words (addresses) of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel, beside the covenant which He made with them in Horeb,*” and consist, according to vers. 10 sqq., in a solemn appeal to all the people to enter into the covenant which the Lord made with them that day; that is to say, it consisted literally in a renewed declaration of the covenant which the Lord had concluded with the nation at Horeb, or in a fresh obligation imposed upon the nation to keep the covenant which had been concluded at Horeb, by the offering of sacrifices and the sprinkling of the people with the sacrificial blood (Ex. xxiv.). There was no necessity for any repetition of this act, because, notwithstanding the frequent transgressions on

the part of the nation, it had not been abrogated on the part of God, but still remained in full validity and force. The obligation binding upon the people to fulfil the covenant is introduced by Moses with an appeal to all that the Lord had done for Israel (chap. xxix. 2-9); and this is followed by a summons to enter into the covenant which the Lord was concluding with them now, that He might be their God, and fulfil His promises concerning them (vers. 10-15), with a repeated allusion to the punishment which threatened them in case of apostasy (vers. 16-29), and the eventual restoration on the ground of sincere repentance and return to the Lord (chap. xxx. 1-14), and finally another solemn adjuration, with a blessing and a curse before them, to make choice of the blessing (vers. 15-20).

Chap. xxix. 2-9. The introduction in ver. 2*a* resembles that in chap. v. 1. "*All Israel*" is the nation in all its members (see vers. 10, 11).—Israel had no doubt seen the mighty acts of the Lord in Egypt (vers. 2*b* and 3; cf. chap. iv. 34, vii. 19), but Jehovah had not given them a heart, *i.e.* understanding, to perceive, eyes to see, and ears to hear, until this day. With this complaint, Moses does not intend to excuse the previous want of susceptibility on the part of the nation to the manifestations of grace on the part of the Lord, but simply to explain the necessity for the repeated allusion to the gracious acts of God, and to urge the people to lay them truly to heart. "By reproving the dulness of the past, he would stimulate them to a desire to understand: just as if he had said, that for a long time they had been insensible to so many miracles, and therefore they ought not to delay any longer, but to arouse themselves to hearken better unto God" (*Calvin*). The Lord had not yet given the people an understanding heart, because the people had not yet asked for it, simply because the need of it was not felt (cf. chap. v. 26).—Vers. 5 sqq. With the appeal to the gracious guidance of Israel by God through the desert, the address of Moses passes imperceptibly into an address from the Lord, just as in chap. xi. 14. (On vers. 5, 6, *vid.* chap. viii. 3, 4; on ver. 7, *vid.* chap. ii. 26 sqq., and chap. iii. 1 sqq. and 12 sqq.).—Ver. 9. These benefits from the Lord demanded obedience and fidelity. "*Keep the words of this covenant,*" etc. (cf. chap. viii. 18). וְהָיָה לְכָל עֲשֵׂתְכֶם, to act wisely (as in chap. xxxii. 29), bearing in mind, however, that Jehovah Himself is the wisdom of Israel (chap. iv. 6), and the search for this wisdom brings prosperity and salvation (cf. Josh. i. 7, 8).

Vers. 10-15. Summons to enter into the covenant of the Lord,

namely, to enter inwardly, to make the covenant an affair of the heart and life.—Vers. 10 sqq. “*To-day*,” when the covenant-law and covenant-right were laid before them, the whole nation stood before the Lord without a single exception—the heads and the tribes, the elders and the officers, all the men of Israel. The two members are parallel. The heads of the people are the elders and officers, and the tribes consist of all the men. The rendering given by the LXX. and Syriac (also in the English version: *Tr.*), “*heads (captains) of your tribes*,” is at variance with the language.—Ver. 11. The covenant of the Lord embraced, however, not only the men of Israel, but also the wives and children, and the stranger who had attached himself to Israel, such as the Egyptians who came out with Israel (Ex. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4), and the Midianites who joined the Israelites with Hobab (Num. x. 29), down to the very lowest servant, “*from thy hewer of wood to thy drawer of water*” (cf. Josh. ix. 21, 27).—Ver. 12. “*That thou shouldest enter into the covenant of the Lord thy God, and the engagement on oath, which the Lord thy God concludeth with thee to-day.*” עָבַר with בָּ, as in Job xxxiii. 28, “to enter into,” expresses entire entrance, which goes completely through the territory entered, and is more emphatic than בּוֹא בְּבְרִית (2 Chron. xv. 12). “Into the oath:” the covenant confirmed with an oath, covenants being always accompanied with oaths (*vid.* Gen. xxvi. 28).—Ver. 13. “*That He may set thee up (exalt thee) to-day into a people for Himself, and that He may be (become) unto thee a God*” (*vid.* chap. xxviii. 9, xxvii. 9; Ex. xix. 5, 6).—Vers. 14, 15. This covenant Moses made not only with those who are present, but with all whether present or not; for it was to embrace not only those who were living then, but their descendants also, to become a covenant of blessing for all nations (cf. Acts ii. 39, and the intercession of Christ in John xvii. 20).

Vers. 16–29. The summons to enter into the covenant of the Lord is explained by Moses first of all by an exposition of the evil results which would follow from apostasy from the Lord, or the breach of His covenant. This exposition he introduces with an allusion to the experience of the people with reference to the worthlessness of idols, both in Egypt itself, and upon their march through the nations, whose territory they passed through (vers. 16, 17). The words, “*for ye have learned how we dwelt in Egypt, and passed through the nations . . . and have seen their abominations and their idols*” (*gillulim*: lit. clods, see Lev. xxvi. 30), have this significa-

tion : In our abode in Egypt, and upon our march through different lands, ye have become acquainted with the idols of these nations, that they are not gods, but only wood and stone (see at chap. iv. 28), silver and gold. אֶת־אֲשֶׁר, as in chap. ix. 7, literally "ye know that which we dwelt," i.e. know what our dwelling there showed, what experience we gained there of the nature of heathen idols.—Ver. 18. "*That there may not be among you,*" etc. : this sentence may be easily explained by introducing a thought which may be easily supplied, such as "consider this," or "do not forget what ye have seen, that no one, either man or woman, family or tribe, may turn away from Jehovah our God."—" *That there may not be a root among you which bears poison and wormwood as fruit.*" A striking image of the destructive fruit borne by idolatry (cf. Heb. xii. 15). *Rosh* stands for a plant of a very bitter taste, as we may see from the frequency with which it is combined with לְעֵנָה, wormwood : it is not, strictly speaking, a poisonous plant, although the word is used in Job xx. 16 to denote the poison of serpents, because, in the estimation of a Hebrew, bitterness and poison were kindred terms. There is no other passage in which it can be shown to have the meaning "poison." The sense of the figure is given in plain terms in ver. 19, "*that no one when he hears the words of this oath may bless himself in his heart, saying, It will prosper with me, for I walk in the firmness of my heart.*" To bless himself in his heart is to congratulate himself. נִשְׁרִיטָה, firmness, a *vox media* ; in Syriac, firmness, in a good sense, equivalent to truth ; in Hebrew, generally in a bad sense, denoting hardness of heart ; and this is the sense in which Moses uses it here.—"*To sweep away that which is saturated with the thirsty :*" a proverbial expression, of which very different interpretations have been given (see *Rosenmüller ad h. l.*), taken no doubt from the land and transferred to persons or souls ; so that we might supply *Nephesh* in this sense, "to destroy all, both those who have drunk its poison, and those also who are still thirsting for it" (*Knobel*). But even if we were to supply אֶרֶץ (the land), we should not have to think of the land itself, but simply of its inhabitants, so that the thought would still remain the same.—Vers. 20, 21. "*For the Lord will not forgive him* (who thinks or speaks in this way) ; *but then will His anger smoke* (break forth in fire ; *vid.* Ps. lxxiv. 1), *and His jealousy against that man, and the whole curse of the law will lie upon him, that his name may be blotted out under heaven* (*vid.* chap. xxv. 19 ; Ex. xvii. 14). *The Lord will separate him unto evil from all the tribes,*—so that he will be shut out from

the covenant nation, and from its salvation, and be exposed to destruction,—*according to all the curses of the covenant.*” Although the pronominal suffix refers primarily to the man, it also applies, according to ver. 18, to the woman, the family, and the tribe. “That is written,” etc., as in chap. xxviii. 58, 61.—Vers. 22–24. How thoroughly Moses was filled with the thought, that not only individuals, but whole families, and in fact the greater portion of the nation, would fall into idolatry, is evident from the further expansion of the threat which follows, and in which he foresees in the Spirit, and foretells, the extermination of whole families, and the devastation of the land by distant nations; as in Lev. xxvi. 31, 32. Future generations of Israel, and the stranger from a distant land, when they saw the strokes of the Lord which burst upon the land, and the utter desolation of the land, would ask whence this devastation, and receive the reply, The Lord had smitten the land thus in His anger, because its inhabitants (the Israelites) had forsaken His covenant. With regard to the construction, observe that *וְאָמַר*, in ver. 22, is resumed in *וְאָמַר*, in ver. 24, the subject of ver. 22 being expanded into the general notion, “all nations” (ver. 24). With *וְיָדַע*, in ver. 22*b*, a parenthetical clause is inserted, giving the reason for the main thought, in the form of a circumstantial clause; and to this there is attached, by a loose apposition in ver. 23, a still further picture of the divine strokes according to their effect upon the land. The nouns in ver. 23, “*brimstone and salt burning*,” are in apposition to the strokes (plagues), and so far depend upon “they see.” The description is borrowed from the character of the Dead Sea and its vicinity, to which there is an express allusion in the words, “*like the overthrow of Sodom*,” etc., *i.e.* of the towns of the vale of Siddim (see at Gen. xiv. 2), which resembled paradise, the garden of Jehovah, before their destruction (*vid.* Gen. xiii. 10 and xix. 24 sqq.).—Ver. 24. “*What is this great burning of wrath?*” *i.e.* what does it mean—whence does it come? The reply to such a question would be (vers. 25–29): The inhabitants of the land have forsaken the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers; therefore has the wrath of the Lord burned over the land.—Ver. 26. “*Gods which God had not assigned them*” (*vid.* chap. iv. 19). “All the curses,” etc., are the curses contained in chap. xxviii. 15–68, Lev. xxvi. 14–38.—Those who give the answer close their address in ver. 29 with an expression of pious submission and solemn admonition. “*That which is hidden belongs to the Lord our God (is His affair), and that which is revealed belongs to us and our chil-*

dren for ever, to do (that we may do) all the words of this law." That which is revealed includes the law with its promises and threats; consequently that which is hidden can only refer to the mode in which God will carry out in the future His counsel and will, which He has revealed in the law, and complete His work of salvation notwithstanding the apostasy of the people.¹

Chap. xxx. 1-10. Nevertheless the rejection of Israel and its dispersion among the heathen were not to be the close. If the people should return to the Lord their God in their exile, He would turn His favour towards them again, and gather them again out of their dispersion, as had already been proclaimed in chap. iv. 29 sqq. and Lev. xxvi. 40 sqq., where it was also observed that the extremity of their distress would bring the people to reflection and induce them to return.—Vers. 1-3. "*When all these words, the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee, shall come.*" The allusion to the blessing in this connection may be explained on the ground that Moses was surveying the future generally, in which not only a curse but a blessing also would come upon the nation, according to its attitude towards the Lord as a whole and in its several members, since even in times of the greatest apostasy on the part of the nation there would always be a holy seed which could not die out; because otherwise the nation would necessarily have been utterly and for ever rejected, whereby the promises of God would have been brought to nought,—a result which was absolutely impossible. "*And thou takest to heart among all nations,*" etc., *sc.* what has befallen thee,—not only the curse which presses upon thee, but also the blessing which accompanies obedience to the commands of God,—"*and returnest to the Lord thy God, and hearkenest to His voice with all the heart,*" etc. (cf. chap. iv. 29); "*the Lord will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and gather thee again.*" שׁוּב אֶת־שָׁבוֹת does not mean to bring back the prisoners, as the more modern lexicographers erroneously suppose (the *Kal* שׁוּב never has the force of the *Hiplil*), but to turn the imprisonment, and that

¹ What the *puncta extraordinaria* above לָנוּ וּלְבָנֵינוּ עַד (ר) mean, is uncertain.

Hiller's conjecture is the most probable, "that they are intended to indicate a various reading, formed by the omission of eleven consonants, and the transposition of the rest עִיּוֹן וְהַגְדָּלוֹת עִיּוֹן (at *magnalia sæculi sunt*);" whereas there is no foundation for *Lightfoot's* notion, that "they served as a warning, that we should not wish to pry with curiosity into the secret things of God, but should be content with His revealed will,"—a notion which rests upon the supposition that the points are inspired.

in a figurative sense, viz. to put an end to the distress (Job xlii. 10; Jer. xxx. 8; Ezek. xvi. 53; Ps. xiv. 7; also Ps. lxxxv. 2, cxxvi. 2, 4), except that in many passages the misery of exile in which the people pined is represented as imprisonment. The passage before us is fully decisive against the meaning to bring back the prisoners, since the gathering out of the heathen is spoken of as being itself the consequence of the "turning of the captivity;" so also is Jer. xxix. 14, where the bringing back (הַשִּׁיב) is expressly distinguished from it. But especially is this the case with Jer. xxx. 18, where "turning the captivity of Jacob's tents" is synonymous with having mercy on his dwelling-places, and building up the city again, so that the city lying in ruins is represented as *שְׁבוּת*, an imprisonment.¹—Vers. 4, 5. The gathering of Israel out of all the countries of the earth would then follow. Even though the rejected people should be at the end of heaven, the Lord would fetch them thence, and bring them back into the land of their fathers, and do good to the nation, and multiply them above their fathers. These last words show that the promise neither points directly to the gathering of Israel from dispersion on its ultimate conversion to Christ, nor furnishes any proof that the Jews will then be brought back to Palestine. It is true that even these words have some reference to the final redemption of Israel. This is evident from the curse of dispersion, which cannot be restricted to the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, but includes the Roman dispersion also, in which the nation continues still; and it is still more apparent from the renewal of this promise in Jer. xxxii. 37 and other prophetic passages. But this application is to be found in the spirit, and not in the letter. For if there is to be an increase in the number of the Jews, when gathered out of their dispersion into all the world, above the number of their fathers, and therefore above the number of the Israelites in the time of Solomon and the first monarchs of the two kingdoms, Palestine will never furnish room enough for a nation multiplied like this. The multiplication promised here, so far as it falls within the Messianic age, will consist in the realiza-

¹ *Hupfeld* (on Ps. xiv. 7) has endeavoured to sustain the assertion that *שְׁבוּת* is a later form for the older and simpler forms, *שְׁבִי*, *שְׁבִיָּה*, by citing one single passage of the Old Testament. The abstract form of *שְׁבִי* is *שְׁבִיָּה*, imprisonment (Num. xxi. 29), then prisoners. This form has been substituted by Jeremiah for *שְׁבוּת* in one passage, viz. chap. xxxii. 44; and the Masoretic punctuators were the first to overlook the difference in the two words, and point them promiscuously.

tion of the promise given to Abraham, that his seed should grow into nations (Gen. xvii. 6 and 16), *i.e.* in the innumerable multiplication, not of the "Israel according to the flesh," but of the "Israel according to the spirit," whose land is not restricted to the boundaries of the earthly Canaan or Palestine (see vol. i. p. 226). The possession of the earthly Canaan for all time is nowhere promised to the Israelitish nation in the law (see at chap. xi. 21).—Ver. 6. The Lord will then circumcise their heart, and the heart of their children (see chap. x. 16), so that they will love Him with all their heart. When Israel should turn with true humility to the Lord, He would be found of them,—would lead them to true repentance, and sanctify them through the power of His grace,—would take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and give them a heart of flesh, a new heart and a new spirit,—so that they should truly know Him and keep His commandments (*vid.* Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26; Jer. xxxi. 33 sqq. and xxxii. 39 sqq.). "*Because of thy life,*" *i.e.* that thou mayest live, *sc.* attain to true life. The fulfilment of this promise does not take place all at once. It commenced with small beginnings at the deliverance from the Babylonian exile, and in a still higher degree at the appearance of Christ in the case of all the Israelites who received Him as their Saviour. Since then it has been carried on through all ages in the conversion of individual children of Abraham to Christ; and it will be realized in the future in a still more glorious manner in the nation at large (Rom. xi. 25 sqq.). The words of Moses do not relate to any particular age, but comprehend all times. For Israel has never been hardened and rejected in all its members, although the mass of the nation lives under the curse even to the present day.—Ver. 7. But after its conversion, the curses, which had hitherto rested upon it, would fall upon its enemies and haters, according to the promise in Gen. xii. 3.—Vers. 8 sqq. Israel would then hearken again to the voice of the Lord and keep His commandments, and would rejoice in consequence in the richest blessing of its God. In the expression, אַתָּה תָּשׁוּב וְיִשְׁמָעָהּ ("*thou shalt return and hearken*"), תָּשׁוּב ("*thou shalt return*") has an adverbial signification. This is evident from the corresponding expression in ver. 9b, "for Jehovah will again rejoice over thee" (*lit.* "will return and rejoice"), in which the adverbial signification is placed beyond all doubt.—Vers. 8-10 contain the general thought, that Israel would then come again into its normal relation to its God, would enter into true and perfect covenant fellowship with the Lord, and enjoy all the blessings of the

covenant.—Ver. 9a is a repetition of chap. xxviii. 11. The Lord will rejoice again over Israel, to do them good (*vid.* chap. xxviii. 63), as He had rejoiced over their fathers. The fathers are not the patriarchs alone, but all the pious ancestors of the people.—Ver. 10. A renewed enforcement of the indispensable condition of salvation.

Vers. 11–20. The fulfilment of this condition is not impossible, nor really very difficult. This natural thought leads to the motive, which Moses impresses upon the hearts of the people in vers. 11–14, viz. that He might turn the blessing to them. God had done everything to render the observance of His commandments possible to Israel. “*This commandment*” (used as in chap. vi. 1 to denote the whole law) is “*not too wonderful for thee,*” i.e. is not too hard to grasp, or unintelligible (*vid.* chap. xvii. 8), nor is it too far off: it is neither *in heaven*, i.e. at an inaccessible height; nor *beyond the sea*, i.e. at an unattainable distance, at the end of the world, so that any one could say, Who is able to fetch it thence? but it is *very near thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart to do it*. It not only lay before the people in writing, but it was also preached to them by word of mouth, and thus brought to their knowledge, so that it had become a subject of conversation as well as of reflection and careful examination. But however near the law had thus been brought to man, sin had so estranged the human heart from the word of God, that doing and keeping the law had become invariably difficult, and in fact impossible; so that the declaration, “the word is in thy heart,” only attains its full realization through the preaching of the gospel of the grace of God, and the righteousness that is by faith; and to this the Apostle Paul applies the passage in Rom. x. 25 sqq. —Vers. 15–20. In conclusion, Moses sums up the contents of the whole of this preaching of the law in the words, “life and good, and death and evil,” as he had already done at chap. xi. 26, 27, in the first part of this address, to lay the people by a solemn adjuration under the obligation to be faithful to the Lord, and through this obligation to conclude the covenant afresh. He had set before them this day life and good (“good” = prosperity and salvation), as well as death and evil (עָרָא, adversity and destruction), by commanding them to love the Lord and walk in His ways. Love is placed first, as in chap. vi. 5, as being the essential principle of the fulfilment of the commandments. Expounding the law was setting before them life and death, salvation and destruction, because the law, as the word of God, was living and powerful, and proved itself in every man a power of life or of death, according to the attitude

which he assumed towards it (*vid.* chap. xxxii. 47). נָתַח, to permit oneself to be torn away to idolatry (as in chap. iv. 19).—Ver. 18, as chap. iv. 26, viii. 19. He calls upon heaven and earth as witnesses (ver. 19, as in chap. iv. 26), namely, that he had set before them life and death. וַיִּבְחַרְתָּ, in ver. 19, is the apodosis: “*therefore choose life.*”—Ver. 20. בִּי הוּא חַיִּיךָ, *for that* (namely, to love the Lord) *is thy life*, that is, the condition of life, and of long life, in the promised land (*vid.* chap. iv. 40).

IV.—MOSES' FAREWELL AND DEATH.

CHAP. XXXI.—XXXIV.

WITH the renewal of the covenant, by the choice set before the people between blessing and curse, life and death, Moses had finished the interpretation and enforcement of the law (chap. i. 5), and brought the work of legislation to a close. But in order that the work to which the Lord had called him might be thoroughly completed, it still remained for him, before his approaching death, to hand over the task of leading the people into Canaan to Joshua, who had been appointed as his successor, to finish writing out the laws, and to hand over the book of the law to the priests. The Lord also directed him to write an ode, as a witness against the people, on account of their obstinacy, and teach it to the Israelites. To these last arrangements and acts of Moses, which are narrated in chap. xxxi. and xxxii., there are added in chap. xxxiii. the blessing with which this man of God bade farewell to the tribes of Israel, and in chap. xxxiv. the account of his death, with which the Pentateuch closes.

MOSES' FINAL ARRANGEMENTS. COMPLETION AND HANDING OVER OF THE BOOK OF THE LAW.—CHAP. XXXI.

The final arrangements which Moses made before his departure, partly of his own accord, and partly by the command of God, relate to the introduction of the Israelites into the promised land, and the confirmation of their fidelity towards the Lord their God.—Vers. 1–13 describe how Moses promised the help of the Lord in the conquest of the land, both to the people generally, and also to Joshua,

their leader into Canaan (vers. 2-8), and commanded the priests to keep the book of the law, and read it publicly every seventh year (vers. 9-13); and vers. 14-23, how the Lord appeared to Moses before the tabernacle, and directed him to compose an ode as a testimony against the apostasy of the people, and promised Joshua His assistance. And lastly, vers. 24-27 relate how the book of the law, when brought to completion, was handed over to the Levites; and vers. 28-30 describe the reading of the ode to the people.

Vers. 1-8. In ver. 1 Moses' final arrangements are announced. וַיֵּלֶךְ does not mean "he went away" (into his tent), which does not tally with what follows ("and spake"); nor is it merely equivalent to *porro, amplius*. It serves, as in Ex. ii. 1 and Gen. xxxv. 22, as a pictorial description of what he was about to do, in the sense of "he prepared himself," or rose up. After closing the exposition of the law, Moses had either withdrawn, or at any rate made a pause, before he proceeded to make his final arrangements for laying down his office, and taking leave of the people.—Ver. 2. These last arrangements he commences with the declaration, that he must now bid them farewell, as he is 120 years old (which agrees with Ex. vii. 7), and can no more go out and in, *i.e.* no longer work in the nation and for it (see at Num. xxvii. 17); and the Lord has forbidden him to cross over the Jordan and enter Canaan (see Num. xx. 24). The first of these reasons is not at variance with the statement in chap. xxxiv. 7, that up to the time of his death his eyes were not dim, nor his strength abated. For this is merely an affirmation, that he retained the ability to see and to work to the last moment of his life, which by no means precludes his noticing the decline of his strength, and feeling the approach of his death.—Vers. 3-5. But although Moses could not, and was not to lead his people into Canaan, the Lord would fulfil His promise, to go before Israel and destroy the Canaanites, like the two kings of the Amorites; only they (the Israelites) were to do to them as the Lord had commanded them, *i.e.* to root out the Canaanites (*vid.* chap. vii. 2 sqq.; Num. xxxiii. 51 sqq.; Ex. xxxiv. 11 sqq.).—Ver. 6. Israel was therefore to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of them (*vid.* chap. i. 21, xx. 3).—Vers. 7, 8. Moses then encourages Joshua in the same way in the presence of all the people, on the strength of the promise of God in chap. i. 38 and Num. xxvii. 18 sqq. וְתָבוֹא אִתָּהֶם, "*thou wilt come with this people into the land.*" These words are quite appropriate; and the alteration of וְתָבוֹא into וְתָבִיא, according to ver. 23 (*Samar., Syr., Vulg.*), is a perfectly unnecessary conjecture; for

Joshua was not appointed leader of the people here, but simply promised an entrance with all the people into Canaan.

Vers. 9-13. Moses then handed over the law which he had written to the Levitical priests who carried the ark of the covenant, and to all the elders of Israel, with instructions to read it to the people at the end of every seven years, during the festal season of the year of release ("at the end," as in chap. xv. 1), viz. at the feast of Tabernacles (see Lev. xxiii. 34), when they appeared before the Lord. It is evident from the context and contents of these verses, apart from ver. 24, that the ninth verse is to be understood in the way described, *i.e.* that the two clauses, which are connected together by *vav. relat.* ("*and Moses wrote this law,*" "*and delivered it*"), are not logically co-ordinate, but that the handing over of the written law was the main thing to be recorded here. With regard to the handing over of the law, the fact that Moses not only gave the written law to the priests, that they might place it by the ark of the covenant, but also "*to all the elders of Israel,*" proves clearly enough that Moses did not intend at this time to give the law-book entirely out of his own hands, but that this handing over was merely an assignment of the law to the persons who were to take care, that in the future the written law should be kept before the people, as the rule of their life and conduct, and publicly read to them. The explanation which *J. H. Mich.* gives is perfectly correct, "He gave it for them to teach and keep." The law-book would only have been given to the priests, if the object had been simply that it should be placed by the ark of the covenant, or at the most, in the presence of the elders, but certainly not *to* all the elders, since they were not allowed to touch the ark. The correctness of this view is placed beyond all doubt by the contents of vers. 10 sqq. The main point in hand was not the writing out of the law, or the transfer of it to the priests and elders of the nation, but the command to read the law in the presence of the people at the feast of Tabernacles of the year of release. The writing out and handing over simply formed the substratum for this command, so that we cannot infer from them, that by this act Moses formally gave the law out of his own hands. He entrusted the reading to the priesthood and the college of elders, as the spiritual and secular rulers of the congregation; and hence the singular, "Thou shalt read this law to all Israel." The regulations as to the persons who were to undertake the reading, and also as to the particular time during the seven days' feast, and the portions that were to be read, he left to

the rulers of the congregation. We learn from Neh. viii. 18, that in Ezra's time they read in the book of the law every day from the first to the last day of the feast, from which we may see on the one hand, that the whole of the *Thorah* (or Pentateuch), from beginning to end, was not read; and on the other hand, by comparing the expression in ver. 18, "the book of the law of God," with "the law," in ver. 14, that the reading was not restricted to Deuteronomy: for, according to ver. 14, they had already been reading in Leviticus (chap. xxiii.) before the feast was held,—an evident proof that Ezra the scribe did not regard the book of Deuteronomy like the critics of our day, as the true national law-book, an acquaintance with which was all that the people required. Moses did not fix upon the feast of Tabernacles of the sabbatical year as the time for reading the law, because it fell at the beginning of the year,¹ as *Schultz* wrongly supposes, that the people might thereby be incited to occupy this year of entire rest in holy employment with the word and works of God. And the reading itself was neither intended to promote a more general acquaintance with the law on the part of the people,—an object which could not possibly have been secured by reading it once in seven years; nor was it merely to be a solemn promulgation and restoration of the law as the rule for the national life, for the purpose of removing any irregularities that might have found their way in the course of time into either the religious or the political life of the nation (*Bähr*, Symbol. ii. p. 603). To answer this end, it should have been connected with the Passover, the festival of Israel's birth. The reading stood rather in close connection with the idea of the festival itself; it was intended to quicken the soul with the law of the Lord, to refresh the heart, to enlighten the eyes,—in short, to offer the congregation the blessing of the law, which David celebrated from his own experience in Ps. xix. 8–15,

¹ It by no means follows, that because the sabbatical year commenced with the omission of the usual sowing, *i.e.* began in the autumn with the civil year, it therefore commenced with the feast of Tabernacles, and the order of the feasts was reversed in the sabbatical year. According to Ex. xxiii. 16, the feast of Tabernacles did not fall at the beginning, but at the end of the civil year. The commencement of the year with the first of *Tisri* was an arrangement introduced after the captivity, which the Jews had probably adopted from the Syrians (see my *bibl. Archæol.* i. § 74, note 15). Nor does it follow, that because the year of jubilee was to be proclaimed on the day of atonement in the sabbatical year with a blast of trumpets (Lev. xxv. 9), therefore the year of jubilee must have begun with the feast of Tabernacles. The proclamation of festivals is generally made some time before they commence.

to make the law beloved and prized by the whole nation, as a precious gift of the grace of God. Consequently (vers. 12, 13), not only the men, but the women and children also, were to be gathered together for this purpose, that they might hear the word of God, and learn to fear the Lord their God, as long as they should live in the land which He gave them for a possession. On ver. 11, see Ex. xxiii. 17, and xxxiv. 23, 24, where we also find לְהִרְאוֹת for לְרִאוֹת (ver. 24).

Vers. 14-23. After handing over the office to Joshua, and the law to the priests and elders, Moses was called by the Lord to come to the tabernacle with Joshua, to command him (צִוָּה), *i.e.* to appoint him, confirm him in his office. To this end the Lord appeared in the tabernacle (ver. 15), in a pillar of cloud, which remained standing before it, as in Num. xii. 5 (see the exposition of Num. xi. 25). But before appointing Joshua, He announced to Moses that after his death the nation would go a whoring after other gods, and would break the covenant, for which it would be visited with severe afflictions, and directed him to write an ode and teach it to the children of Israel, that when the apostasy should take place, and punishment from God be felt in consequence, it might speak as a witness against the people, as it would not vanish from their memory. The Lord communicated this commission to Moses in the presence of Joshua, that he also might hear from the mouth of God that the Lord foreknew the future apostasy of the people, and yet nevertheless would bring them into the promised land. In this there was also implied an admonition to Joshua, not only to take care that the Israelites learned the ode and kept it in their memories, but also to strive with all his might to prevent the apostasy, so long as he was leader of Israel; which Joshua did most faithfully to the very end of his life (*vid.* Josh. xxiii. and xxiv.).—The announcement of the falling away of the Israelites from the Lord into idolatry, and the burning of the wrath of God in consequence (vers. 16-18), serves as a basis for the command in vers. 19 sqq. In this announcement the different points are simply linked together with “and,” whereas in their actual signification they are subordinate to one another: When thou shalt lie with thy fathers, and the people shall rise up, and go a whoring after other gods: My anger will burn against them, etc. קִים, to rise up, to prepare, serves to bring out distinctly the course which the thing would take. The expression, “*foreign gods of the land*,” indicates that in the land which Jehovah gave His people, He (Jehovah)

alone was God and Lord, and that He alone was to be worshipped there. *שָׁמָּה בְּקִרְבּוֹ* is in apposition to *שָׁמָּה*, "*whither thou comest, in the midst of it.*" The punishment announced in ver. 17 corresponds most closely to the sin of the nation. For going a whoring after strange gods, the anger of the Lord would burn against them; for forsaking Him, He would forsake them; and for breaking His covenant, He would hide His face from them, *i.e.* withdraw His favour from them, so that they would be destroyed. *הָיָה לְאֵכָל*, it (the nation) will be for devouring, *i.e.* will be devoured or destroyed (see *Ewald*, § 237, *c.*; and on *אֵכָל* in this sense, see chap. vii. 16, and Num. xiv. 9). "*And many evils and troubles will befall it; and it will say in that day, Do not these evils befall me, because my God is not in the midst of me?*" When the evils and troubles broke in upon the nation, the people would inquire the cause, and would find it in the fact that they were forsaken by their God; but the Lord ("but I" in ver. 18 forms the antithesis to "they" in ver. 17) would still hide His face, namely, because simply missing God is not true repentance.—Ver. 19. "*And now,*" *sc.* because what was announced in vers. 16–18 would take place, "*write you this song.*" "This" refers to the song which follows in chap. xxxii. Moses and Joshua were to write the song, because they were both of them to strive to prevent the apostasy of the people; and Moses, as the author, was to teach it to the children of Israel, to make them learn it, that it might be a witness for the Lord (for Me) against the children of Israel. "This" is defined still further in vers. 20, 21: if Israel, through growing satisfied and fat in its land, which was so rich in costly good, should turn to other gods, and the Lord should visit it in consequence with grievous evils and troubles, the song was to answer before Israel as a witness; *i.e.* not only serve the Lord as a witness to the people that He had foretold all the evil consequences of apostasy, and had given Israel proper warning (*Knobel*), but to serve, as we may see from vers. 20, 21, and from the contents of the song, as a witness, on the one hand, that the Lord had conferred upon the people so many benefits and bestowed upon them such abundant blessings of His grace, that apostasy from Him was the basest ingratitude, for which they would justly be punished; and, on the other hand, that the Lord had not rejected His people in spite of the punishments inflicted upon them, but would once more have compassion upon them and requite their foes, and thus would sanctify and glorify Himself as the only true God by His judgments upon Israel and the nations.

The law, with its commandments, promises, and threats, was already a witness of this kind against Israel (cf. ver. 26); but just as in every other instance the appearance of a plurality of unanimous witnesses raises the matter into an indisputable truth, so the Lord would set up another witness against the Israelites besides the law, in the form of this song, which was adapted to give all the louder warning, "because the song would not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed" (ver. 21). The song, when once it had passed into the mouths of the people, would not very readily vanish from their memory, but would be transmitted from generation to generation, and be heard from the mouths of their descendants, as a perpetual warning voice, as it would be used by Israel; for God knew the invention of the people, *i.e.* the thoughts and purposes of their heart, which they cherished (הִשְׁמַע used to denote the doing of the heart, as in Isa. xxxii. 6) even then before He had brought them into Canaan. (On ver. 20a, *vid.* chap. vii. 5, ix. 5, and Ex. iii. 8.)—In ver. 22 the result is anticipated, and the command of God is followed immediately by an account of its completion by Moses (just as in Ex. xii. 50; Lev. xvi. 34, etc.).—After this command with reference to the song, the Lord appointed Joshua to the office which he had been commanded to take, urging him at the same time to be courageous, and promising him His help in the conquest of Canaan. That the subject to יִצְיָ is not Moses, but Jehovah, is evident partly from the context, the retrospective glance at ver. 14, and partly from the words themselves, "I will be with thee" (*vid.* Ex. iii. 12).¹

Vers. 24-27. With the installation of Joshua on the part of God, the official life of Moses was brought to a close. Having returned from the tabernacle, he finished the writing out of the laws, and then gave the book of the law to the Levites, with a command to put it by the side of the ark of the covenant, that it might be there for a witness against the people, as He knew its rebellion and stiffneckedness (vers. 24-27). כָּתַב עַל-סֵפֶר, to write upon a book, equivalent to write down, commit to writing. עַרְכָּם, till their being finished, *i.e.* complete. By the "*Levites who bare the ark of the covenant*" we are not to understand ordinary Levites, but the

¹ *Knobel's* assertion (on Num. xxvii. 23) that the appointment of Joshua on the part of Moses by the imposition of hands, as described in that passage, is at variance with this verse, scarcely needs any refutation. Or is it really the case, that the installation of Joshua on the part of God is irreconcilable with his ordination by Moses?

Levitical priests, who were entrusted with the ark. "The Levites" is simply a contraction for the full expression, "the priests the sons of Levi" (ver. 9). It is true that, according to Num. iv. 4 sqq., the Kohathites were appointed to carry the holy vessels, which included the ark of the covenant, on the journey through the desert; but it was the priests, and not they, who were the true bearers and guardians of the holy things, as we may see from the fact that the priests had first of all to wrap up these holy things in a careful manner, before they handed them over to the Kohathites, that they might not touch the holy things and die (Num. iv. 15). Hence we find that on solemn occasions, when the ark was to be brought out in all its full significance and glory,—as, for example, in the crossing of the Jordan (Josh. iii. 3 sqq., iv. 9, 10), when encompassing Jericho (Josh. vi. 6, 12), at the setting up of the law on Ebal and Gerizim (Josh. viii. 33), and at the consecration of Solomon's temple (1 Kings viii. 3),—it was not by the Levites, but by the priests, that the ark of the covenant was borne. In fact the Levites were, strictly speaking, only their (the priests') servants, who relieved them of this and the other labour, so that what they did was done in a certain sense through them. If the (non-priestly) Levites were not to touch the ark of the covenant, and not even to put in the poles (Num. iv. 6), Moses would not have handed over the law-book, to be kept by the ark of the covenant, to them, but to the priests. מִצֵּד אֲרֹן, at the side of the ark, or, according to the paraphrase of *Jonathan*, "in a case on the right side of the ark of the covenant," which may be correct, although we must not think of this case, as many of the early theologians do, as a secondary ark attached to the ark of the covenant (see *Lundius, Jüd. Heiligth.* pp. 73, 74). The tables of the law were deposited in the ark (Ex. xxv. 16, xl. 20), and the book of the law was to be kept by its side. As it formed, from its very nature, simply an elaborate commentary upon the decalogue, it was also to have its place outwardly as an accompaniment to the tables of the law, for a witness against the people, in the same manner as the song in the mouth of the people (ver. 21). For, as Moses adds in ver. 27, in explanation of his instructions, "*I know thy rebelliousness, and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord (vid. chap. ix. 7); and how much more after my death.*"

With these words Moses handed over the complete book of the law to the Levitical priests. For although the handing over is not

expressly mentioned, it is unquestionably implied in the words, "Take this book, and put it by the side of the ark of the covenant," as the finishing of the writing of the laws is mentioned immediately before. But if Moses finished the writing of the law after he had received instructions from the Lord to compose the ode, what he wrote will reach to ver. 23; and what follows from ver. 24 onwards will form the appendix to his work by a different hand.¹ The supposition that Moses himself inserted his instructions concerning the preservation of the book of the law, and the ode which follows, is certainly possible, but not probable. The decision as to the place where it should be kept was not of such importance as to need insertion in the book of the law, since sufficient provision for its safe keeping had been made by the directions in vers. 9 sqq.; and although God had commanded him to write the ode, it was not for the purpose of inserting it in the *Thorah* as an essential portion of it, but to let the people learn it, to put it in the mouth of the people. The allusion to this ode in vers. 19 sqq. furnishes no conclusive evidence, either that Moses himself included it in the law-book which he had written with the account of his oration in vers. 28-30 and chap. xxxii. 1-43, or that the appendix which Moses did not write commences at ver. 14 of this chapter. For all that follows with certainty from the expression "this song" (vers. 19 and 22), which certainly points to the song in chap. xxxii., is that Moses himself handed over the ode to the priests with the complete book of the law, as a supplement to the law, and that this ode was then inserted by the writer of the appendix in the appendix itself.

Vers. 28-30. Directly after handing over the book of the law, Moses directed the elders of all the tribes, together with the official persons, to gather round him, that he might rehearse to them the ode which he had written for the people. The summons, "gather unto me," was addressed to the persons to whom he had given the book of the law. The elders and officers, as the civil authorities of the congregation, were collected together by him to hear the ode, because they were to put it in the mouth of the people, *i.e.* to take care that

¹ The objection brought against this view by *Riehm*, namely, that "it founders on the fact that the style and language in chap. xxxi. 24-30 and xxxii. 44-47 are just the same as in the earlier portion of the book," simply shows that he has not taken into consideration that, with the simple style adopted in Hebrew narrative, we could hardly expect in eleven verses, which contain for the most part simply words and sayings of Moses, to find any very striking difference of language or of style. This objection, therefore, merely proves that no valid arguments can be adduced against the view in question.

all the nation should learn it. The words, "*I will call heaven and earth as witnesses against you*," refer to the substance of the ode about to be rehearsed, which begins with an appeal to the heaven and the earth (chap. xxxii. 1). The reason assigned for this in ver. 29 is a brief summary of what the Lord had said to Moses in vers. 16–21, and Moses thought it necessary to communicate to the representatives of the nation. "*The work of your hands*" refers to the idols (*vid.* chap. iv. 28).—Ver. 30 forms the introduction to the rehearsal of the ode.

SONG OF MOSES, AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS DEATH.—
CHAP. XXXII.

Vers. 1–43. THE SONG OF MOSES.—In accordance with the object announced in chap. xxxi. 19, this song contrasts the unchangeable fidelity of the Lord with the perversity of His faithless people. After a solemn introduction pointing out the importance of the instruction about to be given (vers. 1–3), this thought is placed in the foreground as the theme of the whole: the Lord is blameless and righteous in His doings, but Israel acts corruptly and perversely; and this is carried out in the first place by showing the folly of the Israelites in rebelling against the Lord (vers. 6–18); secondly, by unfolding the purpose of God to reject and punish the rebellious generation (vers. 19–23); and lastly, by announcing and depicting the fulfilment of this purpose, and the judgment in which the Lord would have mercy upon His servants and annihilate His foes (vers. 34–43).

The song embraces the whole of the future history of Israel, and bears all the marks of a prophetic testimony from the mouth of Moses, in the perfectly ideal picture which it draws, on the one hand, of the benefits and blessings conferred by the Lord upon His people; and on the other hand, of the ingratitude with which Israel repaid its God for them all. "This song, soaring as it does to the loftiest heights, moving amidst the richest abundance of pictures of both present and future, with its concise, compressed, and pictorial style, rough, penetrating, and sharp, but full of the holiest solemnity, a witness against the disobedient nation, a celebration of the covenant God, sets before us in miniature a picture of the whole life and conduct of the great man of God, whose office it pre-eminently was to preach condemnation" (*O. v. Gerlach*).—It is true that the persons addressed in this ode are not the contemporaries of

Moses, but the Israelites in Canaan, when they had grown haughty in the midst of the rich abundance of its blessings, and had fallen away from the Lord, so that the times when God led the people through the wilderness to Canaan are represented as days long past away. But this, the stand-point of the ode, is not to be identified with the poet's own time. It is rather a prophetic anticipation of the future, which has an *analogon* in a poet's absorption in an ideal future, and differs from this merely in the certainty and distinctness with which the future is foreseen and proclaimed. The assertion that the entire ode moves within the epoch of the kings who lived many centuries after the time of Moses, rests upon a total misapprehension of the nature of prophecy, and a mistaken attempt to turn figurative language into prosaic history. In the whole of the song there is not a single word to indicate that the persons addressed were "already sighing under the oppression of a wild and hostile people, the barbarous hordes of Assyrians or Chaldeans" (*Ewald, Kamphausen, etc.*).¹ The Lord had indeed determined to reject the idolatrous nation, and excite it to jealousy through those that were "no people," and to heap up all evils upon it, famine, pestilence, and sword; but the execution of this purpose had not yet taken place, and, although absolutely certain, was in the future still. Moreover, the benefits which God had conferred upon His people, were not of such a character as to render it impossible that they should have been alluded to by Moses. All that the Lord had done for Israel, by delivering it from bondage and guiding it miraculously through the wilderness, had been already witnessed by Moses himself; and the description in vers. 13 and 14, which goes beyond that time, is in reality nothing more than a pictorial expansion of the thought that Israel was most bountifully provided with the

¹ How little firm ground there is for this assertion in the contents of the ode, is indirectly admitted even by *Kamphausen* himself in the following remarks: "The words of the ode leave us quite in the dark as to the author;" and "if it were really certain that Deuteronomy was composed by Moses himself, the question as to the authenticity of the ode would naturally be decided in the traditional way." Consequently, the solution of the whole is to be found in the *dictum*, that "the circumstances which are assumed in any prophecy as already existing, and to which the prophetic utterances are appended as to something well known (?), really determine the time of the prophet himself;" and, according to this canon, which is held up as "certain and infallible," but which is really thoroughly uncritical, and founded upon the purely dogmatic assumption that any actual foreknowledge of the future is impossible, the ode before us is to be assigned to a date somewhere about 700 years before Christ.

richest productions of the land of Canaan, which flowed with milk and honey. It is true, the satisfaction of Israel with these blessings had not actually taken place in the time of Moses, but was still only an object of hope; but it was hope of such a kind, that Moses could not cherish a moment's doubt concerning it. Throughout the whole we find no allusions to peculiar circumstances or historical events belonging to a later age.—On the other hand, the whole circle of ideas, figures, and words in the ode points decidedly to Moses as the author. Even if we leave out of sight the number of peculiarities of style (ἄπ. λεγόμενα), which is by no means inconsiderable, and such bold original composite words as לֹא-אֱלֹהִים (*not-God*, ver. 21; cf. ver. 17) and אֲנִי-לֹא (*not-people*, ver. 21), which point to a very remote antiquity, and furnish evidence of the vigour of the earliest poetry,—the figure of the *eagle* in ver. 11 points back to Ex. xix. 4; the description of God as a *rock* in vers. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37, recalls Gen. xlix. 24; the *fire* of the wrath of God, burning even to the world beneath (ver. 22), points to the representation of God in chap. iv. 24 as a consuming fire; the expression “to move to *jealousy*,” in vers. 16 and 21, recalls the “jealous God” in chap. iv. 24, vi. 15, Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 14; the description of Israel as *children* (sons) in ver. 5, and “children without faithfulness” in ver. 20, suggests chap. xiv. 1; and the words, “O that they were *wise*,” in ver. 29, recall chap. iv. 6, “a wise people.” Again, it is only in the Pentateuch that the word גָּדְלוֹ (greatness, ver. 3) is used to denote the greatness of God (*vid.* Deut. iii. 24, v. 21, ix. 26, xi. 2; Num. xiv. 19); the name of honour given to Israel in ver. 15, viz. *Jeshurun*, only occurs again in chap. xxxiii. 5 and 26, with the exception of Isa. xlv. 2, where it is borrowed from these passages; and the plural form מִיֹּמֶי, in ver. 7, is only met with again in the prayer of Moses, viz. Ps. xc. 15.

Vers. 1–5. *Introduction and Theme.*—In the introduction (vers. 1–3),—“Give ear, O ye heavens, I will speak; and let the earth hear the words of my mouth. Let my doctrine drop as the rain, let my speech fall as the dew; as showers upon green, and rain-drops upon herb: for I will publish the name of the Lord; give ye greatness to our God,”—Moses summons heaven and earth to hearken to his words, because the instruction which he was about to proclaim concerned both heaven and earth, *i.e.* the whole universe. It did so, however, not merely as treating of the honour of its Creator, which was disregarded by the murmuring people (*Kamphausen*), or to justify God, as the witness of the righteousness of His doings, in opposition to

the faithless nation, when He punished it for its apostasy (just as in chap. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28, 29, heaven and earth are appealed to as witnesses against rebellious Israel), but also inasmuch as heaven and earth would be affected by the judgment which God poured out upon faithless Israel and the nations, to avenge the blood of His servants (ver. 43); since the faithfulness and righteousness of God would thus become manifest in heaven and on earth, and the universe be sanctified and glorified thereby. The *vav consec.* before אֲדַבֶּרֶה expresses the desired or intended sequel: so that I may then speak, or "so will I then speak" (*vid. Köhler on Hagg. p. 44, note*)—Ver. 2. But because what was about to be announced was of such importance throughout, he desired that the words should trickle down like rain and dew upon grass and herb. The point of comparison lies in the refreshing, fertilizing, and enlivening power of the dew and rain. Might the song exert the same upon the hearts of the hearers. לָקַח, accepting, then, in a passive sense, that which is accepted, *instruction* (doctrine, Prov. xvi. 21, 23; Isa. xxix. 24). To "*publish the name of the Lord:*" *lit. call, i.e. proclaim* (not "call upon"), or *praise*. It was not by himself alone that Moses desired to praise the name of the Lord; the hearers of his song were also to join in this praise. The second clause requires this: "*give ye (i.e. ascribe by word and conduct) greatness to our God.*" נִגְּלָה, applied here to God (as in chap. iii. 24, v. 21, ix. 26, xi. 2), which is only repeated again in Ps. cl. 2, is the greatness manifested by God in His acts of omnipotence; it is similar in meaning to the term "glory" in Ps. xxix. 1, 2, xvi. 7, 8.

Vers. 4, 5. "*The Rock—blameless is His work; for all His ways are right: a God of faithfulness, and without injustice; just and righteous is He. Corruptly acts towards Him, not His children; their spot, a perverse and crooked generation.*" הַצֵּיִר is placed first absolutely, to give it the greater prominence. God is called "the rock," as the unchangeable refuge, who grants a firm defence and secure resort to His people, by virtue of His unchangeableness or impregnable firmness (see the synonym, "the Stone of Israel," in Gen. xlix. 24). This epithet points to the Mosaic age; and this is clearly shown by the use made of this title of God (*Zur*) in the construction of surnames in the Mosaic era; such, for example, as *Pedahzur* (Num. i. 10), which is equivalent to *Pedahel* ("God-redeemed," Num. xxxiv. 28), *Elizur* (Num. i. 5), *Zuriel* (Num. iii. 35), and *Zurishaddai* (Num. i. 6, ii. 12). David, who had so often experienced the rock-like protection of his God, adopted it in his

Psalms (2 Sam. xxii. 3, 32 = Ps. xviii. 3, 32 ; also Ps. xix. 15, xxxi. 3, 4, lxxi. 3). *Perfect* (*i.e.* blameless, without fault or blemish) is His work ; for His ways, which He adopts in His government of the world, are right. As the rock, He is “ a God of faithfulness,” upon which men may rely and build in all the storms of life, and “ without iniquity,” *i.e.* anything crooked or false in His nature.—Ver. 5. His people Israel, on the contrary, had acted corruptly towards Him. The subject of “ acted corruptly” is the rebellious generation of the people ; but before this subject there is introduced parenthetically, and in apposition, “ not his children, but their spot.” *Spot* (*mum*) is used here in a moral sense, as in Prov. ix. 7, Job xi. 15, xxxi. 7, equivalent to stain. The rebellious and ungodly were not children of the Lord, but a stain upon them. If these words had stood after the actual subject, instead of before them, they would have presented no difficulty. This verse is the original of the expression, “ children that are corrupters,” in Isa. i. 4.

Vers. 6–18. Expansion of the theme according to the thought expressed in ver. 5. The perversity of the rebellious generation manifested itself in the fact, that it repaid the Lord, to whom it owed existence and well-being, for all His benefits, with a foolish apostasy from its Creator and Father. This thought is expressed in ver. 6, in a reproachful question addressed to the people, and then supported in vers. 7–14 by an enumeration of the benefits conferred by God, and in vers. 15–18 by a description of the ingratitude of the people.—Ver. 6. “ *Will ye thus repay the Lord? thou foolish people and unwise! Is He not thy Father, who hath founded thee, who hath made thee and prepared thee?*” נָמַלְךָ, the primary idea of which is doubtful, signifies properly *to show*, or *do*, for the most part *good*, but sometimes *evil* (*vid.* Ps. vii. 5). For the purpose of painting the folly of their apostasy distinctly before the eyes of the people, Moses crowds words together to describe what God was to the nation,—“ *thy Father*,” to whose love Israel was indebted for its elevation into an independent people : comp. Isa. lxiii. 16, where Father and Redeemer are synonymous terms, with Isa. lxiv. 7, God the Father, Israel the clay which He had formed, and Mal. ii. 10, where God as Father is said to have created Israel ; see also the remarks at chap. xiv. 1 on the notion of Israel’s sonship.—נָקַדְךָ, *He has acquired thee* ; קָנָה, κτᾶσθαι, to get, acquire (Gen. iv. 1), then so as to involve the idea of κτίζειν (Gen. xiv. 9), though without being identical with נָקַדְךָ. It denotes here the founding of Israel as a nation, by its deliverance out of the power of Pharaoh. The verbs which

follow (*made and established*) refer to the elevation and preparation of the redeemed nation, as the nation of the Lord, by the conclusion of a covenant, the giving of the law, and their guidance through the desert.—Ver. 7. “*Remember the days of old, consider the years of the past generations : ask thy father, that he may make known to thee ; thine old men, that they may tell it to thee !*” With these words Moses summons the people to reflect upon what the Lord had done to them. The days of old (עֲלֻם), and years of generation and generation, *i.e.* years through which one generation after another had lived, are the times of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, including the pre-Mosaic times, and also the immediate post-Mosaic, when Israel had entered into the possession of Canaan. These times are described by Moses as a far distant past, because he transported himself in spirit to the “latter days” (chap. xxxi. 29), when the nation would have fallen away from its God, and would have been forsaken and punished by God in consequence. “*Days of eternity*” are times which lie an eternity behind the speaker, not necessarily, however, before all time, but simply at a period very far removed from the present, and of which even the fathers and old men could only relate what had been handed down by tradition to them.

Vers. 8 and 9. “*When the Most High portioned out inheritance to the nations, when He divided the children of men ; He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the sons of Israel : for the Lord’s portion is His people ; Jacob the cord of His inheritance.*” Moses commences his enumeration of the manifestations of divine mercy with the thought, that from the very commencement of the forming of nations God had cared for His people Israel. The meaning of ver. 8 is given in general correctly by Calvin: “In the whole arrangement of the world God had kept this before Him as the end : to consult the interests of His chosen people.” The words, “when the Most High portioned out inheritance to the nations,” etc., are not to be restricted to the one fact of the confusion of tongues and division of the nations as described in Gen. xi., but embrace the whole period of the development of the one human family in separate tribes and nations, together with their settlement in different lands ; for it is no doctrine of the Israelitish legend, as *Kamphausen* supposes, that the division of the nations was completed once for all. The book of Genesis simply teaches, that after the confusion of tongues at the building of the tower of Babel, God scattered men over the entire surface of the earth (chap. xi.

9), and that the nations were divided, *i.e.* separate nations were formed from the families of the sons of Noah (Gen. x. 32); that is to say, the nations were formed in the divinely-appointed way of generation and multiplication, and so spread over the earth. And the Scriptures say nothing about a division of the countries among the different nations at one particular time; they simply show, that, like the formation of the nations from families and tribes, the possession of the lands by the nations so formed was to be traced to God,—was the work of divine providence and government,—whereby God so determined the boundaries of the nations (“the nations” are neither the tribes of Israel, nor simply the nations round about Canaan, but the nations generally), that Israel might receive as its inheritance a land proportioned to its numbers.¹—Ver. 9. God did this, because He had chosen Israel as His own nation, even before it came into existence. As the Lord’s people of possession (cf. chap. vii. 6, x. 15, and Ex. xix. 5), Israel was Jehovah’s portion, and the inheritance assigned to Him. *הֶבֶל*, a *cord*, or measure, then a piece of land measured off; here it is figuratively applied to the nation.—Vers. 10 sqq. He had manifested His fatherly care and love to Israel as His own property.

Ver. 10. “*He found him in the land of the desert, and in the wilderness, the howling of the steppe; He surrounded him, took care of him, protected him as the apple of His eye.*” These words do not “relate more especially to the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai” (*Luther*), nor merely to all the proofs of the paternal care with which God visited His people in the desert, to lead them to Sinai, there to adopt them as His covenant nation, and then to guide them to Canaan, to the exclusion of their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt. The reason why Moses does not mention this fact, or the passage through the Red Sea, is not to be sought for, either solely or even in part, in the fact that “the song does not rest upon the stand-point of the Mosaic times;” for we may see clearly that distance of time would furnish no adequate ground for “singling out and elaborating certain points only from the renowned stories of old,” say from the 105th Psalm, which no one would think of pronouncing an earlier production than this song.

¹ The Septuagint rendering, “according to the number of the angels of God,” is of no critical value,—in fact, is nothing more than an arbitrary interpretation founded upon the later Jewish notion of guardian angels of the different nations (Sir. xvii. 14), which probably originated in a misunderstanding of chap. iv. 19, as compared with Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, and xii. 1.

Nor is it because the gracious help of God, which the people experienced up to the time of the exodus from Egypt, was inferior in importance to the divine care exercised over it during the march through the desert (a fact which would need to be proved), or because the solemn conclusion of the covenant, whereby Israel first became the people of God, took place during the sojourn at Sinai, that Moses speaks of God as finding the people in the desert and adopting them there; but simply because it was not his intention to give a historical account of the acts performed by God upon and towards Israel, but to describe how Israel was in the most helpless condition when the Lord had compassion upon it, to take it out of that most miserable state in which it must have perished, and bring it into the possession of the richly-blessed land of Canaan. The whole description of what the Lord did for Israel (vers. 10-14) is figurative. Israel is represented as a man in the horrible desert, and in danger of perishing in the desolate waste, where not only bread and water had failed, but where ravenous beasts lay howling in wait for human life, when the Lord took him up and delivered him out of all distress. The expression "found him" is also to be explained from this figure. Finding presupposes seeking, and in the seeking the love which goes in search of the loved one is manifested. Also the expression "land of the desert"—a land which is a desert, without the article defining the desert more precisely—shows that the reference is not to the finding of Israel in the desert of Arabia, and that these words are not to be understood as relating to the fact, that when His people entered the desert the Lord appeared to them in the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. xiii. 20, *Schultz*). For although the figure of the desert is chosen, because in reality the Lord had led Israel through the Arabian desert to Canaan, we must not so overlook the figurative character of the whole description as to refer the expression "in a desert land" directly and exclusively to the desert of Arabia. The measures adopted by the Pharaohs, the object of which was the extermination or complete suppression of Israel, made even Egypt a land of desert to the Israelites, where they would inevitably have perished if the Lord had not sought, found, and surrounded them there. To depict still further the helpless and irremediable situation of Israel, the idea of the desert is heightened still further by the addition of *וּבְתוֹהוּ וְנִי*, "*and in fact (ἢ is explanatory) in a waste,*" or *wilderness* (*tohu* recalls Gen. i. 2). "*Howling of the desert*" is in apposition to *tohu* (*waste*), and not a genitive dependent upon it, viz. "waste of the howling of the desert,

or of the desert in which wild beasts howl" (*Ewald*), as if וַיִּשְׁמַע stood after וַיִּשְׁמַע. "Howling of the desert" does not mean the desert in which wild beasts howl, but the howling which is heard in the desert of wild beasts. The meaning of the passage, therefore, is "in the midst of the howling of the wild beasts of the desert." This clause serves to strengthen the idea of *tohu* (waste), and describes the waste as a place of the most horrible howling of wild beasts. It was in this situation that the Lord surrounded His people. סָבַב, to surround with love and care, not merely to protect (*vid.* Ps. xxvi. 6; Jer. xxxi. 22). בִּינָה, from בִּין or הִבִּין, to pay attention, in the sense of "not to lose sight of them." "To keep as the apple of the eye" is a figurative description of the tenderest care. The apple of the eye is most carefully preserved (*vid.* Ps. xvii. 8; Prov. vii. 2).

Ver. 11. "*As an eagle, which stirreth up its nest and soars over its young, He spread out His wings, took him up, carried him upon His wings.*" Under the figure of an eagle, which teaches its young to fly, and in doing so protects them from injury with watchful affection, Moses describes the care with which the Lord came to the relief of His people in their helplessness, and assisted them to develop their strength. This figure no doubt refers more especially to the protection and assistance of God experienced by Israel in its journey through the Arabian desert; but it must not be restricted to this. It embraces both the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt by the outstretched arm of the Lord, as we may see from a comparison with Ex. xix. 4, where the Lord is said to have brought His people out of Egypt upon eagles' wings, and also the introduction into Canaan, when the Lord drove the Canaanites out from before them and destroyed them. This verse contains an independent thought; the first half is the protasis, the second the apodosis. The nominative to "spreadeth abroad" is Jehovah; and the suffixes in וַיִּקַּח and וַיִּשָּׂא ("taketh" and "beareth") refer to Israel or Jacob (ver. 9), like the suffixes in ver. 10. As וְ cannot open a sentence like וַיִּשָּׂא, we must supply the relative אֲשֶׁר after וַיִּשָּׂא, וַיִּשָּׂא קֵנוֹ, to waken up, rouse up its nest, *i.e.* to encourage the young ones to fly. It is rendered correctly by the Vulgate, *provocans ad volandum pullos suos*; and freely by Luther, "bringeth out its young." "*Soareth over its young:*" namely, in order that, when they were attempting to fly, if any were in danger of falling through exhaustion, it might take them at once upon its powerful wings, and preserve them from harm. Examples of this, according to the

popular belief, are given by *Bochart* (*Hieroz.* ii. p. 762). רָחַף, from רָחַף to be loose or slack (*Jer.* xxiii. 9) : in the *Piel* it is applied to a bird in the sense of loosening its wings, as distinguished from binding its wings to its body; hence (1) to sit upon eggs with loosened wings, and (2) to fly with loosened wings. Here it is used in the latter sense, because the young are referred to. The point of comparison between the conduct of God towards Jacob and the acts of an eagle towards its young, is the loving care with which He trained Israel to independence. The carrying of Israel upon the eagle's wings of divine love and omnipotence was manifested in the most glorious way in the guidance of it by the pillar of cloud and fire, though it was not so exclusively in this visible vehicle of the gracious presence of God as that the comparison can be restricted to this phenomenon alone. *Luther's* interpretation is more correct than this,—“Moses points out in these words, how He fostered them in the desert, bore with their manners, tried them and blessed them that they might learn to fly, *i.e.* to trust in Him,”—except that the explanation of the expression “to fly” is narrowed too much.

Vers. 12-14. “*The Lord alone did lead him, and with Him was no strange god. He made him drive over the high places of the earth, and eat the productions of the field; and made him suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flint-stone. Cream of cattle, and milk of the flock, with the fat of lambs, and rams of Bashan's kind, and bucks, with the kidney-fat of wheat: and grape-blood thou drankest as fiery wine.*” Moses gives prominence to the fact that Jehovah alone conducted Israel, to deprive the people of every excuse for their apostasy from the Lord, and put their ingratitude in all the stronger light. If no other god stood by the Lord to help Him, He had thereby laid Israel under the obligation to serve Him alone as its God. “*With Him*” refers to Jehovah, and not to Israel.—Vers. 13, 14. The Lord caused the Israelites to take possession of Canaan with victorious power, and enter upon the enjoyment of its abundant blessings. The phrase, “to cause to drive over the high places of the earth,” is a figurative expression for the victorious subjugation of a land; it is not taken from *Ps.* xviii. 34, as *Ewald* assumes, but is original both here and in chap. xxxiii. 29. “*Drive*” (ride) is only a more majestic expression for “advance.” The reference to this passage in *Isa.* lviii. 14 is unmistakeable. Whoever has obtained possession of the high places of a country is lord of the land. The “high places of the earth” do not mean the high places of Canaan only, although the expression in this instance relates to the posses-

sion of Canaan. “*And he (Jacob) ate:*” for, so that he could now eat, the productions of the field, and in fact all the riches of the fruitful land, which are then described in superabundant terms. Honey out of the rock and oil out of the flint-stone, *i.e.* the most valuable productions out of the most unproductive places, since God so blessed the land that even the rocks and stones were productive. The figure is derived from the fact that Canaan abounds in wild bees, which make their hives in clefts of the rock, and in olive-trees which grow in a rocky soil. “Rock-flints,” *i.e.* rocky flints. The nouns in ver. 14 are dependent upon “to suck” in ver. 13, as the expression is not used literally. “Things which are sweet and pleasant to eat, people are in the habit of sucking” (*Ges. thes.* p. 601). חֵמָץ and חֵלֶב (though חֵלֶב seems to require a form חֵלֵב; *vid. Ewald*, § 213, *b.*) denote the two forms in which the milk yielded by the cattle was used; the latter, milk in general, and the former thick curdled milk, cream, and possibly also butter. The two are divided poetically here, the cream being assigned to the cattle, and the milk to the sheep and goats. “*The fat of lambs,*” *i.e.* “lambs of the best description laden with fat” (*Vitrunga*). Fat is a figurative expression for the best (*vid. Num. xviii. 12*). “*And rams:*” grammatically, no doubt, this might also be connected with “the fat,” but it is improbable from a poetical point of view, since the enumeration would thereby drag prosaically; and it is also hardly reconcilable with the apposition בָּשָׁן, *i.e.* reared in Bashan (*vid. Ezek. xxxix. 18*), which implies that Bashan was celebrated for its rams, and not merely for its oxen. This epithet, which *Kamphausen* renders “of Bashan’s kind,” is unquestionably used for the best description of rams. The list becomes poetical, if we take “rams” as an accusative governed by the verb “to suck” (ver. 13). “*Kidney-fat (i.e. the best fat) of wheat,*” the finest and most nutritious wheat. Wine is mentioned last, and in this case the list passes with poetic freedom into the form of an address. “*Grape-blood*” for red wine (as in *Gen. xlix. 11*). חֶמֶר, from חָמַר to ferment, froth, foam, *lit.* the foaming, *i.e.* fiery wine, serves as a more precise definition of the “blood of the grape.”

Vers. 15–18. Israel had repaid its God for all these benefits by a base apostasy.—Ver. 15. “*But Righteous-nation became fat, and struck out—thou becamest fat, thick, gross—and let go God who made him, and despised the rock of his salvation.*” So much is certain concerning *Jeshurun*, that it was an honourable surname given to Israel; that it is derived from יֵשׁוּר, and describes Israel as

a nation of just or right men (a similar description to that given by Balaam in Num. xxiii. 10), because Jehovah, who is just and right (ver. 4), had called it to uprightness, to walk in His righteousness, and chosen it as His servant (Isa. xlv. 2). The prevalent opinion, that *Jeshurun* is a diminutive, and signifies *rectulus*, or "little pious" (*Ges.* and others), has no more foundation than the derivation from Israel, and the explanation, "little Israel," since there is no philological proof that the termination *un* ever had a diminutive signification in Hebrew (see *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 415); and an *appellatio blanda et charitativa* is by no means suitable to this passage, much less to chap. xxxiii. 5. The epithet *Righteousnation*, as we may render *Jeshurun*, was intended to remind Israel of its calling, and involved the severest reproof of its apostasy. "By placing the name of *righteous* before Israel, he censured ironically those who had fallen away from righteousness; and by thus reminding them with what dignity they had been endowed, he upbraided them with the more severity for their guilt of perfidy. For in other places (*sc.* chap. xxxiii. 5, 26) Israel is honoured with an eulogium of the same kind, without any such sinister meaning, but with simple regard to its calling; whilst here Moses shows reproachfully how far they had departed from that pursuit of piety, to the cultivation of which they had been called" (*Calvin*). The words, "became fat, and struck out," are founded upon the figure of an ox that had become fat, and intractable in consequence (*vid.* Isa. x. 27, Hos. iv. 16; and for the fact itself, Deut. vi. 11, viii. 10, xxxi. 20). To sharpen this reproof, Moses repeats the thought in the form of a direct address to the people: "Thou hast become fat, stout, gross." Becoming fat led to forsaking God, the Creator and ground of its salvation. "A full stomach does not promote piety, for it stands secure, and neglects God" (*Luther*). נָבַל is no doubt a *denom.* verb from נָבַל, *lit.* to treat as a fool, *i.e.* to despise (*vid.* Micah vii. 6).

Vers. 16-18. "*They excited His jealousy through strange (gods), they provoked Him by abominations. They sacrificed to devils, which (were) not-God; to gods whom they knew not, to new (ones) that had lately come up, whom your fathers feared not. The rock which begat thee thou forsookest, and hast forgotten the God that bare thee.*" These three verses are only a further expansion of ver. 15*b*. Forsaking the rock of its salvation, Israel gave itself up to the service of worthless idols. The expression "excite to jealousy" is founded upon the figure of a marriage covenant,

under which the relation of the Lord to Israel is represented (*vid.* chap. xxxi. 16, and the com. on Ex. xxxiv. 15). "This jealousy rests upon the sacred and spiritual marriage tie, by which God had bound the people to Himself" (*Calvin*). "Strange gods," with which Israel committed adultery, as in Jer. ii. 25, iii. 13. The idols are called "abominations" because Jehovah abhorred them (chap. vii. 25, xxvii. 15; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 13). שִׂדִּים signifies *demons* in Syriac, as it has been rendered by the LXX. and Vulgate here; *lit.* lords, like Baalim. It is also used in Ps. cvi. 37.—"Not-God," a composite noun, in apposition to *Shedim* (devils), like the other expressions which follow: "gods whom they knew not," *i.e.* who had not made themselves known to them as gods by any benefit or blessing (*vid.* chap. xi. 28); "new (ones), who had come from near," *i.e.* had but lately risen up and been adopted by the Israelites. "Near," not in a local but in a temporal sense, in contrast to *Jehovah*, who had manifested and attested Himself as God from of old (ver. 7). שָׁעַר, to shudder, construed here with an accusative, to experience a holy shuddering before a person, to revere with holy awe.—In ver. 18 Moses returns to the thought of ver. 15, for the purpose of expressing it emphatically once more, and paving the way for a transition to the description of the acts of the Lord towards His rebellious nation. To bring out still more prominently the base ingratitude of the people, he represents the creation of Israel by Jehovah, the rock of its salvation, under the figure of generation and birth, in which the paternal and maternal love of the Lord to His people had manifested itself. חָלַל, to twist round, then applied to the pains of childbirth. The *ἀπ. λεγ.* שָׁחַ is to be traced to שָׁחַ, and is a pausal form like יָחַ in chap. iv. 33. שָׁחַ = שָׁחַה, to forget, to neglect.

Vers. 19–33. For this foolish apostasy the Lord would severely visit His people. This visitation is represented indeed in ver. 19, as the consequence of apostasy that had taken place,—not, however, as a punishment already inflicted, but simply as a resolution which God had formed and would carry out,—an evident proof that we have no song here belonging to the time when God visited with severe punishments the Israelites who had fallen into idolatry. In ver. 19 the determination to reject the degenerate children is announced, and in vers. 20–22 this is still further defined and explained.—Ver. 19. "And the Lord saw it, and rejected—from indignation at His sons and daughters." The object to "saw" may easily be supplied from the context: He saw the idolatry of the

people, and rejected those who followed idols, and that because of indignation that His sons and daughters practised such abominations. The expression "he saw" simply serves to bring out the causal link between the apostasy and the punishment. פָּסַח has been very well rendered by *Kamphausen*, "He resolved upon rejection," since vers. 20 sqq. clearly show that the rejection had only been resolved upon by God, and was not yet carried out. In what follows, Moses puts this resolution into the mouth of the Lord Himself.—Vers. 20-22. "*And He said, I will hide My face from them, I will see what their end will be: for they are a generation full of perversities, children in whom is no faithfulness. They excited My jealousy by a no-god, provoked Me by their vanities: and I also will excite their jealousy by a no-people, provoke them by a foolish nation. For a fire blazes up in My nose, and burns to the lowest hell, and consumes the earth with its increase, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains.*" The divine purpose contains two things:—first of all (ver. 20) the negative side, to hide the face, *i.e.* to withdraw His favour and see what their end would be, *i.e.* that their apostasy would bring nothing but evil and destruction; for they were "a nation of perversities" (*tahpuchoth* is moral perversity, Prov. ii. 14, vi. 14), *i.e.* "a thoroughly perverse and faithless generation" (*Knobel*);—and then, *secondly* (ver. 21), the positive side, viz. chastisement according to the right of complete retaliation. The Israelites had excited the jealousy and vexation of God by a *no-god* and vanities; therefore God would excite their jealousy and vexation by a *no-people* and a foolish nation. How this retaliation would manifest itself is not fully defined however here, but is to be gathered from the conduct of Israel towards the Lord. Israel had excited the jealousy of God by preferring a no-god, or הֵבֵלִים, nothingnesses, *i.e.* gods that were vanities or nothings (*Elilim*, Lev. xix. 4), to the true and living God, its Father and Creator. God would therefore excite them to jealousy and ill-will by a no-people, a foolish nation, *i.e.* by preferring a no-people to the Israelites, transferring His favour to them, and giving the blessing which Israel had despised to a foolish nation. It is only with this explanation of the words that full justice is done to the idea of retribution; and it was in this sense that Paul understood this passage as referring to the adoption of the Gentiles as the people of God (Rom. x. 19), and that not merely by adaptation, or by connecting another meaning with the words, as *Umbreit* supposes, but by interpreting it in exact accordance with the

true sense of the words.¹ The adoption of the Gentile world into covenant with the Lord involved the rejection of the disobedient Israel; and this rejection would be consummated in severe judgments, in which the ungodly would perish. In this way the retribution inflicted by the Lord upon the faithless and perverse generation of His sons and daughters becomes a judgment upon the whole world. The jealousy of the Lord blazes up into a fire of wrath, which burns down to sheol. This aspect of the divine retribution comes into the foreground in what follows, from ver. 23 onwards; whilst the adoption of the Gentile world, which the Apostle Paul singles out as the leading thought of this verse, in accordance with the special purpose of the song, falls back behind the thought, that the Lord would not utterly destroy Israel, but when all its strength had disappeared would have compassion upon His servants, and avenge their blood upon His foes. The idea of a *no-people* is to be gathered from the antithesis *no-god*. As

¹ But when *Kamphausen*, on the other hand, maintains that this thought, which the apostle finds in the passage before us, would be "quite erroneous if taken as an exposition of the words," the assertion is supported by utterly worthless arguments: for example, (1) that throughout this song the exalted heathen are never spoken of as the bride of God, but simply as a rod of discipline used against Israel; (2) that this verse refers to the whole nation of Israel, and there is no trace of any distinction between the righteous and the wicked; and (3) that the idea that God would choose another people as the covenant nation would have been the very opposite of that Messianic hope with which the author of this song was inspired. To begin with the last, the Messianic hope of the song consisted unquestionably in the thought that the Lord would do justice to His people, His servants, and would avenge their blood, even when the strength of the nation should have disappeared (vers. 36 and 43). But this thought, that the Lord would have compassion upon Israel at last, by no means excludes the reception of the heathen into the kingdom of God, as is sufficiently apparent from Rom. ix.-xi. The assertion that this verse refers to the whole nation is quite incorrect. The plural suffixes used throughout in vers. 20 and 21 show clearly that both verses simply refer to those who had fallen away from the Lord; and nowhere throughout the whole song is it assumed, that the whole nation would fall away to the very last man, so that there would be no further remnant of faithful servants of the Lord, to whom the Lord would manifest His favour again. And lastly, it is nowhere affirmed that God would simply use the heathen as a rod against Israel. The reference is solely to enemies and oppressors of Israel; and the chastisement of Israel by foes holds the second, and therefore a subordinate, place among the evils with which God would punish the rebellious. It is true that the heathen are not described as the bride of God in this song, but that is for no other reason than because the idea of moving them to jealousy with a *not-people* is not more fully expanded.

Schultz justly observes, "the expression *no-people* can no more denote a people of monsters, than the *no-god* was a monster, by which Israel had excited the Lord to jealousy." This remark is quite sufficient to show that the opinion of *Ewald* and others is untenable and false, namely, that "the expression *no-people* signifies a truly inhuman people, terrible and repulsive." No-god is a god to whom the predicate of godhead cannot properly be applied; and so also *no-people* is a people that does not deserve the name of a people or nation at all. The further definition of *no-god* is to be found in the word "*vanities*." *No-god* are the idols, who are called vanities or nothingnesses, because they deceive the confidence of men in their divinity; because, as *Jeremiah* says (*Jer. xiv. 22*), they can give no showers of rain or drops of water from heaven. *No-people* is explained by a "foolish nation." A "foolish nation" is the opposite of a wise and understanding people, as Israel is called in *chap. iv. 6*, because it possessed righteous statutes and rights in the law of the Lord. The foolish nation therefore is not "an ungodly nation, which despises all laws both *human* and *divine*" (*Ros., Maur.*), but a people whose laws and rights are not founded upon divine revelation. Consequently the *no-people* is not "a barbarous and inhuman people" (*Ros.*), or "a horde of men that does not deserve to be called a people" (*Maurer*), but a people to which the name of a people or nation is to be refused, because its political and judicial constitution is the work of man, and because it has not the true God for its head and king; or, as *Vitringa* explains, "a people not chosen by the true God, passed by when a people was chosen, shut out from the fellowship and grace of God, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and a stranger from the covenant of promise (*Eph. ii. 12*)." In this respect every heathen nation was a "no-people," even though it might not be behind the Israelites so far as its outward organization was concerned. This explanation cannot be set aside, either by the objection that at that time Israel had brought itself down to the level of the heathen, by its apostasy from the Eternal,—for the notion of people and no-people is not taken from the outward appearance of Israel at any particular time, but is derived from its divine idea and calling,—or by an appeal to the singular, "a foolish nation," whereas we should expect "foolish nations" to correspond to the "vanities," if we were to understand by the *no-people* not one particular heathen nation, but the heathen nations generally. The singular, "a foolish nation," was required

by the antithesis, upon which it is founded, the "wise nation," from which the expression *no-people* first receives its precise definition, which would be altogether obliterated by the plural. Moreover, Moses did not intend to give expression to the thought that God would excite Israel to jealousy by either few, or many, or all the Gentile nations.

In ver. 22, the determination of the Lord with regard to the faithless generation is explained by the threat, that the wrath of the Lord which was kindled against this faithlessness would set the whole world in flames down to the lowest hell. We may see how far the contents of this verse are from favouring the conclusion that "no-people" means a barbarous and inhuman horde, from the difficulty which the supporters of this view have found in dealing with the word 'אֵין. *Ewald* renders it *doch* (yet), in total disregard of the usages of the language; and *Venema*, *certe, profecto* (surely); whilst *Kamphausen* supposes it to be used in a somewhat careless manner. The contents of ver. 22, which are introduced with 'אֵין, by no means harmonize with the thought, "I will send a barbarous and inhuman horde;" whilst the announcement of a judgment setting the whole world in flames may form a very suitable explanation of the thought, that the Lord would excite faithless Israel to jealousy by a "no-people." This judgment, for example, would make the worthlessness of idols and the omnipotence of the God of Israel manifest in all the earth, and would lead the nations to seek refuge and salvation with the living God; and, as we learn from the history of the kingdom of God, and the allusions of the Apostle Paul to this mystery of the divine counsels, the heathen themselves would be the first to do so when they saw all their power and glory falling into ruins, and then the Israelites, when they saw that God had taken the kingdom from them and raised up the heathen who were converted to Him to be His people. The fire in the nose of the Lord is a figurative description of burning wrath and jealousy (*vid.* chap. xxix. 19). The fire signifies really nothing else than His jealousy, His vital energy, and in a certain sense His breath; it therefore naturally burns in the nose (*vid.* Ps. xviii. 9). In this sense the Lord as "a jealous God" is a consuming fire (*vid.* chap. iv. 24, and the exposition of Ex. iii. 2). This fire burns down even to the lower hell. The lower hell, *i.e.* the lowest region of sheol, or the lower regions, forms the strongest contrast to heaven; though we cannot deduce any definite doctrinal conclusions from the expression as to the existence of more hells than one. This fire "consumes the

earth with its increase," *i.e.* all its vegetable productions, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains. This description is not a hyperbolical picture of the judgment which was to fall upon the children of Israel alone (*Kamphausen, Aben-Ezra*, etc.); for it is a mistake to suppose that the judgment foretold affected the Israelitish nation only. The thought is weakened by the assumption that the language is hyperbolical. The words are not intended to foretell one particular penal judgment, but refer to judgment in its totality and universality, as realized in the course of centuries in different judgments upon the nations, and only to be completely fulfilled at the end of the world. *Calvin* is right therefore when he says, "As the indignation and anger of God follow His enemies to hell, to eternal flames and infernal tortures, so they devour their land with its produce, and burn the foundations of the mountains; . . . there is no necessity therefore to imagine that there is any hyperbole in the words, 'to the lower hell.'" This judgment is then depicted in vers. 23-33 as it would discharge itself upon rebellious Israel.

Ver. 23. "*I will heap up evils upon them, use up My arrows against them.*" The evils threatened against the despisers of the Lord and His commandments would be poured out in great abundance by the Lord upon the foolish generation. הִפִּיל, to add one upon the other (*vid.* Num. xxxii. 14); hence in *Hiphil* to heap up, sweep together. These evils are represented in the second clause of the verse as arrows, which the Lord as a warrior would shoot away at His foes (as in ver. 42; cf. Ps. xxxviii. 3, xci. 5; Job vi. 4). בָּלָה, to bring to an end, to use up to the very last.—Ver. 24. "*Have they wasted away with hunger, are they consumed with pestilential heat and bitter plague: I will let loose the tooth of beasts upon them, with the poison of things that crawl in the dust.*"—Ver. 25. "*If the sword without shall sweep them away, and in the chambers of terrors, the young man as the maiden, the suckling with the grey-haired man.*" The evils mentioned are hunger, pestilence, plague, wild beasts, poisonous serpents, and war. The first hemistich in ver. 24 contains simply nouns construed absolutely, which may be regarded as a kind of circumstantial clause. The literal meaning is, "With regard to those who are starved with hunger, etc., I will send against them;" *i.e.* when hunger, pestilence, plague, have brought them to the verge of destruction, I will send, etc. מָוֶה, construct state of מָוֶה, ἀπ. λεγ., with which *Cocceius* compares מִצָּה and מִצָּה, to suck out, and for which *Schultens* has cited analogies from the Arabic. "Sucked out by hunger," *i.e.* wasted away.

“Tooth of beasts and poison of serpents:” poetical for beasts of prey and poisonous animals. See Lev. xxvi. 22, where wild beasts are mentioned as a plague along with pestilence, famine, and sword.—Ver. 25. These are accompanied by the evils of war, which sweeps away the men outside in the slaughter itself by the sword, and the defenceless—viz. youths and maidens, sucklings and old men—in the chambers by alarm. אִימָה is a sudden mortal terror, and *Knobel* is wrong in applying it to hunger and plague. The use of the verb שָׁבַל, to make childless, is to be explained on the supposition that the nation or land is personified as a mother, whose children are the members of the nation, old and young together. Ezekiel has taken the four grievous judgments out of these two verses: sword, famine, wild beasts, and pestilence (Ezek. xiv. 21: see also v. 17, and Jer. xv. 2, 3).

Vers. 26 and 27. “*I should say, I will blow them away, I will blot out the remembrance of them among men; if I did not fear wrath upon the enemy, that their enemies might mistake it, that they might say, Our hand was high, and Jehovah has not done all this.*” The meaning is, that the people would have deserved to be utterly destroyed, and it was only for His own name’s sake that God abstained from utter destruction. אֶמְרָתִי to be construed conditionally requires לֹא־אִלֵּי: if I did not fear (as actually was the case) I should resolve to destroy them, without leaving a trace behind. “*I should say,*” used to denote the purpose of God, like “he said” in ver. 20. The ἀπ. λεγ. אֶפְאַיֶּהֶם, which has been rendered in very different ways, cannot be regarded, as it is by the Rabbins, as a *denom.* verb from פָּאַה, a corner; and *Calvin’s* rendering, “to scatter through corners,” does not suit the context; whilst the meaning, “to cast or scare out of all corners,” cannot be deduced from this derivation. The context requires the signification to annihilate, as the remembrance of them was to vanish from the earth. We get this meaning if we trace it to פָּאַה, to blow,—related to פָּעַה (Isa. xlii. 14) and פָּהַה, from which comes פָּה,—in the Hiphil “to blow away,” not to blow asunder. הִשְׁבִּית, not “to cause to rest,” but to cause to cease, *delere* (as in Amos viii. 4). “*Wrath upon the enemy,*” i.e. “displeasure on the part of God at the arrogant boasting of the enemy, which was opposed to the glory of God” (*Vitringa*). פֶּן, lest, after נֹרָא, to fear. On this reason for sparing Israel, see chap. ix. 28; Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13 sqq.; Isa. x. 5 sqq. *Enemy* is a generic term, hence it is followed by the plural. נִכְרַה, Piel, to find strange, *sc.* the destruction of Israel, i.e. to mistake the reason for it, or, as is shown

by what follows, to ascribe the destruction of Israel to themselves and their own power, whereas it had been the work of God. "*Our hand was high*," *i.e.* has lifted itself up or shown itself mighty, an intentional play upon the "high hand" of the Lord (Ex. xiv. 8; cf. Isa. xxvi. 11).—The reason why Israel did not deserve to be spared is given in ver. 28: "*For a people forsaken of counsel are they, and there is not understanding in them.*" "Forsaken of counsel," *i.e.* utterly destitute of counsel.

This want of understanding on the part of Israel is still further expounded in vers. 29-32, where the words of God pass imperceptibly into the words of Moses, who feels impelled once more to impress the word which the Lord had spoken upon the hearts of the people.—Vers. 29-31. "*If they were wise, they would understand this, would consider their end. Ah, how could one pursue a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, were it not that their Rock had sold them, and Jehovah had given them up! For their rock is not as our rock; of that our enemies are judges.*" לֹא presupposes a case, which is either known not to exist, or of which this is assumed; "if they were wise," which they are not. "*This*" refers to the leading thought of the whole, viz. that apostasy from God the Lord is sure to be followed by the severest judgment. "*Their end*," as in ver. 20, the end towards which the people were going through obstinate perseverance in their sin, *i.e.* utter destruction, if the Lord did not avert it for His name's sake.—Ver. 30. If Israel were wise, it could easily conquer all its foes in the power of its God (*vid.* Lev. xxvi. 8); but as it had forsaken the Lord its rock, He, their (Israel's) rock, had given them up into the power of the foe. לֹא לֹא is more emphatic or distinct than לֹא only, and introduces an exception which does not permit the desired event to take place. Israel could have put all its enemies to flight were it not that its God had given it entirely up to them (sold them as slaves). The supposition that this had already occurred by no means proves, as *Kamphausen* believes, "that the poet was speaking of the existing state of the nation," but merely that Moses thinks of the circumstances as certain to occur when the people should have forsaken their God. The past implied in the verbs "sold" and "given up" is a prophetically ideal past or present, but not a real and historical one. The assertion of *Hupfeld* and *Kamphausen*, that מָכַר, as used with special reference to the giving up of a nation into the power of the heathen, "belongs to a somewhat later usage of the language," is equally groundless.—Ver. 31. The giving up

of Israel into the power of the heathen arose, not from the superior power of the heathen and their gods, but solely from the apostasy of Israel from its own God. "Our rock," as Moses calls the Lord, identifying himself with the nation, is not as their rock, *i.e.* the gods in whom the heathen trust. That the pronoun in "*their* rock" refers to the heathen, is so perfectly obvious from the antithesis "*our* rock," that there cannot possibly be any doubt about it. The second hemistich in ver. 30 contains a circumstantial clause, introduced to strengthen the thought which precedes it. The heathen themselves could be arbitrators (*vid.* Ex. xxi. 22), and decide whether the gods of the heathen were not powerless before the God of Israel. "Having experienced so often the formidable might of God, they knew for a certainty that the God of Israel was very different from their own idols" (*Calvin*). The objection offered by *Schultz*, namely, that "the heathen would not admit that their idols were inferior to Jehovah, and actually denied this at the time when they had the upper hand (Isa. x. 10, 11)," has been quite anticipated by *Calvin*, when he observes that Moses "leaves the decision to the unbelievers, not as if they would speak the truth, but because he knew that they must be convinced by experience." As a confirmation of this, *Luther* and others refer not only to the testimony of Balaam (Num. xxiii. and xxiv.), but also to the Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 25) and Philistines (1 Sam. v. 7 sqq.), to which we may add Josh. ii. 9, 10.

Vers. 32 and 33. "*For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their grapes are poisonous grapes, bitter clusters have they. Dragon-poison is their wine, and dreadful venom of asps.*" The connection is pointed out by *Calovius* thus: "Moses returns to the Jews, showing why, although the rock of the Jews was very different from the gods of the Gentiles, even according to the testimony of the heathen themselves, who were their foes, they were nevertheless to be put to flight by their enemies and sold; and why Jehovah sold them, namely, *because their vine* was of the vine of Sodom, *i.e.* of the very worst kind, resembling the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, as if they were descended from them, and not from their holy patriarchs." The "*for*" in ver. 32 is neither co-ordinate nor subordinate to that in ver. 31. To render it as subordinate would give no intelligible meaning; and the supposition that it is co-ordinate is precluded by the fact, that in that case vers. 32 and 33 would contain a description of the corruptions of the heathen. The objections to this view have been thus expressed

by *Schultz* with perfect justice : “ It is *à priori* inconceivable, that in so short an ode there should be so elaborate a digression on the subject of the heathen, seeing that their folly is altogether foreign to the theme of the whole.” To this we may add, that throughout the Old Testament it is the moral corruption and ungodliness of the Israelites, and never the vices of the heathen, that are compared to the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah. The Israelites who were forsaken by the Lord, were designated by *Isaiah* (i. 10) as a people of Gomorrah, and their rulers as rulers of Sodom (cf. *Isa.* iii. 9) ; the inhabitants of Jerusalem were all of them like Sodom and Gomorrah (*Jer.* xxiii. 14) ; and the sin of Jerusalem was greater than that of Sodom (*Ezek.* xvi. 46 sqq.). The only sense in which the “ for ” in ver. 32 can be regarded as co-ordinate to that in ver. 31, is on the supposition that the former gives the reason for the thought in ver. 30*b*, whilst the latter serves to support the idea in ver. 30*a*. The order of thought is the following : Israel would have been able to smite its foes with very little difficulty, because the gods of the heathen are not a rock like Jehovah ; but Jehovah had given up His people to the heathen, because it had brought forth fruits like Sodom, *i.e.* had resembled Sodom in its wickedness. The vine and its fruits are figurative terms, applied to the nation and its productions. “ The nation was not only a degenerate, but also a poisonous vine, producing nothing but what was deadly ” (*Calvin*). This figure is expanded still further by *Isa.* v. 2 sqq. Israel was a vineyard planted by Jehovah, that it might bring forth good fruits, instead of which it brought forth wild grapes (*vid.* *Jer.* ii. 21 ; *Ps.* lxxx. 9 sqq. ; *Hos.* x. 1). “ Their vine ” is the Israelites themselves, their nature being compared to a vine which had degenerated as much as if it had been an offshoot of a Sodomitish vine. שָׂדֵמַת, the construct state of שָׂדֵמַת, floors, fields. The grapes of this vine are worse than wild grapes, they are bitter, poisonous grapes.—Ver. 33. The wine of these grapes is snake-poison. *Tannin* : see *Ex.* vii. 9, 10. *Pethen* : the asp or adder, one of the most poisonous kinds of snake, whose bite was immediately fatal (*vid.* *Rosenmüller, bibl. Althk.* iv. 2, pp. 364 sqq.). These figures express the thought, that “ nothing could be imagined worse, or more to be abhorred, than that nation ” (*Calvin*). Now although this comparison simply refers to the badness of Israel, the thought of the penal judgment that fell upon Sodom lies behind. “ They imitate the Sodomites, they bring forth the worst fruits of all impiety, they deserve to perish like Sodom ” (*J. H. Michaelis*).

The description of this judgment commences in ver. 34. Israel had deserved for its corruption to be destroyed from the earth (ver. 26); yet for His name's sake the Lord would have compassion upon it, when it was so humiliated with its heavy punishments that its strength was coming to an end.—Ver. 34. “*Is not this hidden with Me, sealed up in My treasures?*” The allusion in this verse has been disputed; many refer it to what goes before, others to what follows after. There is some truth in both. The verse forms the transition, closing what precedes, and introducing what follows. The assertion that the figure of preserving in the treasures precludes the supposition that “*this*” refers to what follows, cannot be sustained. For although in Hos. xiii. 12, and Job xiv. 17, the binding and sealing of sins in a bundle are spoken of, yet it is very evident from Ps. cxxxix. 16, Mal. iii. 16, and Dan. vii. 10, that not only the evil doings of men, but their days generally, *i.e.* not only their deeds, but the things which happen to them, are written in a book before God. *O. v. Gerlach* has explained it correctly: “All these things have been decreed long ago; their coming is infallibly certain.” “*This*” includes not only the sins of the nation, but also the judgments of God. The apostasy of Israel, as well as the consequent punishment, is laid up with God—sealed up in His treasures—and therefore they have not yet actually occurred: an evident proof that we have prophecy before us, and not the description of an apostasy that had already taken place, and of the punishment inflicted in consequence. The ἀπ. λεγ. סִמְּךָ in this connection signifies to lay up, preserve, conceal, although the etymology is disputed. The figure in the second hemistich is not taken from secret archives, but from treasures or stores, in which whatever was to be preserved was to be laid up, to be taken out in due time.

Vers. 35 and 36. “*Vengeance is Mine, and retribution for the time when their foot shall shake: for the day of their destruction is near, and that which is determined for them cometh hastily. For the Lord will judge His people, and have compassion upon His servants, when He seeth that every hold has disappeared, and the fettered and the free are gone.*”—The Lord will punish the sins of His people in due time. “Vengeance is Mine:” it belongs to Me, it is My part to inflict. שְׁלֹם is a noun here for the usual שְׁלֹם, retribution (*vid. Ewald*, § 156, *b.*). The shaking of the foot is a figure representing the commencement of a fall, or of stumbling (*vid. Ps. xxxviii. 17, xciv. 18*). The thought in this clause is not, “At or

towards the time when their misfortune begins, I will plunge them into the greatest calamity," as *Kamphausen* infers from the fact that the shaking denotes the beginning of the calamity; and yet the vengeance can only be completed by plunging them into calamity,—a thought which he justly regards as unsuitable, though he resorts to emendations of the text in consequence. But the supposed unsuitability vanishes, if we simply regard the words, "Vengeance is Mine, and retribution," not as the mere announcement of a quality founded in the nature of God, and residing in God Himself, but as an expression of the divine energy, with this signification, I will manifest Myself as an avenger and recompenser, when their foot shall shake. Then what had hitherto been hidden with God, lay sealed up as it were in His treasures, should come to light, and be made manifest to the sinful nation. God would not delay in this; for the day of their destruction was near. וְאֵל signifies misfortune, and sometimes utter destruction. The primary meaning of the word cannot be determined with certainty. That it does not mean utter destruction, we may see from the parallel clause. "The things that shall come upon them," await them, or are prepared for them, are, according to the context, both in ver. 26 and also in vers. 36 sqq., not destruction, but simply a calamity or penal judgment that would bring them near to utter destruction. Again, these words do not relate to the punishment of "the wicked deeds of the inhuman horde," or the vengeance of God upon the enemies of Israel (*Ewald, Kamphausen*), but to the vengeance or retribution which God would inflict upon Israel. This is evident, apart from what has been said above against the application of vers. 33, 34, to the heathen, simply from ver. 36b, which unquestionably refers to Israel, and has been so interpreted by every commentator.—The first clause is quoted in Rom. xii. 19 and Heb. x. 30, in the former to warn against self-revenge, in the latter to show the energy with which God will punish those who fall away from the faith, in connection with ver. 36a, "the Lord will judge His people."—In ver. 36 the reason is given for the thought in ver. 35. וְיָצַד is mostly taken here in the sense of "procure right," help to right, which it certainly often has (*e.g.* Ps. liv. 3), and which is not to be excluded here; but this by no means exhausts the idea of the word. The parallel וְיִשְׁפֹּט does not compel us to drop the idea of punishment, which is involved in the judging; for it is a question whether the two clauses are perfectly synonymous. "Judging His people" did not consist merely in the fact that Jehovah punished

the heathen who oppressed Israel, but also in the fact that He punished the wicked in Israel who oppressed the righteous. "His people" is no doubt Israel as a whole (as, for example, in Isa. i. 3), but this whole was composed of righteous and wicked, and God could only help the righteous to justice by punishing and destroying the wicked. In this way the judging of His people became compassion towards His servants. "His servants" are the righteous, or, speaking more correctly, all who in the time of judgment are found to be the servants of God, and are saved. Because Israel was His nation, the Lord judged it in such a manner as not to destroy it, but simply to punish it for its sins, and to have compassion upon His servants, when He saw that the strength of the nation was gone. יָד, the hand, with which one grasps and works, is a figure employed to denote power and might (*vid.* Isa. xxviii. 2). הָלַךְ, to run out, or come to an end (1 Sam. ix. 7; Job xiv. 11). The meaning is, "when every support is gone," when all the rotten props of its might, upon which it has rested, are broken (*Ewald*). The noun אָפַס, cessation, disappearance, takes the place of a verb. The words עָצַר וְעָוִיב are a proverbial phrase used to denote all men, as we may clearly see from 1 Kings xiv. 10, xxi. 21; 2 Kings iv. 8, xiv. 6. The literal meaning of this form, however, cannot be decided with certainty. The explanation given by *L. de Dieu* is the most plausible one, viz. the man who is fettered, restrained, i.e. married, and the single or free. For עָוִיב the meaning *caelebs* is established by the Arabic, though the Arabic can hardly be appealed to as proving that עָצַר means *paterfamilias*, as this meaning, which *Roediger* assigns to the Arabic word, is founded upon a mistaken interpretation of a passage in *Kamus*.

Vers. 37-39. The Lord would then convince His people of the worthlessness of idols and the folly of idolatry, and bring it to admit the fact that He was God alone. "Then will He say, Where are their gods, the rock in whom they trusted; who consumed the fat of their burnt-offerings, the wine of their libations? Let them rise up and help you, that there may be a shelter over you! See now that I, I am it, and there is no God beside Me: I kill, and make alive; I smite in pieces, and I heal; and there is no one who delivers out of My hand." אָמַר might be taken impersonally, as it has been by *Luther* and others, "men will say;" but as it is certainly Jehovah who is speaking in ver. 39, and what Jehovah says there is simply a deduction from what is addressed to the people in vers. 37 and 38, there can hardly be any doubt that Jehovah is speaking in vers.

37, 38, as well as in vers. 34, 35, and therefore that Moses simply distinguishes himself from Jehovah in ver. 36, when explaining the reason for the judgment foretold by the Lord. The expression, “*their* gods,” relates, not to the heathen, but to the Israelites, upon whom the judgment had fallen. The worthlessness of their gods had become manifest, namely, of the strange gods or idols, which the Israelites had preferred to the living God (*vid.* vers. 16, 17), and to which they had brought their sacrifices and drink-offerings. In ver. 38, אֱלֹהִים is the subject,—the gods, who consumed the fat of the sacrifices offered to them by their worshippers (the foolish Israelites),—and is not to be taken as the relative with וְכִימוֹ, as the LXX., *Vulg.*, and *Luther* have rendered it, viz. “whose sacrifices they (the Israelites) ate,” which neither suits the context nor the word חֵלֶב (fat), which denotes the fat portions of the sacrificial animals that were burned upon the altar, and therefore presented to God. The wine of the drink-offerings was also poured out upon the altar, and thus given up to the deity worshipped. The handing over of the sacrificial portions to the deity is described here with holy irony, as though the gods themselves consumed the fat of the slain offerings, and drank the wine poured out for them, for the purpose of expressing this thought: “The gods, whom ye entertained so well, and provided so abundantly with sacrifices, let them now arise and help you, and thus make themselves clearly known to you.” The address here takes the form of a direct appeal to the idolaters themselves; and in the last clause the imperative is introduced instead of the optative, to express the thought as sharply as possible, that men need the protection of God, and are warranted in expecting it from the gods they worship: “let there be a shelter over you.” *Sithrah* for *sether*, a shelter or defence.—Ver. 39. The appeal to their own experience of the worthlessness of idols is followed by a demand that they should acknowledge Jehovah as the only true God. The repetition of “*I*” is emphatic: “*I, I only it*,” as an expression of being; *I am it*, ἐγὼ εἰμι, John viii. 24, xviii. 5. The predicate *Elohim* (*vid.* 2 Sam. vii. 28; Isa. xxxvii. 16) is omitted, because it is contained in the thought itself, and moreover is clearly expressed in the parallel clause which follows, “there is not a God beside Me.” Jehovah manifests Himself in His doings, which Israel had experienced already, and still continued to experience. He kills and makes alive, etc., *i.e.* He has the power of life and death. These words do not refer to the immortality of the soul, but to the restoration to life of the people of Israel, which

God had delivered up to death (so 1 Sam. ii. 6 ; 2 Kings v. 7 ; cf. Isa. xxvi. 19 ; Hos. xiii. 10 ; Wisd. xvi. 13 ; Tobit xiii. 2). This thought, and the following one, which is equally consolatory, that God smites and heals again, are frequently repeated by the prophets (*vid.* Hos. vi. 1 ; Isa. xxx. 26, lvii. 17, 18 ; Jer. xvii. 14). None can deliver out of His hand (*vid.* Isa. xliii. 13 ; Hos. v. 14, ii. 12).

Vers. 40–43. The Lord will show Himself as the only true God, who slays and makes alive, etc. He will take vengeance upon His enemies, avenge the blood of His servants, and expiate His land, His people. With this promise, which is full of comfort for all the servants of the Lord, the ode concludes. “*For I lift up My hand to heaven, and say, As truly as I live for ever, if I have sharpened My flashing sword, and My hand grasps for judgment, I will repay vengeance to My adversaries, and requite My haters. I will make My arrows drunk with blood, and My sword will eat flesh ; with the blood of the slain and prisoners, with the hairy head of the foe.*” Lifting up the hand to heaven was a gesture by which a person taking an oath invoked God, who is enthroned in heaven, as a witness of the truth and an avenger of falsehood (Gen. xiv. 22). Here, as in Ex. vi. 8 and Num. xiv. 30, it is used anthropomorphically of God, who is in heaven, and can swear by no greater than Himself (*vid.* Isa. xlv. 23 ; Jer. xxii. 5 ; Heb. vi. 17). The oath follows in vers. 41 and 42. ׀, however, is not the particle employed in swearing, which has a negative meaning (*vid.* Gen. xiv. 23), but is conditional, and introduces the protasis. As the avenger of His people upon their foes, the Lord is represented as a warlike hero, who whets His sword, and has a quiver filled with arrows (as in Ps. vii. 13). “As long as the Church has to make war upon the world, the flesh, and the devil, it needs a warlike head” (*Schultz*). בֶּרֶק הָרֶבֶב, the flash of the sword, *i.e.* the flashing sword (*vid.* Gen. iii. 24 ; Nahum iii. 3 ; Hab. iii. 11). In the next clause, “and My hand grasps judgment,” *mishpat* (judgment) does not mean punishment or destruction hurled by God upon His foes, nor the weapons employed in the execution of judgment, but judgment is introduced poetically as the thing which God takes in hand for the purpose of carrying it out. הָשִׁיב נָקָם, to lead back vengeance, *i.e.* to repay it. Punishment is retribution for evil done. By the enemies and haters of Jehovah we need not understand simply the heathen enemies of the Israelites, for the ungodly in Israel were enemies of God quite as much as the ungodly heathen. If it is evident from vers. 25–27, where God is spoken of as punishing Israel to the utmost when it had fallen

into idolatry, but not utterly destroying it, that the punishment which God would inflict would also fall upon the heathen, who would have made an end of Israel; it is no less apparent from vers. 37 and 38, especially from the appeal in ver. 38, Let your idols arise and help you (ver. 38), which is addressed, as all admit, to the idolatrous Israelites, and not to the heathen, that those Israelites who had made worthless idols their rock would be exposed to the vengeance and retribution of the Lord. In ver. 42 the figure of the warrior is revived, and the judgment of God is carried out still further under this figure. Of the four different clauses in this verse, the third is related to the first, and the fourth to the second. God would make His arrows drunk with the blood not only of the slain, but also of the captives, whose lives are generally spared, but were not to be spared in this judgment. This sword would eat flesh of the hairy head of the foe. The edge of the sword is represented poetically as the mouth with which it eats (2 Sam. ii. 26, xviii. 8, etc.); "the sword is said to devour bodies when it slays them by piercing" (*Ges. thes.* p. 1088). פָּרַעַת, from פָּרַע, a luxuriant, uncut growth of hair (Num. vi. 5; see at Lev. x. 6). The hairy head is not a figure used to denote the "wild and cruel foe" (*Knobel*), but a luxuriant abundance of strength, and the indomitable pride of the foe, who had grown fat and forgotten his Creator (ver. 15). This explanation is confirmed by Ps. lxxviii. 22; whereas the rendering ἀρχοντες, princes, leaders, which is given in the Septuagint, has no foundation in the language itself, and no tenable support in Judg. v. 2.—Ver. 43. For this retribution which God accomplishes upon His enemies, the nations were to praise the people of the Lord. As this song commenced with an appeal to heaven and earth to give glory to the Lord (vers. 1-3), so it very suitably closes with an appeal to the heathen to rejoice with His people on account of the acts of the Lord. "Rejoice, nations, over His people; for He avenges the blood of His servants, and repays vengeance to His adversaries, and so expiates His land, His people." "His people" is an accusative, and not in apposition to nations in the sense of "nations which are His people." For, apart from the fact that such a combination would be unnatural, the thought that the heathen had become the people of God is nowhere distinctly expressed in the song (not even in ver. 21); nor is the way even so prepared for it as that we could expect it here, although the appeal to the nations to rejoice with His people on account of what God had done involves the Messianic idea, that all nations will come to the knowledge of

the Lord (*vid.* Ps. xlvii. 2, lxvi. 8, lxvii. 4).—The reason for this rejoicing is the judgment through which the Lord avenges the blood of His servants and repays His foes. As the enemies of God are not the heathen as such (see at ver. 41), so the servants of Jehovah are not the nation of Israel as a whole, but the faithful servants whom the Lord had at all times among His people, and who were persecuted, oppressed, and put to death by the ungodly. By this the land was defiled, covered with blood-guiltiness, so that the Lord was obliged to interpose as a judge, to put an end to the ways of the wicked, and to expiate His land, His people, *i.e.* to wipe out the guilt which rested upon the land and people, by the punishment of the wicked, and the extermination of idolatry and ungodliness, and to sanctify and glorify the land and nation (*vid.* Isa. i. 27, iv. 4, 5).

In vers. 44–47 it is stated that Moses, with Joshua, spake the song to the people; and on finishing this rehearsal, once more impressed upon the hearts of the people the importance of observing all the commandments of God. This account proceeds from the author of the supplement to the *Thorah* of Moses, who inserted the song in the book of the law. This explains the name Hoshea, instead of *Jehoshuah* (Joshua), which Moses had given to his servant (Num. xiii. 8, 16), and invariably uses (compare chap. xxxi. 3, 7, 14, 23, with chap. i. 38, iii. 21, 28, and the exposition of Num. xiii. 16).—On ver. 46, *vid.* chap. vi. 7 and xi. 19; and on ver. 47, *vid.* chap. xxx. 20.

Vers. 48–52. “*That self-same day*,” viz. the day upon which Moses had rehearsed the song to the children of Israel, the Lord renewed the announcement of his death, by repeating the command already given to him (Num. xxvii. 12–14) to ascend Mount Nebo, there to survey the land of Canaan, and then to be gathered unto his people. In form, this repetition differs from the previous announcement, partly in the fact that the situation of Mount Nebo is more fully described (in the land of Moab, etc., as in chap. i. 5, xxviii. 69), and partly in the continual use of the imperative, and a few other trifling points. These differences may all be explained from the fact that the account here was not written by Moses himself.

MOSES' BLESSING.—CHAP. XXXIII.

Before ascending Mount Nebo to depart this life, Moses took leave of his people, the tribes of Israel, in the blessing which is

very fittingly inserted in the book of the law between the divine announcement of his approaching death and the account of the death itself, as being the last words of the departing man of God. The blessing opens with an allusion to the solemn conclusion of the covenant and giving of the law at Sinai, by which the Lord became King of Israel, to indicate at the outset the source from which all blessings must flow to Israel (vers. 2-5). Then follow the separate blessings upon the different tribes (vers. 6-25). And the whole concludes with an utterance of praise to the Lord, as the mighty support and refuge of His people in their conflicts with all their foes (vers. 26-29). This blessing was not written down by Moses himself, like the song in chap. xxxii., but simply pronounced in the presence of the assembled tribes. This is evident, not only from the fact that there is nothing said about its being committed to writing, but also from the heading in ver. 1, where the editor clearly distinguishes himself from Moses, by speaking of Moses as "the man of God," like Caleb in Josh. xiv. 6, and the author of the heading to the prayer of Moses in Ps. xc. 1. In later times, "man of God" was the title usually given to a prophet (*vid.* 1 Sam. ix. 6; 1 Kings xii. 22, xiii. 14, etc.), as a man who enjoyed direct intercourse with God, and received supernatural revelations from Him. Nevertheless, we have Moses' own words, not only in the blessings upon the several tribes (vers. 6-25), but also in the introduction and conclusion of the blessing (vers. 2-5 and 26-29). The introductory words before the blessings, such as "and this for Judah" in ver. 7, "and to Levi he said" (ver. 8), and the similar formulas in vers. 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, and 24, are the only additions made by the editor who inserted the blessing in the Pentateuch. The arrangement of the blessings in their present order is probably also his work. It neither accords with the respective order of the sons of Jacob, nor with the distribution of the tribes in the camp, nor with the situation of their possessions in the land of Canaan. It is true that Reuben stands first as the eldest son of Jacob; but Simeon is then passed over, and Judah, to whom the dying patriarch bequeathed the birthright which he withdrew from Reuben, stands next; and then Levi, the priestly tribe. Then follow Benjamin and Joseph, the sons of Rachel; Zebulun and Issachar, the last sons of Leah (in both cases the younger before the elder); and lastly, the tribes descended from the sons of the maids: Gad, the son of Zilpah; Dan and Naphtali, the sons of Bilhah; and finally, Asher, the second son of Zilpah. To discover the guiding prin

ciple in this arrangement, we must look to the blessings themselves, which indicate partly the position already obtained by each tribe, as a member of the whole nation, in the earthly kingdom of God, and partly the place which it was to reach and occupy in the further development of Israel in the future, not only in relation to the Lord, but also in relation to the other nations. The only exception to this is the position assigned to Reuben, who occupies the foremost place as the first-born, notwithstanding his loss of the birth-right. In accordance with this principle, the first place properly belonged to the tribe of Judah, who was raised into the position of lord over his brethren, and the second to the tribe of Levi, which had been set apart to take charge of the sacred things; whilst Benjamin is associated with Levi as the "beloved of the Lord." Then follow Joseph, as the representative of the might which Israel would manifest in conflict with the nations; Zebulun and Issachar, as the tribes which would become the channels of blessings to the nations through their wealth in earthly good; and lastly, the tribes descended from the sons of the maids, Asher being separated from his brother Gad, and placed at the end, in all probability simply because it was in the blessing promised to him that the earthly blessedness of the people of God was to receive its fullest manifestation.

On comparing the blessing of Moses with that of Jacob, we should expect at the very outset, that if the blessings of these two men of God have really been preserved to us, and they are not later inventions, their contents would be essentially the same, so that the blessing of Moses would contain simply a confirmation of that of the dying patriarch, and would be founded upon it in various ways. This is most conspicuous in the blessing upon Joseph; but there are also several other blessings in which it is unmistakeable, although Moses' blessing is not surpassed in independence and originality by that of Jacob, either in its figures, its similes, or its thoughts. But the resemblance goes much deeper. It is manifest, for example, in the fact, that in the case of several of the tribes, Moses, like Jacob, does nothing more than expound their names, and on the ground of the peculiar characters expressed in the names, foretell to the tribes themselves their peculiar calling and future development within the covenant nation. Consequently we have nowhere any special predictions, but simply prophetic glances at the future, depicted in a purely ideal manner, whilst in the case of most of the tribes the utter want of precise information concerning their future history

prevents us from showing in what way they were fulfilled. The difference in the times at which the two blessings were uttered is also very apparent. The existing circumstances from which Moses surveyed the future history of the tribes of Israel in the light of divine revelation, were greatly altered from the time when Jacob blessed the heads of the twelve tribes before his death, in the persons of his twelve sons. These tribes had now grown into a numerous people, with which the Lord had established the covenant that He had made with the patriarchs. The curse of dispersion in Israel, which the patriarch had pronounced upon Simeon and Levi (Gen. xlix. 5-7), had been changed into a blessing so far as Levi was concerned. The tribe of Levi had been entrusted with the "light and right" of the Lord, had been called to be the teacher of the rights and law of God in Israel, because it had preserved the covenant of the Lord, after the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, even though it involved the denial of flesh and blood. Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh had already received their inheritance, and the other tribes were to take possession of Canaan immediately. These circumstances formed the starting-point for the blessings of Moses, not only in the case of Levi and Gad, where they are expressly mentioned, but in that of the other tribes also, where they do not stand prominently forward, because for the most part Moses simply repeats the leading features of their future development in their promised inheritance, as already indicated in the blessing of Jacob, and "thus bore his testimony to the patriarch who anticipated him, that the spirit of his prophecy was truth" (*Ziegler*, p. 159).

In this peculiar characteristic of the blessing of Moses, we have the strongest proof of its authenticity, particularly in the fact that there is not the slightest trace of the historical circumstances of the nation at large and the separate tribes which were peculiar to the post-Mosaic times. The little ground that there is for the assertion which *Knobel* repeats, that the blessing betrays a closer acquaintance with the post-Mosaic times, such as Moses himself could not possibly have possessed, is sufficiently evident from the totally different expositions which have been given by the different commentators of the saying concerning Judah in ver. 7, which is adduced in proof of this. Whilst *Knobel* finds the desire expressed in this verse on behalf of Judah, that David, who had fled from Saul, might return, obtain possession of the government, and raise his tribe into the royal tribe, *Graf* imagines that it expresses the longing of the kingdom of Judah for reunion with that of Israel;

and *Hofmann* and *Maurer* even trace an allusion to the inhabitants of Judea who were led into captivity along with Jehoiachin : one assumption being just as arbitrary and as much opposed to the text as the other.—All the objections brought against the genuineness of this blessing are founded upon an oversight or denial of its prophetic character, and upon untenable interpretations of particular expressions abstracted from it. Not only is there no such thing in the whole blessing as a distinct reference to the peculiar historical circumstances of Israel which arose after Moses' death, but there are some points in the picture which Moses has drawn of the tribes that it is impossible to recognise in these circumstances. Even *Knobel* from his naturalistic stand-point is obliged to admit, that no traces can be found in the song of any allusion to the calamities which fell upon the nation in the Syrian, Assyrian, and Chaldæan periods. And hitherto it has proved equally impossible to point out any distinct allusion to the circumstances of the nation in the period of the judges. On the contrary, as *Schultz* observes, the speaker rises throughout to a height of ideality which it would have been no longer possible for any sacred author to reach, when the confusions and divisions of a later age had actually taken place. He sees nothing of the calamities from without, which fell upon the nation again and again with destructive fury, nothing of the Canaanites who still remained in the midst of the Israelites, and nothing of the hostility of the different tribes towards one another ; he simply sees how they work together in the most perfect harmony, each contributing his part to realize the lofty ideal of Israel. And again he grasps this ideal and the realization of it in so elementary a way, and so thoroughly from the outer side, without regard to any inward transformation and glorification, that he must have lived in a time preceding the prophetic age, and before the moral conflicts had taken place.

Vers. 2-5. In the introduction Moses depicts the elevation of Israel into the nation of God, in its origin (ver. 2), its nature (ver. 3), its intention and its goal (vers. 4, 5).—Ver. 2. "*Jehovah came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them ; He shone from the mountains of Paran, and came out of holy myriads, at His right rays of fire to them.*" To set forth the glory of the covenant which God made with Israel, Moses depicts the majesty and glory in which the Lord appeared to the Israelites at Sinai, to give them the law, and become their king. The three clauses, "Jehovah came from Sinai . . . from Seir . . . from the mountains of Paran," do

not refer to different manifestations of God (*Knobel*), but to the one appearance of God at Sinai. Like the sun when it rises, and fills the whole of the broad horizon with its beams, the glory of the Lord, when He appeared, was not confined to one single point, but shone upon the people of Israel from Sinai, and Seir, and the mountains of Paran, as they came from the west to Sinai. The Lord appeared to the people from the summit of Sinai, as they lay encamped at the foot of the mountain. This appearance rose like a streaming light from Seir, and shone at the same time from the mountains of Paran. *Seir* is the mountain land of the Edomites to the east of Sinai; and the mountains of Paran are in all probability not the mountains of *et-Tih*, which form the southern boundary of the desert of Paran, but rather the mountains of the Azazimeh, which ascend to a great height above Kadesh, and form the boundary wall of Canaan towards the south. The glory of the Lord, who appeared upon Sinai, sent its beams even to the eastern and northern extremities of the desert. This manifestation of God formed the basis for all subsequent manifestations of the omnipotence and grace of the Lord for the salvation of His people. This explains the allusions to the description before us in the song of Deborah (*Judg.* v. 4) and in *Hab.* iii. 3.—The Lord came not only from Sinai, but from heaven, “out of holy myriads,” *i.e.* out of the midst of the thousands of holy angels who surround His throne (*1 Kings* xxii. 19; *Job* i. 6; *Dan.* vii. 10), and who are introduced in *Gen.* xxviii. 12 as His holy servants, and in *Gen.* xxxii. 2, 3, as the hosts of God, and form the assembly of holy ones around His throne (*Ps.* lxxxix. 6, 8; *cf.* *Ps.* lxviii. 18; *Zech.* xiv. 5; *Matt.* xxvi. 53; *Heb.* xii. 22; *Rev.* v. 11, vii. 11).—The last clause is a difficult one. The writing אֵשׁ דָּת in two words, “fire of the law,” not only fails to give a suitable sense, but has against it the fact that דָּת, law, *edictum*, is not even a Semitic word, but was adopted from the Persian into the Chaldee, and that it is only by Gentiles that it is ever applied to the law of God (*Ezra* vii. 12, 21, 25, 26; *Dan.* vi. 6). It must be read as one word, אֵשֶׁת, as it is in many MSS. and editions,—not, however, as connected with אֵשֶׁת, אֵשֶׁרֹת, the pouring out of the brooks, slopes of the mountains (*Num.* xxi. 15), but in the form אֵשֶׁת, composed, according to the probable conjecture of *Böttcher*, of אֵשׁ, fire, and שָׁתָה (in the Chaldee and Syriac), to throw, to shoot arrows, in the sense of “fire of throwing,” shooting fire, a figurative description of the flashes of lightning. *Gesenius* adopts this explanation, except that he derives דָּת from דָּתָה, to throw. It is favoured by the

fact that, according to Ex. xix. 16, the appearance of God upon Sinai was accompanied by thunder and lightning; and flashes of lightning are often called the arrows of God, whilst שֶׁרֶדֶה, in Hebrew, is established by the name שְׂרִיאוֹר (Num. i. 5, ii. 10). To this we may add the parallel passage, Hab. iii. 4, "rays out of His hand," which renders this explanation a very probable one. By "them," in the second and fifth clauses, the Israelites are intended, to whom this fearful theophany referred. On the signification of the manifestation of God in fire, see chap. iv. 11, and the exposition of Ex. iii. 2.

Ver. 3. "*Yea, nations He loves; all His holy ones are in Thy hand: and they lie down at Thy feet; they rise up at Thy words.*" הַיְּבֵב עַמִּים is the subject placed first absolutely: "nations loving," *sc.* is he; or "as loving nations—all Thy holy ones are in Thy hand." The nations or peoples are not the tribes of Israel here, any more than in chap. xxxii. 8, or Gen. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, and xlviii. 4; whilst Judg. v. 14 and Hos. x. 14 cannot come into consideration at all, for there the word is defined by a suffix. The meaning of the words depends upon whether "all His holy ones" are the godly in Israel, or the Israelites generally, or the angels. There is nothing to favour the first explanation, as the distinction between the godly and the wicked would be out of place in the introduction to a blessing upon all the tribes. The second has only a seeming support in Dan. vii. 21 sqq. and Ex. xix. 6. It does not follow at once from the calling of Israel to be the holy nation of Jehovah, that all the Israelites were or could be called "holy ones of the Lord." Least of all should Num. xvi. 3 be adduced in support of this. Even in Dan. vii. the holy ones of the Most High are not the Jews generally, but simply the godly, or believers, in the nation of God. The third view, on the other hand, is a perfectly natural one, on account of the previous reference to the holy myriads. The meaning, therefore, would be this: The Lord embraces all nations with His love, He who, so to speak, has all His holy angels in His hand, *i.e.* His power, so that they serve Him as their Lord. They lie down at His feet. The ἅπ. λεγ. תִּבְנוּ is explained by *Kimchi* and *Saad.* as signifying *adjuncti sequuntur vestigia sua*; and by the Syriac, They follow thy foot, from conjecture rather than any certain etymology. The derivation proposed by modern linguists, from the verb תִּבְנָה, according to an Arabic word signifying *recubuit, innixus est*, has apparently more to support it. שָׁרָף, it rises up: intransitive, as in Hab. i. 3, Nah. i. 5, Hos. xiii. 1, and Ps. lxxxix. 10.

מְדַבֵּר is not a Hithpael participle (that which is spoken) ; for מְדַבֵּר has not a passive, but an active signification, to converse (Num. vii. 89 ; Ezek. ii. 2, etc.). It is rather a noun, דְּבַר, from דִּבְרָה, words, utterances. The singular, יָשָׁן, is distributive : every one (of them) rises on account of thine utterances, *i.e.* at thy words. The suffixes relate to God, and the discourse passes from the third to the second person. In our own language, such a change in a sentence like this, “ all His (God’s) holy ones are in Thy (God’s) hand,” would be intolerably harsh, but in Hebrew poetry it is by no means rare (see, for example, Ps. xlix. 19).

Vers. 4, 5. “ *Moses appointed us a law, a possession of the congregation of Jacob. And He became King in righteous-nation (Jeshurun) ; there the heads of the people assembled, in crowds the tribes of Israel.*” The God who met Israel at Sinai in terrible majesty, out of the myriads of holy angels, who embraces all nations in love, and has all the holy angels in His power, so that they lie at His feet and rise up at His word, gave the law through Moses to the congregation of Jacob as a precious possession, and became King in Israel. This was the object of the glorious manifestation of His holy majesty upon Sinai. Instead of saying, “ He gave the law to the tribes of Israel through my mediation,” Moses personates the listening nation, and not only speaks of himself in the third person, but does so by identifying his own person with the nation, because he wished the people to repeat his words from thorough conviction, and because the law which he gave in the name of the Lord was given to himself as well, and was as binding upon him as upon every other member of the congregation. In a similar manner the prophet Habakkuk identifies himself with the nation in chap. iii., and says in ver. 19, out of the heart of the nation, “ The Lord is my strength, . . . who maketh me to walk upon mine high places,”—an expression which did not apply to himself, but to the nation as a whole. So again in the 20th and 21st Psalms, which David composed as the prayers of the nation for its king, he not only speaks of himself as the anointed of the Lord, but addresses such prayers to the Lord for himself as could only be offered by the nation for its king. “ A possession for the congregation of Jacob.” “ Israel was distinguished above all other nations by the possession of the divinely revealed law (chap. iv. 5-8) ; that was its most glorious possession, and therefore is called its true *κειμήλιον*” (*Knobel*). The subject in ver. 5 is not Moses but Jehovah, who became King in Jeshurun (see at chap. xxxii. 15 and Ex. xv. 18).

“Were gathered together;” this refers to the assembling of the nation around Sinai (chap. iv. 10 sqq.; cf. Ex. xix. 17 sqq.), to the day of assembly (chap. ix. 10, x. 4, xviii. 16).

Ver. 6. The blessings upon the tribes commence with this verse. “*Let REUBEN live and not die, and there be a (small) number of his men.*” The rights of the first-born had been withheld from Reuben in the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 3); Moses, however, promises this tribe continuance and prosperity. The words, “and let his men become a number,” have been explained in very different ways. מִסְפָּר in this connection cannot mean a large number (πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ, LXX.), but, like מִיּוֹ מִסְפָּר (chap. iv. 27; Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jer. xlv. 28), simply a *small* number, that could easily be counted (cf. chap. xxviii. 62). The negation must be carried on to the last clause. This the language will allow, as the rule that a negation can only be carried forward when it stands with emphatic force at the very beginning (*Ewald*, § 351) is not without exceptions; see for example Prov. xxx. 2, 3, where three negative clauses follow a positive one, and in the last the לֹא is omitted, without the particle of negation having been placed in any significant manner at the beginning.—*Simeon* was the next in age to Reuben; but he is passed over entirely, because according to Jacob’s blessing (Gen. xlix. 7) he was to be scattered abroad in Israel, and lost his individuality as a tribe in consequence of this dispersion, in accordance with which the Simeonites simply received a number of towns within the territory of Judah (Josh. xix. 2–9), and, “having no peculiar object of its own, took part, as far as possible, in the fate and objects of the other tribes, more especially of Judah” (*Schultz*). Although, therefore, it is by no means to be regarded as left without a blessing, but rather as included in the general blessings in vers. 1 and 29, and still more in the blessing upon Judah, yet it could not receive a special blessing like the tribe of Reuben, because, as *Ephraem Syrus* observes, the Simeonites had not endeavoured to wipe out the stain of the crime which Jacob cursed, but had added to it by fresh crimes (more especially the audacious prostitution of Zimri, Num. xxv.). Even the Simeonites did not become extinct, but continued to live in the midst of the tribe of Judah, so that as late as the eighth century, in the reign of Hezekiah, thirteen princes are enumerated with their families, whose fathers’ houses had increased greatly (1 Chron. iv. 34 sqq.); and these families effected conquests in the south, even penetrating into the mountains of Seir, for the purpose of seeking

fresh pasture (1 Chron. iv. 39-43). Hence the assertion that the omission of Simeon is only conceivable from the circumstances of a later age, is as mistaken as the attempt made in some of the MSS. of the Septuagint to interpolate the name of Simeon in the second clause of ver. 6.

Ver. 7. The blessing upon JUDAH is introduced with the formula, "*And this for Judah, and he said:*" "*Hear, Jehovah, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people; with his hands he fights for him; and help against his adversaries wilt Thou be.*" Judah, from whom the sceptre was not to depart (Gen. xlix. 10), is mentioned before Levi as the royal tribe. The prayer, May Jehovah bring Judah to his people, can hardly be understood in any other way than it is by *Onkelos* and *Hengstenberg* (Christol. i. 80), viz. as founded upon the blessing of Jacob, and expressing the desire, that as Judah was to lead the way as the champion of his brethren in the wars of Israel against the nations, he might have a prosperous return to his people; for the thought, "introduce him to the kingdom of Israel and Judah" (*Luther*), or "give up to him the people which belongs to him according to Thine appointment" (*Schultz*), is hardly implied in the words, "bring to his people." Other explanations are not worth mentioning. What follows points to strife and war: "With his hands (^{וְיָדָיו} accusative of the instrument, *vid. Ges.* § 138, 1, note 3; *Ewald*, § 283, a.) is he fighting (^{וְיָ} participle of ^{לָחַם} for it (the nation); Thou wilt grant him help, deliverance before his foes."

Vers. 8-11. LEVI.—Vers. 8, 9. "*Thy right and Thy light is to Thy godly man, whom Thou didst prove in Massah, and didst strive with him at the water of strife; who says to his father and his mother, I see him not; and does not regard his brethren, and does not know his sons; for they observed Thy word, and kept Thy covenant.*" This blessing is also addressed to God as a prayer. The *Urim* and *Thummim*—that pledge, which the high priest wore upon his breastplate, that the Lord would always give His people light to preserve His endangered right (*vid. Ex. xxviii. 29, 30*)—are here regarded as a prerogative of the whole of the tribe of Levi. *Thummim* is placed before *Urim*, to indicate at the outset that Levi had defended the right of the Lord, and that for that very reason the right of the *Urim* and *Thummim* had been given to him by the Lord. "Thy holy one" is not Aaron, but Levi the tribe-father, who represents the whole tribe to which the blessing applies; hence in vers. 9b and 10 the verb passes into the plural. To define more

precisely the expression "Thy holy one," reference is made to the trials at Massah and at the water of strife, on the principle that the Lord humbles His servants before He exalts them, and confirms those that are His by trying and proving them. The proving at Massah refers to the murmuring of the people on account of the want of water at *Rephidim* (Ex. xvii. 1-7, as in chap. vi. 16 and ix. 22), from which the place received the name of *Massah* and *Meribah*; the striving at the water of strife, to the rebellion of the people against Moses and Aaron on account of the want of water at *Kadesh* (Num. xx. 1-13). At both places it was primarily the people who strove with Moses and Aaron, and thereby tempted God. For it is evident that even at Massah the people murmured not only against Moses, but against their leaders generally, from the use of the plural verb, "*Give ye us water to drink*" (Ex. xvii. 2). This proving of the people, however, was at the same time a proof, to which the Lord subjected the heads and leaders of the nation, for the purpose of trying their faith. And thus also, in chap. viii. 2 sqq., the whole of the guidance of Israel through the desert is described as a trial and humiliation of the people by the Lord. But in Moses and Aaron, the heads of the tribe of Levi, the whole of the tribe of Levi was proved. The two provings by means of water are selected, as *Schultz* observes, "because in their correlation they were the best adapted to represent the beginning and end, and therefore the whole of the temptations."—Ver. 9. In these temptations Levi had proved itself "a holy one," although in the latter Moses and Aaron stumbled, since the Levites had risen up in defence of the honour of the Lord and had kept His covenant, even with the denial of father, mother, brethren, and children (Matt. x. 37, xix. 29). The words, "who says to his father," etc., relate to the event narrated in Ex. xxxii. 26-29, where the Levites draw their swords against the Israelites their brethren, at the command of Moses, after the worship of the golden calf, and execute judgment upon the nation without respect of person. To this we may add Num. xxv. 8, where Phinehas interposes with his sword in defence of the honour of the Lord against the shameless prostitution with the daughters of Moab. On these occasions the Levites manifested the spirit which Moses predicates here of all the tribe. By the interposition at Sinai especially, they devoted themselves with such self-denial to the service of the Lord, that the dignity of the priesthood was conferred upon their tribe in consequence.—In vers. 10 and 11, Moses celebrates this vocation: "*They will teach*

Jacob Thy rights, and Israel Thy law; bring incense to Thy nose, and whole-offering upon Thine altar. Bless, Lord, his strength, and let the work of his hands be well-pleasing to Thee: smite his adversaries and his haters upon the hips, that they may not rise!" The tribe of Levi had received the high and glorious calling to instruct Israel in the rights and commandments of God (Lev. x. 11), and to present the sacrifices of the people to the Lord, viz. incense in the holy place, whole-offering in the court. "Whole-offering," a term applied to the burnt-offering (see vol. ii. p. 291), which is mentioned *instar omnium* as being the leading sacrifice. The priests alone were actually entrusted with the instruction of the people in the law and the sacrificial worship; but as the rest of the Levites were given them as assistants in their service, this service might very properly be ascribed to the whole tribe; and no greater blessing could be desired for it than that the Lord should give them power to discharge the duties of their office, should accept their service with favour, and make their opponents powerless. The enemies and haters of Levi were not only envious persons, like Korah and his company (Num. xvi. 1), but all opponents of the priests and Levites. The *loins* are the seat of strength (Ps. lxxix. 24; Job xl. 16; Prov. xxxi. 17). This is the only place in which *וְ* is used before a finite verb, whereas it often stands before the infinitive (e.g. Gen. xxvii. 1, xxxi. 29).

Ver. 12. BENJAMIN.—"*The beloved of the Lord will dwell safely with Him; He shelters him at all times, and he dwells between His shoulders.*" Benjamin, the son of prosperity, and beloved of his father (Gen. xxxv. 18, xlv. 20), should bear his name with right. He would be the beloved of the Lord, and as such would dwell in safety with the Lord (*וְיָ*, *lit.* founded upon Him). The Lord would shelter him continually. The participle expresses the permanence of the relation: is his shelterer. In the third clause Benjamin is the subject once more; he dwells between the shoulders of Jehovah. "Between the shoulders" is equivalent to "upon the back" (*vid.* 1 Sam. xvii. 6). The expression is founded upon the figure of a father carrying his son (chap. i. 29). This figure is by no means so bold as that of the eagle's wings, upon which the Lord had carried His people, and brought them to Himself (Ex. xix. 4; *vid.* Deut. xxxii. 11). There is nothing strange in the change of subject in all three clauses, since it is met with repeatedly even in plain prose (e.g. 2 Sam. xi. 13); and here it follows simply enough from the thoughts contained in the different clauses, whilst the

suffix in all three clauses refers to the same noun, *i.e.* to Jehovah.¹ There are some who regard Jehovah as the subject in the third clause, and explain the unheard-of figure which they thus obtain, viz. that of Jehovah dwelling between the shoulders of Benjamin, as referring to the historical fact that God dwelt in the temple at Jerusalem, which was situated upon the border of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah. To this application of the words *Knobel* has properly objected, that God did not dwell between ridges (= shoulders) of mountains there, but upon the top of Moriah; but, on the other hand, he has set up the much more untenable hypothesis, that the expression refers to Gibeon, where the tabernacle stood after the destruction of Nob by Saul.—Moreover, the whole nation participated in the blessing which Moses desired for Benjamin; and this applies to the blessings of the other tribes also. All Israel was, like Benjamin, the beloved of the Lord (*vid.* Jer. xi. 15; Ps. lx. 7), and dwelt with Him in safety (*vid.* ver. 28).

Vers. 13–17. JOSEPH.—Ver. 13. “*Blessed of the Lord be his land, of (in) the most precious things of heaven, the dew, and of the flood which lies beneath, (ver. 14) and of the most precious of the produce of the sun, and of the most precious of the growth of the moons, (ver. 15) and of the head of the mountains of olden time, and of the most precious thing of the everlasting hills, (ver. 16) and of the most precious thing of the earth, and of its fulness, and the goodwill of Him that dwelt in the bush: let it come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the crown of him that is illustrious among his brethren.*” What Jacob desired and solicited for his son Joseph, Moses also desires for this tribe, namely, the greatest possible abundance of earthly blessing, and a vigorous manifestation of power in conflict with the nations. But however unmistakeable may be the connection between these words and the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 22 sqq.), not only in the things desired, but even in particular expressions, there is an important difference which equally strikes us, namely, that in the case of Jacob the main point of the blessing is the growth of Joseph into a powerful tribe, whereas with Moses it is the development of power on the part of this tribe in the land of its inheritance, in perfect harmony with the different times at which the blessings were pronounced. Jacob described the growth of Joseph under the figure of the luxuriant branch of a fruit-tree

¹ “To dwell upon God and between His shoulders is the same as to repose upon Him: the simile being taken from fathers who carry their sons while delicate and young” (*Calvin*).

planted by the water; whilst Moses fixes his eye primarily upon the land of Joseph, and desires for him the richest productions. "May his land be blessed by Jehovah from (מִן) of the cause of the blessing, whose author was Jehovah; *vid.* Ps. xxviii. 7, civ. 3) the most precious thing of the heaven." מִן, which only occurs again in the Song of Sol. iv. 13, 16, and vii. 14, is applied to precious fruits. The most precious fruit which the heaven yields to the land is the dew. The "productions of the sun," and נֶרֶשׁ, ἄπ. λεγ. from נֶרֶשׁ, "the produce of the moons," are the fruits of the earth, which are matured by the influence of the sun and moon, by their light, their warmth. At the same time, we can hardly so distinguish the one from the other as to understand by the former the fruits which ripen only once a year, and by the latter those which grow several times and in different months; and Ezek. xlvii. 12 and Rev. xxii. 2 cannot be adduced as proofs of this. The plural "moons" in parallelism with the sun does not mean months, as in Ex. ii. 2, but the different phases which the moon shows in its revolution round the earth. מִרְאֵשׁ (from the head), in ver. 15, is a contracted expression signifying "from the most precious things of the head." The most precious things of the head of the mountains of old and the eternal hills, are the crops and forests with which the tops of the mountains and hills are covered. Moses sums up the whole in the words, "the earth, and the fulness thereof:" everything in the form of costly good that the earth and its productions can supply.—To the blessings of the heaven and earth there are to be added the good-will of the Lord, who appeared to Moses in the thorn-bush to redeem His people out of the bondage and oppression of Egypt and bring it into the land of Canaan, the land flowing with milk and honey (Ex. iii. 2 sqq.). The expression "that dwells in the bush" is to be explained from the significance of this manifestation of God as shown at Ex. iii., which shadowed forth a permanent relation between the Lord and His people. The spiritual blessing of the covenant grace is very suitably added to the blessings of nature; and there is something no less suitable in the way in which the construction commencing with וְרֵצֶן is dropped, so that an *anakolouthon* ensues. This word cannot be taken as an accusative of more precise definition, as *Schultz* supposes; nor is מִן to be supplied before it, as *Knobel* suggests. Grammatically considered, it is a nominative to which the verb הָבֹאֲתָה properly belongs, although, as a matter of fact, not only the good-will, but the natural blessings, of the Lord were also to come

upon the head of Joseph. Consequently we have not יְבוֹאֵה (masc.), which רָצוֹן would require, but the lengthened poetical feminine form תְּבוֹאֵתָה (vid. Ewald, § 191, c.), used in a neuter sense. It, i.e. everything mentioned before, shall come upon Joseph. On the expression, "illustrious among his brethren," see at Gen. xlix. 26. In the strength of this blessing, the tribe of Joseph would attain to such a development of power, that it would be able to tread down all nations.—Ver. 17. "*The first-born of his ox, majesty is to him, and buffalo-horns his horns : with them he thrusts down nations, all at once the ends of the earth. These are the myriads of Ephraim, and these the thousands of Manasseh.*" The "first-born of his (Joseph's) oxen" (*shor*, a collective noun, as in chap. xv. 19) is not Joshua (*Rabb.*, *Schultz*); still less is it Joseph (*Bleek*, *Diestel*), in which case the pronoun *his* ox would be quite out of place; nor is it King Jeroboam II., as *Graf* supposes. It is rather Ephraim, whom the patriarch Jacob raised into the position of the first-born of Joseph (Gen. xlviii. 8 sqq.). All the sons of Joseph resembled oxen, but Ephraim was the most powerful of them all. He was endowed with majesty; his horns, the strong weapon of oxen, in which all their strength is concentrated, were not the horns of common oxen, but horns of the wild buffalo (*reem*, Num. xxiii. 22), that strong indomitable beast (cf. Job xxxix. 9 sqq.; Ps. xxii. 22). With them he would thrust down nations, the ends of the earth, i.e. the most distant nations (vid. Ps. ii. 8, vii. 9, xxii. 28). "*Together,*" i.e. all at once, belongs rhythmically to "the ends of the earth." Such are the myriads of Ephraim, i.e. in such might will the myriads of Ephraim arise. To the tribe of Ephraim, as the more numerous, the ten thousands are assigned; to the tribe of Manasseh, the thousands.

Vers. 18 and 19. ZEBULUN and ISSACHAR.—"*Rejoice, Zebulun, at thy going out; and, Issachar, at thy tents. Nations will they invite to the mountain; there offer the sacrifices of righteousness: for they suck the affluence of the seas, and the hidden treasures of the sand.*" The tribes of the last two sons of Leah Moses unites together, and, like Jacob in Gen. xlix. 13, places Zebulun the younger first. He first of all confirms the blessing which Jacob pronounced through simply interpreting their names as *omina*, by calling upon them to rejoice in their undertakings abroad and at home. "At thy tents" corresponds to "at thy going out" (tents being used poetically for dwellings, as in chap. xvi. 7); like "sitting" to "going out and coming in" in 2 Kings xix. 27, Isa. xxxvii. 28, Ps. cxxxix. 2; and

describes life in its two aspects of work and production, rest and recreation. Although "going out" (enterprise and labour) is attributed to Zebulun, and "remaining in tents" (the comfortable enjoyment of life) to Issachar, in accordance with the delineation of their respective characters in the blessing of Jacob, this is to be attributed to the poetical parallelism of the clauses, and the whole is to be understood as applying to both in the sense suggested by *Graf*, "Rejoice, Zebulun and Issachar, in your labour and your rest." This peculiarity, which is founded in the very nature of poetical parallelism, which is to individualize the thought by distributing it into parallel members, has been entirely overlooked by all the commentators who have given a historical interpretation to each, referring the "going out" to the shipping trade and commercial pursuits of the Zebulunites, and the expression "in thy tents" either to the spending of a nomad life in tents, for the purpose of performing a subordinate part in connection with trade (*Schultz*), or to the quiet pursuits of agriculture and grazing (*Knobel*). They were to rejoice in their undertakings at home and abroad; for they would be successful. The good things of life would flow to them in rich abundance; they would not make them into mammon, however, but would invite nations to the mountain, and there offer sacrifices of righteousness. "The peoples" are nations generally, not the tribes of Israel, still less the members of their own tribes. By the "*mountain*," without any more precise definition, we are not to understand Tabor or Carmel any more than the mountain land of Canaan. It is rather "the mountain of the Lord's inheritance" (Ex. xv. 17), upon which the Lord was about to plant His people, the mountain which the Lord had chosen for His sanctuary, and in which His people were to dwell with Him, and rejoice in sacrificial meals of fellowship with Him (see vol. ii. p. 55). To this end the Lord had sanctified Moriah through the sacrifice of Isaac which He required of Abraham, though it had not been revealed to Moses that it was there that the temple, in which the name of the Lord in Israel would dwell, was afterwards to be built. There is no distinct or direct allusion to Moriah or Zion, as the temple-mountain, involved in the words of Moses. It was only by later revelations and appointments on the part of God that this was to be made known. The words simply contain the Messianic thought that Zebulun and Issachar would offer rich praise-offerings and thank-offerings to the Lord, from the abundant supply of earthly good that would flow to them, upon the mountain which He would make

ready as the seat of His gracious presence, and would call, *i.e.* invite the nations to the sacrificial meals connected with them, to delight themselves with them in the rich gifts of the Lord, and worship the Lord who blessed His people thus. For the explanation of this thought, see Ps. xxii. 28–31. Sacrifice is mentioned here as an expression of divine worship, which culminated in sacrifice; and slain-offerings are mentioned, not burnt-offerings, to set forth the worship of God under the aspect of blessedness in fellowship with the Lord. “Slain-offerings of righteousness” are not merely outwardly legal sacrifices, in conformity with the ritual of the law, but such as were offered in a right spirit, which was well-pleasing to God (as in Ps. iv. 6, li. 21). It follows as a matter of course, therefore, that by the abundance of the seas we are not merely to understand the profits of trade upon the Mediterranean Sea; and that we are still less to understand by the hidden treasures of the sand “the fish, the purple snails, and sponges” (*Knobel*), or “tunny-fish, purple shells, and glass” (*Ps. Jon.*); but that the words receive their best exposition from Isa. lx. 5, 6, 16, and lxvi. 11, 12, *i.e.* that the thought expressed is, that the riches and treasures of both sea and land would flow to the tribes of Israel.

Vers. 20 and 21. GAD.—“*Blessed be He that enlargeth Gad: like a lioness he lieth down, and teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head. And he chose his first-fruit territory, for there was the leader's portion kept; and he came to the heads of the people, he executed the justice of the Lord, and his rights with Israel.*” Just as in the blessing of Noah (Gen. ix. 26) the God of Shem is praised, to point out the salvation appointed by God for Shem, so here Moses praises the Lord, who enlarged Gad, *i.e.* who not only gave him a broad territory in the conquered kingdom of Sihon, but furnished generally an unlimited space for his development (*vid.* Gen. xxvi. 22), so that he might unfold his lion-like nature in conflict with his foes. On the figure of a lioness, see Gen. xlix. 9; and on the warlike character of the Gadites, the remarks on the blessing of Jacob upon Gad (Gen. xlix. 19). The second part of the blessing treats of the inheritance which Gad obtained from Moses at his own request beyond Jordan. גָּד, with an accusative and ה, signifies to look out something for oneself (Gen. xxii. 8; 1 Sam. xvi. 17). The “first-fruit” refers here to the first portion of the land which Israel received for a possession; this is evident from the reason assigned, בְּיָשָׁם הֶחֱלָקָה, whilst the statement that Gad chose the hereditary possession is in harmony with Num. xxxii. 2, 6, 25 sqq., where the children of Gad are

described as being at the head of the tribes, who came before Moses to ask for the conquered land as their possession. The meaning of the next clause, of which very different explanations have been given, can only be, that Gad chose such a territory for its inheritance as became a leader of the tribes. מְחַקֵּק, he who determines, commands, organizes; hence both a commander and also a leader in war. It is in the latter sense that it occurs both here and in Judg. v. 14. חֶלֶקֶת מְחַקֵּק, the field, or territory of the leader, may either be the territory appointed or assigned by the lawgiver, or the territory falling to the lot of the leader. According to the former view, Moses would be the *mechokek*. But the thought, that Moses appointed or assigned him his inheritance, could be no reason why Gad should choose it for himself. Consequently חֶלֶקֶת מְחַקֵּק can only mean the possession which the *mechokek* chose for himself, as befitting him, or specially adapted for him. Consequently the *mechokek* was not Moses, but the tribe of Gad, which was so called because it unfolded such activity and bravery at the head of the tribes in connection with the conquest of the land, that it could be regarded as their leader. This peculiar prominence on the part of the Gadites may be inferred from the fact, that they distinguished themselves above the Reubenites in the fortification of the conquered land (Num. xxxii. 34 sqq.). כֹּפֶר, from כָּפַר, to cover, hide, preserve, is a predicate, and construed as a noun, "a thing preserved."—On the other hand, the opinion has been very widely spread, from the time of *Onkelos* down to *Baumgarten* and *Ewald*, that this hemistich refers to Moses: "there is the portion of the lawgiver hidden," or "the field of the hidden leader," and that it contains an allusion to the fact that the grave of Moses was hidden in the inheritance of Gad. But this is not only at variance with the circumstance, that a prophetic allusion to the grave of Moses such as *Baumgarten* assumes is apparently inconceivable, from the simple fact that we cannot imagine the Gadites to have foreseen the situation of Moses' grave at the time when they selected their territory, but also with the fact that, according to Josh. xiii. 20, the spot where this grave was situated (chap. xxxiv. 5) was not allotted to the tribe of Gad, but to that of Reuben; and lastly, with the use of the word *chelkakh*, which does not signify a burial-ground or grave.—But although Gad chose out an inheritance for himself, he still went before his brethren, *i.e.* along with the rest of the tribes, into Canaan, to perform, in connection with them, what the Lord demanded of His people as a right. This is the meaning of the second half of the verse. The clause,

“he came to the heads of the people,” does not refer to the fact that the Gadites came to Moses and the heads of the congregation, to ask for the conquered land as a possession (Num. xxxii. 2), but expresses the thought that Gad joined the heads of the people to go at the head of the tribes of Israel (comp. Josh. i. 14, iv. 12, with Num. xxxii. 17, 21, 32), to conquer Canaan with the whole nation, and root out the Canaanites. The Gadites had promised this to Moses and the heads of the people; and this promise Moses regarded as an accomplished act, and praised in these words with prophetic foresight as having been already performed, and that not merely as one single manifestation of their obedience towards the word of the Lord, but rather as a pledge that Gad would always manifest the same disposition. “To do the righteousness of Jehovah,” *i.e.* to do what Jehovah requires of His people as righteousness,—namely, to fulfil the commandments of God, in which the righteousness of Israel was to consist (chap. vi. 25). יִצְחָק, imperfect Kal for יִצְחָקָה or יִצְחָקָה; see *Ges.* § 76, 2, *c.*, and *Ewald*, § 142, *c.* “*With Israel:*” in fellowship with (the rest of) Israel.

Ver. 22. DAN is “*a young lion which springs out of Bashan.*” Whilst Jacob compared him to a serpent by the way, which suddenly bites a horse’s feet, so that its rider falls backward, Moses gives greater prominence to the strength which Dan would display in conflict with foes, by calling him a young lion which suddenly springs out of its ambush. The reference to Bashan has nothing to do with the expedition of the Danites against Laish, in the valley of Rehoboth (Judg. xviii. 28), as this valley did not belong to Bashan. It is to be explained from the simple fact, that in the regions of eastern Bashan, which abound with caves, and more especially in the woody western slopes of Jebel Hauran, many lions harboured, which rushed forth from the thicket, and were very dangerous enemies to the herds of Bashan. Even if no other express testimonies to this fact are to be found, it may be inferred from the description given of the eastern spurs of Antilibanus in the Song of Sol. (iv. 8), as the abodes of lions and leopards. The meaning leap forth, spring out, is confirmed by both the context and dialects, though the word only occurs here.

Ver. 23. NAPHTALI.—“*O Naphtali, satisfied with favour, and full of the blessing of Jehovah; of sea and south shall he take possession.*” If the gracefulness of Naphtali is set forth in the blessing of Jacob, by comparing it to a gazelle, here Moses assures the same tribe of satisfaction with the favour and blessing of God, and pro-

mises it the possession of the sea and of the south, *i.e.* an inheritance which should combine the advantages of the sea—a healthy sea-breeze—with the grateful warmth of the south. This blessing is expressed in far too general terms for it to be possible to interpret it historically, as relating to the natural characteristics of the inheritance of the Naphtalites in Canaan, or to regard it as based upon them, apart altogether from the fact, that the territory of Naphtali was situated in the north-east of Canaan, and reached as far as the sea of Galilee, and that it was for the most part mountainous, though it was a very fertile hill-country (Josh. xviii. 32–39). יִרְשָׁה is a very unique form of the imperative, though this does not warrant an alteration of the text.

Vers. 24 and 25. ASHER.—“*Blessed before the sons be Asher; let him be the favoured among his brethren, and dipping his foot in oil. Iron and brass be thy castle; and as the days of thy life let thy rest continue.*” Asher, the prosperous (see at Gen. xxx. 15), was justly to bear the name. He was to be a child of prosperity; blessed with earthly good, he was to enjoy rest all his life long in strong fortresses. It is evident enough that this blessing is simply an exposition of the name *Asher*, and that Moses here promises the tribe a verification of the *omen* contained in its name. בְּרוּךְ מְבָנִים does not mean “blessed with children,” or “praised because of his children,” in which case we should have בְּנָיו; but “blessed before the sons” (cf. Judg. v. 24), *i.e.* blessed before the sons of Jacob, who were peculiarly blessed, equivalent to the most blessed of all the sons of Israel. רֵצִי אֲהָבִי does not mean the beloved among his brethren, acceptable to his brethren, but the one who enjoyed the favour of the Lord, *i.e.* the one peculiarly favoured by the Lord. Dipping the foot in oil points to a land flowing with oil (Job xxix. 6), *i.e.* fat or fertile throughout, which Jacob had already promised to Asher (see Gen. xlix. 20). To complete the prosperity, however, security and rest were required for the enjoyment of the blessings bestowed by God; and these are promised in ver. 25. מְנַעַל (ἄπ. λεγ.) does not mean a shoe, but is derived from נָעַל, to bolt (Judg. iii. 23), and signifies either a bolt, or that which is shut fast; a poetical expression for a castle or fortress. Asher’s dwellings were to be castles, fortresses of iron and brass; *i.e.* as strong and impregnable as if they were built of iron and brass. The pursuit of mining is not to be thought of as referred to here, even though the territory of Asher, which reached to Lebanon, may have contained brass and iron (see at chap. viii. 9). *Luther* follows the LXX. and Vulgate,

and renders this clause, "iron and brass be upon his shoes;" but this is undoubtedly wrong, as the custom of fastening the shoes or sandals with brass or iron was quite unknown to the Israelites; and even Goliath, who was clothed in brass from head to foot, and wore iron greaves, had no iron sandals, though the military shoes of the ancient Romans had nails in the soles. Moreover, the context contains no reference to war, so as to suggest the idea that the treading down and crushing of the foe are intended. "As thy days," *i.e.* as long as the days of thy life last, let thy rest be (continue). *Luther's* rendering, "let thine old age be as thy youth," which follows the *Vulgate*, cannot be sustained; for although יָבֵשׁ, derived from יָשַׁב, to vanish away, certainly might signify old age, the expression "thy days" cannot possibly be understood as signifying youth.

Vers. 26–29. The conclusion of the blessing corresponds to the introduction. As Moses commenced with the glorious fact of the founding of the kingdom of Jehovah in Israel, as the firm foundation of the salvation of His people, so he also concludes with a reference to the Lord their eternal refuge, and with a congratulation of Israel which could find refuge in such a God.—Vers. 26, 27. "*Who is as God, a righteous nation, who rides in heaven to thy help, and in His exaltation upon the clouds. Abiding is the God of olden time, and beneath are everlasting arms: and He drives the enemy before thee, and says, Destroy.*" The meaning is: No other nation has a God who rules in heaven with almighty power, and is a refuge and help to his people against every foe. *Jeshurun* is a vocative, and the alteration of יְשׁוּרֻן into יְשׁוּעָה, "as the God of *Jeshurun*," according to the ancient versions, is to be rejected on the simple ground that the expression "in thy help," which follows immediately afterwards, is an address to Israel. Riding upon the heaven and the clouds is a figure used to denote the unlimited omnipotence with which God rules the world out of heaven, and is the helper of His people. "In thy help," *i.e.* as thy helper. This God is a dwelling to His people. מְעֻנָּה, like the masculine מְעֻנָּה in Ps. xc. 1, and xci. 9, signifies "dwelling,"—a genuine Mosaic figure, to which, in all probability, the houseless wandering of the people in the desert, which made them feel the full worth of a dwelling, first gave rise. The figure not only implies that God grants protection and a refuge to His people in the storms of life (Ps. xci. 1, 2, cf. Isa. iv. 6), but also that He supplies His people with everything that can afford a safe abode. "The God of old," *i.e.* who has proved Himself to be God from the very beginning of

the world (*vid.* Ps. xc. 1; Hab. i. 12). The expression “underneath” is to be explained from the antithesis to the heaven where God is enthroned above mankind. He who is enthroned in heaven above is also the God who is with His people upon the earth below, and holds and bears them in His arms. “Everlasting arms” are arms whose strength is never exhausted. There is no need to supply “thee” after “underneath;” the expression should rather be left in its general form, “upon the earth beneath.” The reference to Israel is obvious from the context. The driving of the enemy before Israel is not to be restricted to the rooting out of the Canaanites, but applies to every enemy of the congregation of the Lord.—Ver. 28. “*And Israel dwells safely, alone the fountain of Jacob, in a land full of corn and wine; his heavens also drop down dew.*” Because the God of old was the dwelling and help of Israel, it dwelt safely and separate from the other nations, in a land abounding with corn and wine. “The fountain of Jacob” is parallel to “Israel;” “*alone (separate) dwells the fountain of Jacob.*” This title is given to Israel as having sprung from the patriarch Jacob, in whom it had its source. A similar expression occurs in Ps. lxxviii. 27. It completely destroys the symmetry of the clauses of the verse to connect the words, as *Luther* does, with what follows, in the sense of “the eye of Jacob is directed upon a land.” The construction of יָשָׁן with אֶרֶץ, to dwell into a land, may be explained on the ground that the dwelling involves the idea of spreading out over the land. On the “land of corn,” etc., see chap. viii. 7 and 8. הָאֵם is emphatic: yea his heaven, *i.e.* the heaven of this land drops down dew (*vid.* Gen. xxvii. 28). Israel was to be congratulated upon this.—Ver. 29. “*Hail to thee, O Israel! who is like thee, a people saved in the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who (is) the sword of thine eminence. Thine enemies will deny themselves to thee, and thou ridest upon their heights.*” “Saved;” not merely delivered from danger and distress, but in general endowed with salvation (like Zech. ix. 9; see also Isa. xlv. 17). The salvation of Israel rested in the Lord, as the ground out of which it grew, from which it descended, because the Lord was its help and shield, as He had already promised Abraham (Gen. xv. 1), and “the sword of his eminence,” *i.e.* the sword which had fought for the eminence of Israel. But because the Lord was Israel’s shield and sword, or, so to speak, both an offensive and defensive weapon, his enemies denied themselves to him, *i.e.* feigned friendship, did not venture to appear openly as enemies (for the meaning “feign,” act the hypocrite, see

Ps. xviii. 45, lxxxi. 16). But Israel would ride upon their heights, the high places of their land, *i.e.* would triumph over all its foes (see at chap. xxxii. 13).

DEATH AND BURIAL OF MOSES.—CHAP. XXXIV.

Vers. 1–8. After blessing the people, Moses ascended Mount Nebo, according to the command of God (chap. xxxii. 48–51), and there the Lord showed him, in all its length and breadth, that promised land into which he was not to enter. From Nebo, a peak of Pisgah, which affords a very extensive prospect on all sides (see p. 214), he saw the land of Gilead, the land to the east of the Jordan as far as Dan, *i.e.* not Laish-Dan near the central source of the Jordan (Judg. xviii. 27), which did not belong to Gilead, but a Dan in northern Peræa, which has not yet been discovered (see at Gen. xiv. 14); and the whole of the land on the west of the Jordan, Canaan proper, in all its different districts, namely, “*the whole of Naphtali*,” *i.e.* the later Galilee on the north, “*the land of Ephraim and Manasseh*” in the centre, and “*the whole of the land of Judah*,” the southern portion of Canaan, in all its breadth, “*to the hinder (Mediterranean) sea*” (see chap. xi. 24); also “*the south land*” (*Negeb*: see at Num. xiii. 17), the southern land of steppe towards the Arabian desert, and “*the valley of the Jordan*” (see Gen. xiii. 10), *i.e.* the deep valley from Jericho the palm-city (so called from the palms which grew there, in the valley of the Jordan: Judg. i. 16, iii. 43; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15) “*to Zoar*” at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea (see at Gen. xix. 22). This sight of every part of the land on the east and west was not an ecstatic vision, but a sight with the bodily eyes, whose natural power of vision was miraculously increased by God, to give Moses a glimpse at least of the glorious land which he was not to tread, and delight his eye with a view of the inheritance intended for his people.—Vers. 5, 6. After this favour had been granted him, the aged servant of the Lord was to taste death as the wages of sin. There, *i.e.* upon Mount Nebo, he died, “*at the mouth*,” *i.e.* according to the commandment, “*of the Lord*” (not “*by a kiss of the Lord*,” as the Rabbins interpret it), in the land of Moab, not in Canaan (see at Num. xxvii. 12–14). “*And He buried him in the land of Moab, over against Beth Peor.*” The subject in this sentence is Jehovah. Though the third person singular would allow of the verb being taken as impersonal (ἐθαψαν αὐτόν, LXX.: they buried him),

such a rendering is precluded by the statement which follows, "*no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.*" "The valley" where the Lord buried Moses was certainly not the Jordan valley, as in chap. iii. 29, but most probably "the valley in the field of Moab, upon the top of Pisgah," mentioned in Num. xxi. 20, near to Nebo (see p. 148); in any case, a valley on the mountain, not far from the top of Nebo.—The Israelites inferred what is related in vers. 1-6 respecting the end of Moses' life, from the promise of God in chap. xxxii. 49, and Num. xxvii. 12, 13, which was communicated to them by Moses himself (chap. iii. 27), and from the fact that Moses went up Mount Nebo, from which he never returned. On his ascending the mountain, the eyes of the people would certainly follow him as far as they possibly could. It is also very possible that there were many parts of the Israelitish camp from which the top of Nebo was visible, so that the eyes of his people could not only accompany him thither, but could also see that when the Lord had shown him the promised land, He went down with him into the neighbouring valley, where Moses was taken for ever out of their sight. There is not a word in the text about God having brought the body of Moses down from the mountain and buried it in the valley. This "romantic idea" is invented by *Knobel*, for the purpose of throwing suspicion upon the historical truth of a fact which is offensive to him. The fact itself that the Lord buried His servant Moses, and no man knows of his sepulchre, is in perfect keeping with the relation in which Moses stood to the Lord while he was alive. Even if his sin at the water of strife rendered it necessary that he should suffer the punishment of death, as a memorable example of the terrible severity of the holy God against sin, even in the case of His faithful servant; yet after the justice of God had been satisfied by this punishment, he was to be distinguished in death before all the people, and glorified as the servant who had been found faithful in all the house of God, whom the Lord had known face to face (ver. 10), and to whom He had spoken mouth to mouth (Num. xii. 7, 8). The burial of Moses by the hand of Jehovah was not intended to conceal his grave, for the purpose of guarding against a superstitious and idolatrous reverence for his grave; for with the opinion held by the Israelites, that corpses and graves defiled, there was but little fear of this; but, as we may infer from the account of the transfiguration of Jesus, the intention was to place him in the same category with Enoch and Elijah. As *Kurtz* observes, "The purpose of God was to prepare

for him a condition, both of body and soul, resembling that of these two men of God. Men bury a corpse that it may pass into corruption. If Jehovah, therefore, would not suffer the body of Moses to be buried by men, it is but natural to seek for the reason in the fact that He did not intend to leave him to corruption, but, when burying it with His own hand, imparted a power to it which preserved it from corruption, and prepared the way for it to pass into the same form of existence to which Enoch and Elijah were taken, without either death or burial."—There can be no doubt that this truth lies at the foundation of the Jewish theologoumenon mentioned in the Epistle of Jude, concerning the contest between Michael the archangel and the devil for the body of Moses.—Vers. 7, 8. Though he died at the age of one hundred and twenty (see at chap. xxxi. 2), Moses' eyes had not become dim, and his freshness had not abated (נֶחֱזֶק *áπ* ληγ., connected with נֶחֱזֶק in Gen. xxx. 37, signifies freshness). Thus had the Lord preserved the full vital energy of His servant, even till the time of his death. The mourning of the people lasted thirty days, as in the case of Aaron (Num. xx. 29).

Vers. 9–12. Joshua now took Moses' place as the leader of the people, filled with the spirit of wisdom (practical wisdom, manifesting itself in action), because Moses had ordained him to his office by the laying on of hands (Num. xxvii. 18). And the people obeyed him; but he was not like Moses. "*There arose no more a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face,*" i.e. so far as the miracles and signs were concerned which Moses did, by virtue of his divine mission, upon Pharaoh, his servants, and his land, and the terrible acts which he performed before the eyes of Israel (vers. 11 and 12; *vid.* chap. xxvi. 8, and iv. 34). "*Whom Jehovah knew:*" not who knew Him, the Lord. "To know," like γινώσκειν in 1 Cor. viii. 3, relates to the divine knowledge, which not only involves a careful observance (chap. ii. 7), but is also a manifestation of Himself to man, a penetration of man with the spiritual power of God. Because he was thus known by the Lord, Moses was able to perform signs and wonders, and mighty, terrible acts, such as no other performed either before or after him. In this respect Joshua stood far below Moses, and no prophet arose in Israel like unto Moses.—This remark concerning Moses does not presuppose that a long series of prophets had already risen up since the time of Moses. When Joshua had defeated the Canaanites, and conquered their land with the powerful help of the Lord, which was still manifested in signs and wonders, and had divided

it among the children of Israel, and when the tribes had settled down in their inheritance, so that the different portions of the land began to be called by the names of Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Judah, as is the case in ver. 2; the conviction might already have become established in Israel, that no other prophet would arise like Moses, to whom the Lord had manifested Himself with such signs and wonders before the Egyptians and the eyes of Israel. The position occupied by Joshua in relation to this his predecessor, as the continuer of his work, would necessarily awaken and confirm this conviction, in connection with what the Lord had said as to the superiority of Moses to all the prophets (Num. xii. 6 sqq.). Moses was the founder and mediator of the old covenant. As long as this covenant was to last, no prophet could arise in Israel like unto Moses. There is but One who is worthy of greater honour than Moses, namely, the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, who is placed as the Son over all the house of God, in which Moses was found faithful as a servant (compare Heb. iii. 2-6 with Num. xii. 7), Jesus Christ, the founder and mediator of the new and everlasting covenant.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

IF we close our commentary with another survey of the entire work, viz. the five books of Moses, we may sum up the result of our detailed exposition, so far as critical opinions respecting its origin are concerned, in these words: We have found the decision which we pronounced in our General Introduction, as to the internal unity and system of the whole *Thorah*, as well as its Mosaic origin, thoroughly confirmed. With the exception of the last chapters of the fifth book, which are distinctly shown to be an appendix to the Mosaic *Thorah*, added by a different hand, by the statement in Deut. xxxi. 24 sqq., that when the book of the law was finished Moses handed it over to the Levites to keep, there is nothing in the whole of the five books which Moses might not have written. There are no historical circumstances or events either mentioned or assumed, which occurred for the first time after Moses was dead. Neither the allusion to the place called Dan in Gen. xiv. 14 (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1); nor the remark in Gen. xxxvi. 1, that there were kings

in the land of Edom before the children of Israel had a king over them; nor the statement that the monument which Jacob erected over Rachel's grave remained "to this day" (Gen. xxxv. 20); nor even the assertion in Deut. iii. 14, that Jair called Bashan "Chavvoth Jair" after his own name, furnishes any definite and unmistakeable indication of a post-Mosaic time.¹ And the account in Ex. xvi. 35, that the Israelites ate the manna forty years, till they came to an inhabited land, "to the end," *i.e.* the extreme boundary, of the land of Canaan, could only be adduced by *Bleek* (*Einl.* p. 204) as an evident proof that "this could not have been written before the arrival of the Israelites in the land of Canaan," through a *παρερμηνεία*, or misinterpretation of the words, "into the land of their dwelling." For were not the Israelites on the border of the land when they were encamped in the steppes of Moab by the Jordan opposite to Jericho? Or are we to suppose that the kingdoms of Sihon and Og with their cities, which the Israelites had already conquered under Moses, were an uninhabited land? The passage mentioned last simply proves, that in the middle books of the Pentateuch we have not simple diaries before us containing the historical occurrences of the Mosaic times, but a work drawn up according to a definite plan, and written in the last year of Moses' life. This is apparent from the remarks about the shining face of Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 33–35), and the guidance of Israel in all its journeys by the pillar of cloud (Ex. xl. 38, cf. Num. x. 34), as well as from the systematic arrangement and distribution of the materials according to certain well-defined and obvious points of view, as we have already endeavoured to show in the introductions to the different books, and in the exposition itself.

If, however, the composition of the whole *Thorah* by Moses is thus firmly established, in accordance with the statements in Deut. xxxi. 9 and 24, it by no means follows that Moses wrote the whole

¹ But even if the remarks in Gen. xxxv. 20 and Deut. iii. 14 concerning the preservation of the monument over Rachel's grave, and the retention of the names which Jair gave to the towns of Bashan, should really point to a post-Mosaic time, no modest critic would ever think of adducing two such gloss-like notices as a proof of the later origin of the whole Pentateuch, but would regard these notices as nothing more than a gloss interpolated by a later hand. In the case of the monument upon Rachel's grave, however, if it continued in existence for centuries, it is not only conceivable, but by no means improbable, that the spies sent into Canaan from Kadesh, who passed through the land from Hebron to Hamath, saw it by the high road where the grave was situated, and brought the intelligence of its preservation to Moses and the people.

work from Gen. i. to Deut. xxxi. *uno tenore*, and in the closing days of his life. Even in this case it may have been written step by step; and not only Genesis, but the three middle books, may have been composed before the discourses in the fifth book, so that the whole work was simply finished and closed after the renewal of the covenant recorded in Deut. xxix. and xxx. Again, such statements as that Moses wrote this law, and made an end of writing the words of this law in a book till they were finished (Deut. xxxi. 9 and 24), by no means require us to assume that Moses wrote it all with his own hand. The epistles which the Apostle Paul sent to the different churches were rarely written with his own hand, but were dictated to one of his assistants; yet their Pauline origin is not called in question in consequence. And so Moses may have employed some assistant, either a priest or scribe (*shoter*), in the composition of the book of the law, without its therefore failing to be his own work. Still less is the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch rendered doubtful by the fact that he availed himself of written documents from earlier times in writing the primeval history, and incorporated them to some extent in the book of Genesis without alteration; and that in the history of his own time, and when introducing the laws into his work, he inserted documents in the middle books which had been prepared by the priests and *shoterim* at his own command,—such, for example, as the lists of the numbering of the people (Num. i.-iii. and xxvi.), the account of the dedicatory offerings of the tribe-princes (Num. vii.), and of the committee of heads of tribes appointed for the purpose of dividing the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 16 sqq.),—in the exact form in which they had been drawn up for public use. This conjecture is rendered very natural by the contents and form of the Pentateuch.

The Pentateuch contains historical narrative and law, answering to the character of the divine revelation, which consisted in historical facts, and received a development in accordance with the times. And on closer inspection we find that several different elements may be distinguished in each of these. The historical contents are divisible into an annalistic or monumental portion, and into prophetico-historical accounts. The former includes the simple notices of the most important events from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, with their exact chronological, ethnographical, and geographical data; also the numerous genealogical documents introduced into the history. To the latter belong statements, whether shorter or longer, respecting those revelations and promises

of God, by which the Creator of the heaven and the earth prepared the way from the very earliest time for the redemption of the fallen human race, and which, after laying the foundation for the Old Testament kingdom of God by the guidance of the patriarchs and the redemption of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt, He eventually carried out at Sinai by the conclusion of a covenant and the giving of a law. In the same way, we may distinguish a twofold element in the legal portion of the Pentateuch. The kernel of the Sinaitic legislation is to be found in the decalogue, with the moral and rightful conditions upon the basis of which the Lord concluded the covenant with Israel. The religious and moral truths and commandments, which, as being the absolute demands of the holiness and justice, the love and mercy of God, constitute the very essence of true religion, are surrounded in the covenant economy of the Old Testament by certain religious statutes and institutions, which were imposed upon the people of God simply for the time of its infancy, and constituted that "shadow of things to come" which was to pass away when the "body" appeared. This "shadow" embraces all the special theocratic ordinances and precepts of the so-called Levitical law (whether ecclesiastical, disciplinary, or magisterial), in which religious and ethical ideas were symbolically incorporated; so that they contained within them eternal truths, whilst their earthly form was to pass away. These covenant statutes are so intimately bound up with the general religious doctrines and the purely moral commands, by virtue of their symbolical significance, that in many respects they interlace one another, the moral commands being enclosed and pervaded by the covenant statutes, and the latter again being sanctified and transformed by the former, so that the entire law assumes the form of a complete organic whole. A similar organic connection is also apparent between the historical and legal constituents of the Pentateuch. The historical narrative not only supplied the framework or outward setting for the covenant legislation, but it also prepared the way for that legislation, just as God Himself prepared the way for concluding the covenant with Israel by His guidance of the human race and the patriarchs of Israel; and it so pervades every portion of it also, that, on the one hand, the historical circumstances form the groundwork for the legal institutions, and on the other hand a light is thrown by the historical occurrences upon the covenant ordinances and laws. Just as nature and spirit interpenetrate each other in the world around us and in human life, and the

spirit not only comes to view in the life of nature, but transforms it at the same time; so has God planted His kingdom of grace in the natural order of the world, that nature may be sanctified by grace. But, notwithstanding this organic connection between the various constituents of the Pentateuch, from the very nature of the case not only are the historical and legal portions kept quite distinct from one another in many passages, but the distinctions between these two constituents are here and there brought very clearly out to view.

The material differences necessarily determined in various ways the form of the narrative, the phraseology, and even the words employed. In the historical portions many words and expressions occur which are never met with in the legal sections, and *vice versa*. The same remark also applies to the different portions in which we have either historical narrative, or the promulgation of laws. In addition to this, we might reasonably expect to find whole sections also, in which the ideas and verbal peculiarities of the different constituents are combined. And this is really the case. The differences stand out very sharply in the earliest chapters of Genesis, where the account of paradise and the fall, together with the promise of the victory of the seed of the woman over the serpent, which contains the germ of all future revelations of God (chap. ii. 4 sqq.), is appended immediately to the history of the creation of the world (chap. i. 1–ii. 3); whilst in the mode of narration it differs considerably from the style of the first chapter. Whereas in chap. i. the Creator of the heaven and the earth is called *Elohim* simply; in the history of paradise and the fall, not to mention other differences, we meet with the composite name *Jehovah Elohim*; and, after this, the two names *Elohim* and *Jehovah* are used interchangeably, so that in many chapters the former only occurs, and in others again only the latter, until the statement in Ex. vi., that God appeared to Moses and commissioned him to bring the people of Israel out of Egypt, after which the name *Jehovah* predominates, so that henceforth, with but few exceptions, *Elohim* is only used in an appellative sense.

Upon this interchange in the names of God in the book of Genesis, modern critics have built up their hypothesis as to the composition of Genesis, and in fact of the entire Pentateuch, either from different documents, or from repeated supplementary additions, in accordance with which they discover an outward cause for the change of names, viz. the variety of editors, instead of deducing

it from the different meanings of the names themselves ; whilst they also adduce, in support of their view, the fact that certain ideas and expressions change in connection with the name of God. The fact is obvious enough. But the change in the use of the different names of God is associated with the gradual development of the saving purposes of God ; and as we have already shown in vol. i. pp. 73 sqq., the names *Elohim* and *Jehovah* are expressive of different relations on the part of God to the world. Now, as God did not reveal Himself in the full significance of His name *Jehovah* till the time of the exodus of Israel out of Egypt, and the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, we could expect nothing else than what we actually find in Genesis, namely, that this name is not used by the author of the book of Genesis before the call of Abraham, except in connection with such facts as were directly preparatory to the call of Abraham to be the father of the covenant nation ; and that even in the history of the patriarchs, in which it predominates from Gen. xii.—xvi., it is used less frequently again after *Jehovah* revealed Himself to Abraham as *El Shaddai*, and other titles of God sprang out of the continued manifestations of God to the patriarchs, which could take the place of that name. (For more detailed remarks, see vol. i. pp. 330 sqq.). It would not have been by any means strange, therefore, if the name *Jehovah* had not occurred at all in the account of the creation of the world, in the genealogies of the patriarchs of the primeval and preparatory age (Gen. v. and xi.), in the table of nations (Gen. x.), in the account of the negotiations of Abraham with the Hittites concerning the purchase of the cave of Machpelah for a family sepulchre (Gen. xxiii.), in the notices respecting Esau and the Edomitish tribe-princes and kings (Gen. xxxvi.), and other narratives of similar import. Nevertheless we find it in the genealogy in Gen. v. 29, and in the table of nations in Gen. x. 9, where the critics, in order to save their hypothesis, are obliged to have recourse to an assumption of glosses, or editorial revisions. They have dealt still more violently with Gen. xvii. 1. There *Jehovah* appears to Abram, and manifests Himself to him as *El Shaddai*, from which it is very evident that the name *El Shaddai* simply expresses one particular feature in the manifestation of *Jehovah*, and describes a preliminary stage, anticipatory of the full development of the nature of the absolute God, as expressed in the name *Jehovah*. This is put beyond all doubt by the declaration of God to Moses in Ex. vi. 3, “ I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as *El Shaddai*, and by My name *Jehovah* was I not known to them.”

Even *Astruc* observes, with reference to these words, "The passage in Exodus, when properly understood, does not prove that the name of Jehovah was a name of God unknown to the patriarchs, and revealed for the first time to Moses ; it simply proves that God had not shown the patriarchs the full extent of the meaning of this name, as He had made it known to Moses." The modern critics, on the other hand, have erased *Jehovah* from the text in Gen. xvii. 1, and substituted *Elohim* in its place, and then declare *El Shaddai* synonymous with *Elohim*, whilst they have so perverted Ex. vi. 3 as to make the name *Jehovah* utterly unknown to the patriarchs. By similar acts of violence they have mangled the text in very many other passages, for the purpose of carrying out the distinction between the Elohim and Jehovah documents ; and yet for all that they cannot escape the admission, that there are certain portions or sections of the book of Genesis in which the separation is impossible.

It is just the same with the supposed "favourite expressions" of the Elohist and Jehovistic sections, as with the names of God. "There are certain favourite expressions, it is said, which are common to the Elohist portions ; and the same things are frequently called by different names in the Elohist and Jehovistic sections. Among the Elohist expressions are : אֶחָזָה (possession), אֶרֶץ מְגוּרִים (land of the stranger's sojourn), בְּעֵצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, לְמִינֹה, לְדִרוֹתֵיכֶם (the self-same day), *Padan-Aram* (the Jehovistic for this is always(?) *Aram-Naharaim*, or simply *Aram*),¹ הָאֵלִים בְּרִית, פָּרָה וְרֵבָה (the Jehovistic is בְּרִית בְּרִית) ; wherever the name Elohim occurs, these expressions also appear as its inseparable satellites." This statement is in part incorrect, and not in accordance with fact ; and even where there is any foundation for it, it really proves nothing. In the first place, it is not correct that אֶחָזָה and אֶרֶץ מְגוּרִים are only to be met with in Elohist portions. In the very first passage in which we meet with this word in the Pentateuch (Gen. xvii. 8), it is not *Elohim*, but Jehovah, who appears as *El Shaddai*, and promises Abraham and his seed the land of his pilgrimage, the land of Canaan, לְאֶחָזָה עוֹלָם.

¹ The actual fact is, that *Aram-Naharaim* only occurs twice in the Pentateuch, viz. Gen. xxiv. 10 and Deut. xxiii. 5, for which *Aram* alone occurs in Num. xxiii. 7, which is well known to apply not merely to Mesopotamia, but to Syria as well, and is used here simply as a poetical term for *Aram-Naharaim*. Moreover, *Padan-Aram* and *Aram-Naharaim* are not identical ; but the former merely denotes one particular district of "Aram of the two rivers," or Mesopotamia.

This passage is clearly pointed to in Gen. xlviii. 4. In addition to this, the word *achuzzah* occurs in Gen. xxiii. 4, 9, 20, xlix. 30, l. 13, in connection with the family sepulchre which Abraham had acquired as a possession by purchase; also in the laws concerning the sale and redemption of landed property (Lev. xxv. and xxvii. very frequently), and in those concerning the division of the land as a possession among the tribes and families of Israel (Num. xxvii. 7, xxxii. 5 sqq., xxxv. 2, 8); also in Lev. xxv. 34 and Gen. xxxvi. 43,—in both passages with reference to property or a fixed landed possession, for which there was no other word in the Hebrew language that could be used in these passages; not to mention the fact, that *Stähelin*, *Knobel*, and others, pronounce Num. xxxii. 32 a Jehovistic passage. So again the expressions בְּרִית (to set up a covenant) and לְדֹרֹתָם (in their generations) occur in Gen. xvii. 7 in a Jehovistic framework; for it was not *Elohim*, but Jehovah, who appeared to Abram (see ver. 1), to set up (not conclude) His covenant with him and his posterity as an everlasting covenant, according to their generations. To set up (*i.e.* realize, carry out) a covenant, and to conclude a covenant, are certainly two distinct ideas.—In Gen. xlvii. 27, again, and Lev. xxvi. 9, we meet with פָּרָה וְרָבָה in two sections, which are pronounced Jehovistic. The other three, no doubt, occur in Genesis in connection with *Elohim*; but the expression, “in the self-same day,” could not be expected in Jehovistic sections, for the simple reason, that the time of the revelations and promises of God is not generally reckoned by day and hour. “After his kind” is only met with in four sections in the whole of the Pentateuch,—in the accounts of the creation and that of the flood (Gen. i. and vi. vii.), and in the laws concerning clean and unclean beasts (Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv.), where it is simply the species of animals that are referred to. Can this word then be called a favourite Elohist expression, which constantly appears like an inseparable satellite, wherever the name *Elohim* occurs? The same remarks apply to other words and phrases described as Elohist: *e.g.* *tholedoth* (which stands at the head of a Jehovistic account, however, in Gen. ii. 4), “father’s house,” “in their families” (*mishpachoth*), and many others. But just as such expressions as these are not to be expected in the prophetic-historical sections, for the simple reason that the ideas which they express belong to a totally different sphere, so, on the other hand, a considerable number of notions and words, which are associated with the visible manifestations of God, the promises to the patriarchs,

their worship, etc., are found in the book of Genesis always in connection with the name *Jehovah*: see, for example, קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, (עלות) רִיחַ הַנְּחֹחַ, הָעֹלָה עֹלָה, and others of the same kind. And yet the last two occur in the laws of the middle books, which the critics attribute to the Elohist much more frequently than many of the so-called Elohistic expressions and formulas of the book of Genesis. This fact clearly shows, that there are no such things as favourite expressions of the Elohist and Jehovist, but that the words are always adapted to the subject. In the covenant statutes of the middle books, we find Elohistic and Jehovistic expressions combined, because the economy of the Sinaitic covenant was anticipated on the one hand by the patriarchal revelations of Jehovah the covenant God, and established on the other hand upon the natural foundations of the Israelitish commonwealth. The covenant which Jehovah concluded with the people of Israel at Sinai (Ex. xxiv.) was simply the setting up and full realization of the covenant which He made with Abram (Gen. xv.), and had already begun to set up with him by the promise of a son, and the institution of circumcision as the covenant sign (Gen. xvii.). The indispensable condition of membership in the covenant was circumcision, which Jehovah commanded to Abraham when He made Himself known to him as *El Shaddai* (Gen. xvii.), and in connection with which we meet for the first time with the legal formulas, “a statute for ever,” “in your generations,” and “that soul shall be cut off,” which recur so constantly in the covenant statutes of the middle books, but so arranged, that the expression “a statute for ever” is never used in connection with general religious precepts or purely moral commandments, the eternal significance of which did not need to be enjoined, since it naturally followed from the unchangeable holiness and justice of the eternal God, whilst this could not be assumed without further ground of the statutory laws and ordinances of the covenant. But these covenant ordinances also had their roots in the natural order of the world and of the national life. The nation of Israel which sprang from the twelve sons of Israel by natural generation, received its division into tribes, and the constitution founded upon this, as a covenant nation and congregation of Jehovah. The numbering of the people was taken in tribes, according to the families and fathers’ houses of the different tribes; and the land of Canaan, which was promised them for an inheritance, was to be divided among the tribes, with special reference to the number and magnitude of their families. It is perfectly natural,

therefore, that in the laws and statements concerning these things, words and formularies should be repeated which already occur in the book of Genesis in connection with the genealogical notices.

Modern critics, as is well known, regard the whole of the Sinaitic legislation, from Ex. xxv. to Num. x. 28, as an essential part of the original work, with the exception of Ex. xx.—xxiii., Lev. xvii.—xx. and xxvi., and a few verses in Lev. x., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., and Num. iv. and viii. Now, as a great variety of things are noticed in this law—such as the building and setting up of the tabernacle, the description of the priests' clothes, the order of sacrifice—which are not mentioned again in the other parts of the Pentateuch, it was very easy for *Knobel* to fill several pages with expressions from the original Elohist work, which are neither to be found in the Jehovistic historical narratives, nor in the general commands of a religious and moral character, by simply collecting together all the names of these particular things. But what does such a collection prove? Nothing further than that the contents of the Pentateuch are very varied, and the same things are not repeated throughout. Could we expect to find beams, pillars, coverings, tapestries, and the vessels of the sanctuary, or priests' dresses and sacrificial objects, mentioned in the ten commandments, or among the rights of Israel (Ex. xx.—xxiii.), or in the laws of marriage and chastity and the moral commandments (Lev. xvii.—xx.)? With the exception of the absence of certain expressions and formulas, which are of frequent occurrence in the covenant statutes, the critics are unable to adduce any other ground for excluding the general religious and moral commandments from the legislation of the so-called original work, than the *a priori* axiom, "The Elohist had respect simply to the theocratic law; and such laws as are introduced in Ex. xxi.—xxiii., in connection with moral and civil life, lay altogether outside his plan." These are assertions, not proofs. The use of words in the Pentateuch could only furnish conclusive evidence that it had been composed by various authors, if the assertion were a well founded one, that different expressions are employed for the same thing in different parts of the work. But all that has hitherto been adduced in proof of this amounts to nothing more than a few words, chiefly in the early chapters of Genesis; whilst it is assumed at the same time that Gen. ii. 4 sqq. contains a second account of the creation, whereas it simply gives a description of paradise, and a more minute account of the creation of man than is to be found in Gen. i., the difference in the point of view requiring different words.

To this we have to add the fact, that by no means a small number of sections exhibit, so far as the language is concerned, the peculiarities of the two original documents or main sources, and render a division utterly impossible. The critics have therefore found themselves compelled to assume that there was a third or even a fourth source, to which they refer whatever cannot be assigned to the other two. This assumption is a pure offshoot of critical difficulty, whilst the fact itself is a proof that the Pentateuch is founded upon unity of language, and that the differences which occur here and there arise for the most part from the variety and diversity of the actual contents; whilst in a very few instances they may be attributable to the fact that Moses availed himself of existing writings in the composition of the book of Genesis, and in the middle books inserted public documents without alteration in his historical account.

The other proofs adduced, for the purpose of supporting the evidence from language, viz. the frequent *repetitions* of the same thing and the actual *discrepancies*, are even weaker still. No doubt the Pentateuch abounds in repetitions. The longest and most important is the description of the tabernacle, where we have, first of all, the command to prepare this sanctuary given in Ex. xxv.—xxxi., with a detailed description of all the different parts, and all the articles of furniture, as well as of the priests' clothing and the consecration of the priests and the altar; and then again, in Ex. xxxv.—xxxix. and Lev. viii., a detailed account of the fulfilment of these instructions in almost the same words. The holy candlestick is mentioned five times (Ex. xxv. 31–40, xxvii. 20, 21, xxx. 7, 8, Lev. xxiv. 1–4, and Num. viii. 1–4); the command not to eat blood occurs as many as eight times (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, 27, xvii. 10–14; Deut. xii. 16, 23, 24, and xv. 23), and on the first three occasions, at all events, in passages belonging to the so-called original work. Now, if these repetitions have not been regarded by any of the critics, with the exception of *J. Popper*, as furnishing proofs of difference of authorship, what right can we have to adduce other repetitions of a similar kind as possessing any such significance?—But lastly, the critics have involved *themselves* in almost incomprehensible contradictions, through the supposed contradictions in the Pentateuch. Some of them, e.g. *Stähelin* and *Bertheau*, think these discrepancies only apparent, or at least as of such a character that the last editor saw no discrepancies in them, otherwise he would have expunged them. Others, such as *Knobel*

and *Hupfeld*, place them in the foreground, as the main proofs of a plurality of authors; whilst *Hupfeld* especially, by a truly inquisitorial process, has made even the smallest differences into irreconcilable contradictions. Yet, for all that, he maintains that the Pentateuch, in its present form, is a work characterized by unity, arranged and carried out according to a definite plan, in which the different portions are so arranged and connected together, "with an intelligent regard to connection and unity or plan," yea, "dovetailed together in so harmonious a way, that they have the deceptive appearance of a united whole" (*Hupfeld, die Quellen der Genes.* p. 196). In working up the different sources, the editor, it is said, "did not hesitate to make systematic corrections of the one to bring it into harmony with the other," as, for example, in the names Abram and Sarai, which he copied from the original document into the Jehovistic portions before Gen. xvii., because "he would not allow of any discrepancy between his sources in these points, and in fact could not have allowed it without a manifest contradiction, and the consequent confusion of his readers" (p. 198). How then does it square with so intelligent a procedure, to assume that there are irreconcilable contradictions in the work? An editor who worked with so much intelligence and reflection would never have left actual contradictions standing; and modern critics have been able to discover them simply because they judge the biblical writings according to modern notions, and start in their operations from a fundamental opinion which is directly at variance with the revelation of the Bible.

The strength of the opposition to the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch arises much less from the peculiarities of form, which the critics have placed in the foreground, than from the offence which they take at the contents of the books of Moses, which are irreconcilable with the naturalism of the modern views of the world. To the leaders of modern criticism, not only is the spuriousness, or post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, an established fact, but the gradual rise of the Mosaic laws in connection with the natural development of the Hebrew people, without any direct or supernatural interposition on the part of God, is also firmly established *a priori* on dogmatical grounds. This is openly expressed by *De Wette* in the three first editions of his Introduction, in which he opens the critical inquiry concerning the Pentateuch with this observation (§ 145): "Many occurrences are opposed to the laws of nature, and presuppose a direct interposition on the part of

God ;" and then proceeds to say, that "if to an educated mind it is a *decided* fact that such miracles have never really occurred, the question arises whether, perhaps, they may have *appeared* to do so to the eye-witnesses and persons immediately concerned ; but to this also we must give a negative reply. And *thus* we are brought to the conclusion that the narrative is not contemporaneous, or derived from contemporaneous sources." *Ewald* has expressed his naturalistic views, which acknowledge no supernatural revelation from God, in his "History of the People of Israel," and developed the gradual formation of the Pentateuch from the principles involved in these fundamental views. But just as *De Wette* expressed this candid confession in a much more cautious and disguised manner in the later editions of his Introduction, so have his successors endeavoured more and more to conceal the naturalistic background of their critical operations, and restricted themselves to arguments, the weakness and worthlessness of which they themselves admit in connection with critical questions which do not affect their naturalistic views. So long as biblical criticism is fettered by naturalism, it will never rise to a recognition of the genuineness and internal unity of the Pentateuch. For if the miraculous acts of the living God recorded in it are not true, and did not actually occur, the account of them cannot have come down from eye-witnesses, but can only be myths, which grew up in the popular belief long after the events referred to. And if there is no prophetic foresight of the future produced by the Spirit of God, Moses cannot have foretold the rejection of Israel and their dispersion among the heathen even before their entrance into Canaan, whereas they did not take place till many centuries afterwards.

If, on the other hand, the reality of the supernatural revelations of God, together with miracles and prophecies, be admitted, not only are the contents of the Pentateuch in harmony with its Mosaic authorship, but even its formal arrangement can be understood and scientifically vindicated, provided only we suppose the work to have originated in the following manner. After the exodus of the tribes of Israel from Egypt, and their adoption as the people of Jehovah through the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, when Moses had been commanded by God to write down the covenant rights (Ex. xxiv. 4, and xxxiv. 27), and then formed the resolution not only to ensure the laws which the Lord had given to the people through his mediation against alteration and distortion, and hand them down to futurity by committing them to writing, but to write down all

the great and glorious things that the Lord had done for His people, for the instruction of his own and succeeding generations, and set himself to carry out this resolution ; he collected together the traditions of the olden time, which had been handed down in Israel from the days of the patriarchs, partly orally, and partly in writings and records, for the purpose of combining them into a preliminary history of the kingdom of God, which was founded by the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai. Accordingly, in all probability during the stay at Sinai, in the five or six months which were occupied in building the tabernacle, he wrote not only the book of Genesis, but the history of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt and the march to Sinai (Ex. xix.), to which the decalogue, with the book of the covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), is attached, according to that plan of the kingdom of God which had then been fully revealed, or, in other words, from a theocratic point of view. As he had written the covenant rights in a book by the command of God, as a preliminary to the conclusion of the covenant itself (Ex. xxiv. 4), there can be no doubt whatever that he did not merely publish to the people by word of mouth the very elaborate revelation and directions of God concerning the construction of the tabernacle and the apparatus of worship, which he had received upon the mountain (Ex. xxv.-xxxi.), as well as all the rest of the laws, but either committed them to writing himself directly after he had received them from the Lord, or had them written out by one of his assistants, and collected together for the purpose of forming them eventually into a complete work. We may make the same assumption with reference to the most important events which occurred during the forty years' journey through the desert, so that, on the arrival of the camp in the steppes of Moab, the whole of the historical and legal materials for the three middle books of the Pentateuch were already collected together, and all that remained to be done was to form them into a united whole, and give them a final revision. The collection, arrangement, and final working up of these materials would be accomplished in a very short time, since Moses had, at all events, the priests and *shoterim* by his side.—All this had probably taken place before the last addresses of Moses, which compose the book of Deuteronomy, so that nothing further remained to be done but to write down these addresses, and append them as a fifth book to the four already in existence. With this the writing of "all the words of this book of the law" was finished, so that the whole book of the law could be handed over in a

complete state to the priests, to be properly taken care of by them (Deut. xxxi. 24 sqq.).

A copy of the song of Moses was added to this written work, in all probability immediately after it had been deposited by the side of the ark of the covenant; and, after his death, the blessing pronounced upon the tribes before his departure was also committed to writing. Finally, after the conquest of Canaan, possibly on the renewal of the covenant under Joshua, an account of the death of Moses was added to these last two testimonies of the man of God, and adopted along with them, in the form of an appendix, into his book of the law.

END OF VOL. III.

BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.



	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO THE PROPHETICAL HISTORIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, .	1

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, DATE, AND CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA, . . .	13
--	----

EXPOSITION.

THE PREAMBLE (CHAP. I. 1-9),	27
--	----

I. THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN (CHAP. I.-XII.) :—

Preparations for entering Canaan (Chap. i. 10-ii. 24),	30
Passage through the Jordan (Chap. iii. iv.),	39
Circumcision of the People, and Celebration of the Passover at Gilgal (Chap. v. 1-12),	52
Appearance of the Angel of the Lord, and Conquest of Jericho (Chap. v. 13-vi. 27),	61
Achan's Theft and Punishment (Chap. vii.),	74
Conquest of Ai ; Blessings and Curses upon Gerizim and Ebal (Chap. viii.),	83
Stratagem of the Gibeonites, and their consequent Preservation (Chap. ix.),	94
Victory at Gibeon, and Conquest of Southern Canaan (Chap. x.), .	102
Defeat of the Kings of Northern Canaan ; Subjugation of the whole Land (Chap. xi.),	118
List of the Kings slaughtered by the Israelites (Chap. xii.), .	127

	PAGE
II. DIVISION OF THE LAND OF CANAAN AMONG THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL (CHAP. XIII.-XXIV.),	131
Command of God to divide the Land of Canaan ; Description of the Territory of the Two Tribes and a Half (Chap. xiii.),	133
Commencement of the Division of the Land of Canaan ; Inheritance of Caleb (Chap. xiv.),	144
Inheritance of the Tribe of Judah (Chap. xv.),	151
Inheritance of the Tribe of Joseph (Chap. xvi. xvii.),	175
The Tabernacle set up at Shiloh ; Survey of the Land that had still to be divided ; Inheritance of the Tribe of Benjamin (Chap. xviii.),	185
Inheritance of the Tribes of Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan (Chap. xix.),	190
Selection of Cities of Refuge, or Free Cities (Chap. xx.),	209
Appointment of Towns for the Priests and Levites (Chap. xxi.), .	210
Return of the Two Tribes and a Half to their own Inheritance (Chap. xxii.),	216
Joshua's Farewell and Death (Chap. xxiii. xxiv.),	222

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS AND CHARACTER, ORIGIN AND SOURCES, OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES,	237
---	-----

EXPOSITION.

I. ATTITUDE OF ISRAEL TOWARDS THE CANAANITES, AND TOWARDS JEHOVAH ITS GOD (CHAP. I.-III. 6) :—	
Hostilities between Israel and the Canaanites after Joshua's Death (Chap. i. 1-ii. 5),	249
Conduct of Israel towards the Lord, and Treatment of Israel by the Lord, in the Time of the Judges (Chap. ii. 6-iii. 6),	267
II. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL UNDER THE JUDGES (CHAP. III. 7- XVI. 31),	276

	PAGE
1. Times of the Judges: Othniel; Ehud and Shamgar; Deborah and Barak (Chap. iii. 7-v.),	292
Oppression of Israel by Chushan-rishathaim, and Deliverance by Othniel (Chap. iii. 7-11),	292
Oppression of Israel by Eglon, and Deliverance by Ehud; Shamgar's heroic Deeds (Chap. iii. 12-31),	295
Oppression of Israel by Jabin, and Deliverance by Deborah and Barak (Chap. iv. v.),	300
Deborah's Song of Victory (Chap. v.),	307
2. The Times of Gideon and his Family, and of the Judges Tola and Jair (Chap. vi.-x. 5),	325
Oppression of Israel by the Midianites, and call of Gideon to be their Deliverer (Chap. vi. 1-32),	327
Gideon's Victory over the Midianites (Chap. vi. 33-viii. 3),	338
Pursuit of the Midianites. Other Acts of Gideon; his Appointment as Judge (Chap. viii. 4-35),	351
Judgment upon the House of Gideon, or Abimelech's Sins and End (Chap. ix.),	360
The Judges Tola and Jair (Chap. x. 1-5),	371
3. Period of Oppression by the Ammonites and Philistines (Chap. x. 6-xvi.),	373
Israel's renewed Apostasy and consequent Punishment (Chap. x. 6-18),	373
Jephthah elected as Prince; Negotiations with the Ammonites; Victory, Vow, and Office of Judge (Chap. xi.-xii. 7),	378
The Judges Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (Chap. xii. 8-15),	397
Samson's Life, and Conflicts with the Philistines (Chap. xiii.-xvi.),	398
III. IMAGE-WORSHIP OF MICAH AND THE DANITES; INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF THE INHABITANTS OF GIBEAH; VENGEANCE TAKEN UPON THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN (CHAP. XVII.-XXI.),	426
Image-worship of Micah the Ephraimite, and its Removal to Laish-Dan (Chap. xvii. xviii.),	429
War of the Congregation with the Tribe of Benjamin on account of the Crime at Gibeah (Chap. xix. xx.),	442
Preservation of the Tribe of Benjamin; the Remnant provided with Wives (Chap. xxi.),	458

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, CHARACTER, AND ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF RUTH,	PAGE
	465

EXPOSITION.

Ruth goes with Naomi to Bethlehem (Chap. i.),	470
Ruth gleanes in the Field of Boaz (Chap. ii.),	476
Ruth seeks for Marriage with Boaz (Chap. iii.),	481
Boaz marries Ruth (Chap. iv.),	487

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE PROPHETICAL HISTORIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.



THE *thorah*, or five books of Moses, which contains an account of the founding of the Old Testament kingdom of God, and the laws which were given through Moses, is followed in the Hebrew canon by the writings of the "earlier prophets," נביאים ראשונים, *prophetæ priores*. This collective name is given to the four historical books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*, which trace, in the light of divine revelation, and of the gradual unfolding of the plan of salvation, the historical development of this kingdom of God from the death of Moses, the mediator of the old covenant, or from the entrance of the people of Israel into the land of Canaan promised to their fathers, till the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, and the Babylonian captivity; the whole embracing a period of nearly nine hundred years. The names given to these books are taken from the men whom the God-king of Israel called and appointed at different times as the leaders and rulers of His people and kingdom, and indicate, very suitably on the whole, the historical periods to which the books refer.

The book of *Joshua* describes the introduction of the people of Israel into the promised land of Canaan, through the conquest effected by Joshua, and the division of the land among the tribes of Israel. As Joshua only completed what Moses had commenced but had not been permitted to carry out, on account of his sin at the water of strife (Num. xx. 12); and as he had not only been called by the Lord, and consecrated by the laying on of the hands of Moses, to accomplish this work, but had also been favoured with direct revelations from God, and with His miraculous help in the

execution of it; the book which is named after him, and contains the account of what he did in the power of the Lord, is more closely related to the Pentateuch, both in its form and contents, than any other book of the Old Testament. In this respect, therefore, it might be regarded as an appendix, although it was never actually joined to it so as to form part of the same work, but was from the very first a separate writing, and simply stood in the same dependent relation to the writings of Moses, as that in which Joshua stood to Moses himself, of whom he was both the servant and successor.

The book of *Judges* embraces the period of 350 years, from the death of Joshua to the rise of Samuel as a prophet of the Lord; that is to say, the time appointed to the people of Israel to establish themselves in the complete and sole possession of the land that had been given them for an inheritance, by fighting against the Canaanites who remained in the land and exterminating them, and, when settled in this inheritance as the congregation of the Lord, to set up the covenant concluded with God at Sinai, and to maintain and build up the kingdom of God according to the principles and ordinances, the laws and rights, prescribed by Moses in the law. The Lord had promised His help to the covenant nation in carrying on the conflict with the remaining Canaanites, on condition that they adhered with fidelity to His covenant, and willingly obeyed His commandments. It was but very imperfectly, however, that the tribes of Israel observed these conditions, which had been earnestly impressed upon their hearts, not only by Moses, but also by Joshua before his death. They soon grew weary of the task of fighting against the Canaanites and destroying them, and contented themselves with making them merely tributary; in fact, they even began to form friendships with them, and worship their gods. As a punishment for this, the Lord gave them over to their enemies, so that they were repeatedly oppressed and deeply humiliated by the Canaanites, and the nations that were living round about Canaan. But whenever they repented and turned again in their distress to the Lord their God, He raised up helpers and deliverers for them in the persons of the judges, whom He filled with the power of His Spirit, so that they smote the enemy, and delivered both the people and the land from their oppression. But inasmuch as in every instance the judge was no sooner dead than the people fell into idolatry again, they sank deeper and deeper into bondage to the heathen, the theocratic constitution fell more and more into decay, and the life of the nation as a religious community was rapidly

coming to an end. This constant alternation, of apostasy from the Lord to the Canaanitish Baals and Astartes and the consequent punishment by deliverance into the power of their enemies on the one hand, and of temporary return to the Lord and deliverance by the judges out of their bondage on the other, which characterizes the post-Mosaic period of the Israelitish history, is clearly set forth in the book of Judges, and placed distinctly before the eye in separate pictures of the various oppressions and deliverances of Israel, each one being complete in itself, and the whole arranged in chronological order. Whilst the book of Joshua shows how the Lord fulfilled His promise to Israel with a mighty arm, and led His people into the land promised to the fathers, the book of Judges shows how Israel continually broke the covenant of its God in the land which He had given it for an inheritance, and thus fell into bondage to its foes, out of which the judges were not able to secure it a permanent deliverance; so that the Lord was obliged to create a new thing in Israel, in order to carry out His purpose of salvation, and to found and erect His kingdom in Canaan, through the medium of the children of Israel. This new thing consisted in the institution of prophecy as promised by Moses, or rather in the introduction of it into the political and national life, as a spiritual power by which it was henceforth to be pervaded, guided, and controlled; as neither the judges, nor the priests as custodiers of the sanctuary, were able to uphold the authority of the law of God in the nation, or turn the idolatrous nation to the Lord. It is true we meet with certain prophets as early as the times of the judges; but the true founder of the Old Testament prophecy (*prophetenthums*, prophethood) was Samuel, with whom the prophets first began their continuous labours, and the prophetic gift was developed into a power which exerted an influence, as strong as it was salutary, upon the future development of the Israelitish state.

The books of *Samuel* contain the history of Israel from the appearance of Samuel as a prophet to the end of the reign of David, and include the renewal of the theocracy by the labours of Samuel, and the establishment of the earthly monarchy by Saul and David. At the close of the period of the judges, when the ark of the covenant had fallen into the hands of the Philistines, and the removal of this visible symbol and substratum of the presence of God from the tabernacle had caused the central sanctuary of the congregation to lose all its significance as the place where God manifested himself, and when the judgments of God had even fallen upon the

members of the high-priesthood itself, in the death of Eli and his worthless sons, when the word of Jehovah was dear, and there was little prophecy to be found (1 Sam. iii. 1),—the Lord raised up Samuel, the son of the pious Hannah, who had been asked for of the Lord and consecrated to His service from his mother's womb, to be His prophet, and appeared to him continually at Shiloh; so that all Israel acknowledged him as the prophet appointed by the Lord, and through his prophetic labours was converted from dead idols to serve the living God. In consequence of this conversion, the Lord gave to the Israelites, in answer to Samuel's prayer, a complete and wondrous victory over the Philistines, by which they were delivered from the heavy oppression they had endured for forty years at the hands of these foes. From that time forward Samuel judged all Israel. But when he had grown old, and his sons, who had been appointed by him as judges, failed to walk in his steps, the people desired a king to judge them, to go before them, and to conduct their wars. In accordance with the command of God, Samuel chose Saul the Benjamite as king, and then laid down his own office as judge. He continued, however, to the very end of his life to labour as a prophet, in and through the schools of the prophets, which he had called into existence for the strengthening and confirmation of Israel in its fidelity to the Lord; and not only announced to King Saul his rejection by God, on account of his frequent resistance to the divine command, as made known to him by the prophet, but anointed David to be his successor as king over Israel. He died at the close of the reign of Saul, and did not live to see the accession and reign of David, with which the second book of Samuel is occupied. The reason why the name of Samuel is given to both these books, which form, both in style and contents, an indivisible whole, is in all probability therefore, that Samuel not only inaugurated the monarchy in Israel by anointing Saul and David, but exerted so decided an influence upon the spirit of the government of both these kings, through his prophetic labours, that even the latter may be regarded in a certain sense as the continuation of that reformation of the Israelitish state which the prophet himself began. It was in David that the true king of the kingdom of God under the Old Testament arose,—a mighty warrior in conflict with the enemies of Israel, and yet at the same time a pious servant of the Lord,—a man of true humility and faithful obedience to the word and commandment of God, who not only raised the state to a lofty height of earthly power and glory,

through the strength and justice of his rule, but who also built up the kingdom of God, by reviving and organizing the public worship of God, and by stimulating and fostering the true fear of God, through the cultivation of sacred song. When God had given him rest from all his enemies round about, he wished to build a temple to the Lord. But God did not grant him this desire of his heart : He gave him a promise, however, instead, viz. that He would build him a house, and establish the throne of his kingdom for ever ; and that He would raise up his seed after him, who would build a house to the name of the Lord (2 Sam. vii.). This promise formed not only the culminating point in the life and reign of David, but the indestructible basis for the further development of the Israelitish state and kingdom, and was not only a sure pledge of the continuance of the Davidic monarchy, but a firm anchor of hope for the covenant nation in all time to come.

Lastly, the books of *Kings* carry on the history of the Old Testament kingdom of God through a period of 450 years, viz. from the accession of Solomon to the Babylonian captivity, and furnish the historical proof that the promise given by the Lord to His servant David was stedfastly fulfilled. Notwithstanding the attempt of Adonijah to usurp the throne, He preserved the whole of the kingdom of David to his son Solomon, who had been chosen as his successor, and at the very commencement of his reign renewed His promise to him, so that Solomon was able to carry out the work of building the temple ; and under his wise and peaceful government in Judah and Israel every one could sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree. But when Solomon allowed himself to be drawn away by his foreign wives to turn from the Lord and worship idols, the Lord chastened him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men ; but His mercy did not depart away from him, as He had promised to David (2 Sam. vii. 14, 15). After Solomon's death, the ten tribes, it is true, revolted from the house of David, and founded a kingdom of their own under Jeroboam ; but one tribe (Judah along with Benjamin) remained with his son Rehoboam, and along with this tribe the capital, Jerusalem, and the temple. During the whole time that this one brother-nation was divided into two distinct kingdoms, which were frequently engaged in hostility with one another, the Lord preserved the throne to the seed of David ; and the kingdom of Judah survived the kingdom of the ten tribes of Israel 134 years, having as firm a political foundation in the unbroken suc-

cession of the royal family of David, as it had a strong spiritual foundation in the capital Jerusalem, with the temple which had been sanctified by the Lord as the dwelling-place of His name. In the kingdom of the ten tribes, on the other hand, Jeroboam introduced the germ of what eventually led to its destruction, by establishing as the state religion the unlawful worship of the golden calves. The destruction of his house was at once foretold to him on account of this sin (1 Kings xiv. 7); and this threat was carried out in the person of his son (1 Kings xv. 28 sqq.). As the kings of Israel who followed did not desist from this sin of Jeroboam, but, on the contrary, the dynasty of the house of Omri attempted to make the worship of Baal the leading religion of the kingdom, and the king and people gave no heed to the voice of the prophets, and did not return with sincerity of heart to the Lord, He gave up the sinful kingdom and people to the consequences of their sins, so that one dynasty overthrew another; and after the lapse of 250 years, the kingdom, which was already shattered by the frequently recurring civil wars, fell a prey to the Assyrians, by whom the whole land was conquered, and its inhabitants were led into captivity. The kingdom of Judah was also hard pressed by this powerful empire, and brought to the very verge of destruction; but in answer to the prayer of the pious king Hezekiah, it was delivered and preserved by the Lord for His own and His servant David's sake, until at length the godless king Manasseh filled up the measure of its sins, so that even the good king Josiah could only suspend the destruction for a certain time, but could not ward it off altogether. A short time after his death the judgment fell upon Judah and Jerusalem on account of the sins of Manasseh (2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27, xxiv. 3), when King Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon, conquered the land, and laid it waste; and having taken Jerusalem, led away Jehoiachim to Babylon, with a considerable portion of the people. And when even Zedekiah, who had been raised by him to the throne, rebelled against him, the Chaldeans returned and put an end to the kingdom of Judah, by destroying Jerusalem and burning the temple, Zechariah himself being deprived of his sight, and led away into captivity with a large number of prisoners. Yet even when Judah and its king were rejected and scattered among the heathen, the Lord did not leave His servant David without any light shining; but after Jehoiachim had been in prison for thirty-seven years, paying the penalty of his own and his father's sins, he was released from his imprisonment by Evil-merodach, the king of

Babylon, and his seat was placed above the seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 27-30). This joyful turn in the destinies of Jehoiachim, with which the books of Kings are brought to a close, throws the first gleam into the dark night of the captivity of that better future which was to dawn upon the seed of David, and through it upon the people of Israel when they should be delivered out of Babylon.

These four historical writings have been very justly called *prophetical books of history*: not, however, because they all, but more especially the books of Samuel and the Kings, give very full accounts of the labours of the prophets in Israel; nor merely because, according to the early Jewish tradition, they were written by prophets; but rather because they describe the history of the Old Testament covenant nation and kingdom of God in the light of the divine plan of salvation, setting forth the divine revelation, as it was accomplished in the historical development of Israel, or showing how the Almighty God and Lord of the whole earth continued as King of Israel uninterruptedly to fulfil the covenant of grace which He had concluded with the fathers and had set up at Sinai, and built up His kingdom, by leading the people whom He had chosen as His own possession, notwithstanding all the opposition of their sinful nature, further and further onwards towards the goal of their divine calling, and thus preparing the way for the salvation of the whole world. These books, therefore, do not contain a general history of the natural development of the Israelitish nation from a political point of view, but trace the history of the people of God, or Israel, in its theocratic development as a covenant nation, and as the channel of that salvation which was to be manifested to all nations in the fulness of time. Their authors, therefore, by virtue of prophetic illumination, have simply selected and described such events and circumstances from among the rich and plentiful variety contained in the accounts handed down by tradition, whether relating to families, tribes, or the nation as a whole, as were of importance to the history of the kingdom of God; that is to say, in addition to the divine revelations in word and deed, the wonders wrought by God, and the prophetic declarations of His counsel and will, they have recorded chiefly such points in the life and conduct of the nation and its more prominent members as affected advantageously or otherwise the development of the divine kingdom in Israel. Whatever had no inward connection with this higher aim and peculiar calling of Israel, was, as a rule, passed over altogether, or, at all

events, was only touched upon and mentioned so far as it served to exhibit the attitude of the nation generally, or of its rulers and leaders, towards the Lord and His kingdom. This will help to explain not only the apparent inequality in the treatment of the history, or the fact that here and there we have long periods merely referred to in a few general remarks, whereas, on the other hand, the adventures and acts of particular individuals are depicted with biographical minuteness, but also another distinctive peculiarity, viz. that the natural causes of the events which occurred, and the subjective motives which determined the conduct of historical personages, are for the most part left unnoticed, or only briefly and cursorily alluded to, whilst the divine interpositions and influence are constantly brought into prominence, and, so far as they were manifested in an extraordinary manner, are carefully and circumstantially described.

In all these respects the prophetic histories are so intimately connected with the historical narrative in the books of Moses, that they may be regarded as a simple continuation of those books. This not only applies to the book of Joshua, but to the other prophetic histories also. Just as the book of Joshua is linked on to the death of Moses, so the book of Judges is linked on to the death of Joshua; whilst the books of Kings commence with the termination of the reign of David, the point to which the history of David is brought in the books of Samuel. These books, again, are connected just as closely with the book of Judges; for, after giving an account of the high-priesthood of Eli, and the birth and youth of Samuel, which forms the introduction to the labours of Samuel, they describe the continuance and close of the subjugation of Israel by the Philistines, the commencement and prolongation of which are related in the last section of the book of Judges, although in this case the link of connection is somewhat hidden by the appendices to the book of Judges (chap. xvii.–xxi.), and by the introduction to the history of Samuel (1 Sam. i.–iii.). This close connection between all the writings in question, which is still further strengthened by their evident agreement in the selection and treatment of the historical materials, does not arise, as some suppose, from the fact that they received a last finish from the editorial hand of some one man, by whom this harmony and the so-called theocratic pragmatism which is common to them all was stamped upon the history; but it arose from the very nature of the historical facts themselves, *i.e.* from the fact that the history of Israel was not the result of a

purely natural development, but was the fruit and result of the divine training of the covenant nation. The prophetic character, by which these works are distinguished from the other sacred histories of the Israelites, consists in the fact that they do not trace the theocratic history from an individual point of view, but according to its actual course, and in harmony with the successive steps in the development of the divine counsels of salvation; and thus furnish their own proof that they were written by prophets, to whom the Spirit of the Lord had given a spiritual insight into the divine law of the kingdom.

With regard to the *origin* of the prophetical books of history, and the *date of their composition*, all that can be determined with certainty is, that they were all composed some time after the last event which they record, but were founded upon written contemporaneous accounts of the different events referred to. Although no sources are mentioned in the books of Joshua, of the Judges, and of Samuel, with the exception of the "book of Jasher" (Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18), from which the poetical extracts contained in the passages have been taken, there can be no doubt that the historical materials even of these books have been obtained, so far as everything essential is concerned, either from public documents or private writings. In the books of Kings we meet for the first time with the original sources regularly cited at the close of each king's reign; and, judging from the titles, "book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings xi. 41), and "book of the Chronicles (or 'daily occurrences,' *i.e.* contemporaneous history) of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (1 Kings xiv. 19, 29, etc.), they were in all probability fuller annals to which reference is made, as containing further accounts of the acts and undertakings of the several kings. We find a similar work cited in the books of the Chronicles under different titles, whilst certain prophetic works are referred to for the history of particular kings, such as words of Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer (1 Chron. xxix. 29); of Shemaiah the prophet, and Iddo the seer (2 Chron. xii. 15), and others; also the prophecies (vision) of Isaiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32), and words of Jehu the prophet (2 Chron. xx. 34), both of which are expressly said to have been received into the book of the kings of Israel (or of Judah and Israel). It is obvious from these statements, not only that prophetic writings and collections of oracles were incorporated in the more comprehensive annals of the kingdom, but also that the prophets themselves were engaged in various

ways in committing the history of Israel to writing. The foundation for this occupation had no doubt been laid in the companies or schools of the prophets, which had been called into existence by Samuel, and in which not only sacred music and sacred song were cultivated, but sacred literature also, more especially the history of the theocracy. Consequently, as *Oehler* supposes, in all probability the foundation was laid even in the *cœnobium* at Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 19 sqq.) for that great historical work, which was composed by prophets during the following centuries and is frequently referred to in the books of Kings, and which certainly lay before the writer of the Chronicles, though possibly in a revised form. The task of writing down the history of the theocracy was very closely connected with a prophet's vocation. Called as they were to be watchers (*zophim* or *mezappim*: *vid.* Micah vii. 4; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7) of the theocracy of the Lord, it was their special duty to test and judge the ways of the nation and its rulers according to the standard of the law of God, and not only to work in every possible way for the recognition of the majesty and sole glory of Jehovah, to bear witness before both high and low against every instance of apostasy from Him, against every violation of His ordinances and rights, and to proclaim judgment upon all who hardened themselves against the word of God and salvation and deliverance to the penitent and desponding; but also to set forth the guidance of Israel in the light of the saving purpose of God, and the inviolable rule of divine retribution,—to pass sentence upon the past circumstances of the nation, particularly the life and conduct of its kings, according to the standard of the law,—and to exhibit in their fate the reality of the divine promises and threats; and through all this to hold up, in the past history of the fathers, a mirror for the warning and comfort of future generations. With all these facts before us, we are fully warranted in assuming, that the prophetic works of history were employed as sources even in the composition of the books of Samuel. But this is not a probable supposition so far as the times of the judges are concerned, as we can find no certain traces of any organized prophetic labours by which the national life could be at all deeply influenced, notwithstanding the fact, that beside the prophetess Deborah (Judg. iv. 4), there is a prophet mentioned in Judg. vi. 7 sqq., and 1 Sam. ii. 27. But even if the author of our book of Judges could not avail himself of any prophetic writings, we must not on that account deny that he may have made use of other written statements and accounts,

handed down by contemporaries of the events. In the book of Joshua it is almost universally admitted, that at all events the geographical portions have been taken from public documents.—For further remarks upon this subject, see the introductions to the different books.

The employment of written sources, from living auditors or eye-witnesses of the events, in all the prophetic books of history, is evident as a general fact from the contents of the books, from the abundance of genuine historical details which they contain although many of them extend over very long periods of time; from the exactness of the geographical *data* connected with the different accounts, and the many genealogical as well as chronological particulars; and, in fact, from the clearness and certainty of the descriptions given of circumstances and occurrences which are often very complicated in their character. But this is still more obvious from the style in which the different books are written, where the gradual development of the language, and the changes which occurred in the course of centuries, are unmistakeably apparent. For whilst the books of Kings, which date from the time of the captivity, contain many words, forms, and phrases that indicate that corruption of the Hebrew through Aramæan idioms, which commenced with the invasions of Israel and Judah by the Assyrians and Chaldeans, there are no certain traces of the decline of the language to be found in the books of Samuel and Judges, but the style throughout is the pure style of the age of David and Solomon; whilst in the book of Joshua, as a whole, we still find the old forms of the Mosaic times, although the actual archaisms of the Pentateuch have already disappeared. This difference in the words employed in the different books cannot be satisfactorily explained from the simple fact, that the sources used, and from which extracts were made, were written in different ages. To quote but one example, since the fuller discussion of this point belongs to the introduction to the separate books, this is perfectly obvious from the use of the word פֶּהַל, in connection with Solomon's governors, in 1 Kings x. 15; since the author of our books of Kings cannot possibly have taken this word from his original sources for the history of Solomon's reign, as it was not till the time of the Chaldean and Persian dominion that this foreign word was adopted into the Hebrew language.

The peculiarities in the language of the different prophetic books of history do furnish decisive evidence, however, against the hypothesis propounded by *Spinoza*, and lately revived by *Stähelin* and

Bertheau, viz. that "in the historical books, from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv., in the form and connection in which we possess them now, we have not several historical works which have been composed independently of one another, but rather a connected treatment of the history from the beginning of the world to the time of the captivity" (*Bertheau*), or "one work, which owes its present form to one man, or at any rate to one age" (*Stähelin*). The arguments adduced in support of this are all very weak. "The close connection in which these writings stand to one another, so that each book in succession is closely connected with the one before it, and presupposes all that the latter contains, and none goes back to an earlier period than that at which the previous book closes" (*Stähelin*), does prove indeed that they have not been written independently of one another; but it by no means proves that they belong to one author, or even to one age. Nor can we infer that they have been composed or finally revised by one man, from the fact, "that very often, in some one writing, as it has come down to us, we not only find two different styles, or a totally different mode of description, so that we can with certainty conclude that the work is founded upon two different sources, but these sources run through writings that are separated from one another, and are frequently ascribed to entirely different ages." For the circumstance, that a writing is founded upon two sources, is no proof at all that it is nothing more than a portion of a larger work; and the proof which *Stähelin* adduces of his assertion, that the same source runs through several of the works in question, is much too weak and untenable to be regarded as an established fact, not to mention that, according to the first rules of logic, what applies to *several* cannot therefore be predicated of *all*. The actual root of this hypothesis is to be found in the naturalistic assumption of modern critics, that the theocratic spirit, which is common to all the prophetic histories, was not to be found in the historical facts, but was simply the "theocratic pragmatism" of the historians themselves, which had at the most a certain subjective truth, but no objective reality. From such an assumption, however, it is impossible to come to a correct conclusion with regard to either the contents or the origin of the prophetic histories of the Old Testament.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, DATE, AND CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.



THE book of Joshua derives its name, יהושע, 'Ιησοῦς *Navή* or *vîds Navή* (LXX.), not from its author, but from its contents, viz. the history of the guidance of Israel into the land of Canaan, the land promised to the fathers, by Joshua the son of Nun. It commences immediately after the death of Moses, with the command addressed by the Lord to Joshua, to lead the children of Israel over the Jordan into Canaan, and not only to take possession of this land, but to divide it among the tribes of Israel (chap. i. 1-9), and closes with the death and burial of Joshua and his contemporary, the high priest Eleazar (chap. xxiv. 29-33). The contents may be divided into two parts of nearly equal length,—the conquest of Canaan (chap. i.-xii.), and the division of it among the tribes of Israel (chap. xii.-xxiv.); chap. i. 1-9 forming the introduction, and chap. xxiv. 29-33 the conclusion. After the introductory notice, that when Moses was dead the Lord commanded Joshua, who had been called to be the leader of Israel in his stead, to carry out the work entrusted to him, and encouraged him by the promise of His omnipotent help in the completion of it (chap. i. 1-9), the history opens in the *first part*, (1) with the preparations made by Joshua for advancing into Canaan; viz. (*a*) the command of Joshua to the people to prepare for crossing the Jordan, the summons to the two tribes and a half to help their brethren to conquer Canaan (chap. i. 10-18), and the despatch of spies to Jericho (chap. ii.); (*b*) the crossing of the river, which had been laid dry by a divine miracle (chap. iii. and iv.); and (*c*) the preparation of Israel for the conquest of the land, by the performance of circumcision and the

passover at Gilgal (chap. v. 1–12). Then follow (2) the conquest and subjugation of Canaan; viz. (*a*) the commencement of it by the miraculous fall of Jericho (chap. v. 13–vi. 27), the attack upon Ai, and capture of that town, after the expiation of the guilt that had been brought upon the congregation through the sin of Achan against the ban (chap. vii.–viii. 29), and the solemn act of setting up the law in the land on Ebal and Gerizim (chap. viii. 30–35); (*b*) the further conquest of the land through the subjugation of the Gibeonites, who had succeeded surreptitiously in obtaining a treaty from Israel which guaranteed their safety (chap. ix.); the two great victories over the allied kings of Canaan in the south (chap. x.) and north (chap. xi.), with the capture of the fortified towns of the land; and lastly, at the close of the first part, the list of the conquered kings (ch. xii.).—The *second part* commences with the command of God to Joshua to divide the whole land among the nine tribes and a half for a possession, although several parts of it still remained unconquered; as two tribes and a half had already received from Moses their inheritance on the eastern side of the Jordan, the boundaries and towns of which are then described (chap. xiii.). Accordingly Joshua, with the heads of the people appointed for the purpose, proceeded to the distribution of the land, first of all (*a*) in the camp at Gilgal, where Caleb was the first to receive his inheritance (chap. xiv.), and then, according to the lot, the tribes of Judah (chap. xv.) and Joseph, *i.e.* Ephraim and (half) Manasseh (chap. xvi. and xvii.); and afterwards (*b*) at Shiloh, where the tabernacle was first of all erected, and a description of the land to be divided written down (chap. xviii. 1–10), and then the rest of the tribes—Benjamin (chap. xviii. 11–28), Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan (chap. xix.)—received their inheritance, after which the cities of refuge were selected (chap. xx.), and forty-eight cities were given up by the twelve tribes for the Levites to occupy (chap. xxi.); and finally, (*c*) the warriors belonging to the tribes beyond Jordan were sent back by Joshua to their own inheritance (chap. xxii.). To this there is appended, in the next place, an account of what Joshua did towards the end of his life to establish the tribes of Israel securely in their inheritance: viz. (*a*) an exhortation to the heads of the tribes, who were gathered round him, to carry out their calling with fidelity (chap. xxiii.); and (*b*) the renewal of the covenant at the diet at Shechem (chap. xxiv. 1–28). This is followed by an account of the close of Joshua's life, and the conclu-

sion of the whole book (chap. xxiv. 29-33). Thus the two parts or halves of the book correspond exactly to one another, both in form and in contents. As the events described in ch. i. 10-v. 12 were preparatory to the conquest of Canaan, so the diets held by Joshua after the distribution of the land by lot (chap. xxiii.-xxiv. 28) had no other object than to establish the covenant people firmly in the inheritance bestowed upon them by God, by exhorting them to be faithful to the Lord. And just as chap. xii. rounds off the first part, as a kind of appendix which completes the history of the conquest of the land, so chap. xxii. is obviously an appendix to the distribution of the land among the tribes, which brings to a close the dismissal of the people to the separate portions of their inheritance.

The book of Joshua is not intended merely as a continuation of the history of Israel from the death of Moses to the death of Joshua, still less as a description of the acts of Joshua only. The purpose of the book is rather to show how, after the death of Moses, the faithful covenant God fulfilled to the children of Israel, whom He had adopted as His people of possession through the mediation of His servant, the promise which He had made to the patriarchs; how the Canaanites were destroyed, and their land given to the tribes of Israel for an hereditary possession through the medium of Joshua, the servant of Moses, whom he had consecrated as leader of the people through the laying on of hands and by putting some of his honour upon him. As the servant of Moses treading in his footsteps, Joshua finished the work which Moses was not allowed to bring to a conclusion on account of his sin at the water of strife, viz. the planting and establishment of Israel in Canaan, the land of its inheritance, which the Lord had selected for His dwelling (Ex. xv. 17) and chosen as the nursery ground of His kingdom. As Joshua simply carried on in this respect, and brought to completion, the work which Moses had begun, arranged, and set on foot, the book of Joshua is naturally connected very closely with the books of Moses, though without forming an integral part, or the last portion of it, and without being written by Joshua himself.

The *origin* of the book of Joshua is involved in obscurity, as we can neither find out its author, nor determine with certainty the date of its composition. Whereas, on the one hand, the historical account bears throughout the mark of having been written by an eye-witness, and even by one who had taken part in the events described, and the description given of the possessions allotted to

the different tribes according to their respective boundaries and the cities which they contained is unquestionably founded upon contemporaneous writings, and in one passage the writer actually classes himself with those who crossed over Jordan into Canaan under the guidance of Joshua (chap. v. 1, "until we were passed over"); on the other hand we find a number of historical statements in the book, which point beyond the life of Joshua and are opposed to the idea that it was written by Joshua himself. We do not include in these either the closing accounts of the death of Joshua and Eleazar (chap. xxiv. 29, 33), or the allusion to the "book of the righteous" (chap. x. 13): for these accounts might have been appended to a writing of Joshua's by a later hand, just as in the case of the Pentateuch; and the book of the righteous is not a work that was composed after the time of Joshua, but a collection of odes in praise of the acts of the Lord in Israel, which were composed by pious minstrels during the conquest of the land, and were added one by one to this collection. Even the frequent repetition of the statement that this or the other has continued "to this day," furnishes no certain proof that the book was not written in the closing years of Joshua's life, when we consider the purely relative signification of the formula, which is sometimes used in connection with things that only lasted a few years. Apart from such passages as chap. xxii. 3, 17, and xxiii. 8, 9, in which no one has discovered any allusion to a later time than that of Joshua, we find the formula "to this day" in chap. iv. 9, v. 9, vi. 25, vii. 26, viii. 28, 29, ix. 27, xiii. 13, xiv. 14, xv. 63, and xvi. 10. But if the remark made in chap. vi. 25 with regard to Rahab, "she dwelleth in Israel unto this day," was certainly written during her lifetime, such statements as that the first encampment of Israel in Canaan "is called Gilgal unto this day," on account of the circumcision of the people that took place there, and that the valley in which Achan was stoned is called Achor "unto this day" (chap. v. 9, vii. 26), or that the memorial stones set up in the bed of the Jordan (chap. iv. 9), and the heaps of stones raised upon the bodies of Achan and the king of Ai (chap. vii. 26, viii. 29), remain "unto this day;" that "unto this day" Ai remains an heap (chap. viii. 28), the Gibeonites are hewers of wood and drawers of water to the congregation (chap. ix. 27), and Hebron is the inheritance of Caleb (chap. xiv. 14); that the Geshurites and Maachathites have not been expelled (chap. xiii. 13), nor the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Gezer (chap. xv. 63, xvi. 10), but dwell among and by the side of Israel "unto this day,"

may be just as easily understood, if they were made ten or fifteen years after the conquest and division of Canaan, as if they were made after an interval of eighty or a hundred years. For even in giving names, the remark that the new name has remained to this day is of greater significance at the end of ten years than after an interval of a century, since its permanence would be fully secured if it made its way to general adoption during the first ten years. The formula "to this day" proves nothing more than that the written record was not quite contemporaneous with the events; but it does not warrant us in concluding that the book itself was written several generations, or even centuries, after the settlement of Israel in Canaan.

It is different with the accounts of the conquest of Hebron by Caleb, Debir by Othniel, and Leshem by the Danites (chap. xv. 13-19 and xix. 47). Considered by themselves, these conquests could no doubt have taken place before the death of Joshua, as he lived for some time after the distribution of the land and the settlement of the different tribes in the possessions allotted to them (compare chap. xix. 50 and xxiii. 1, with chap. xxii. 4 and xxi. 43, 44). But if we compare these accounts with the parallel accounts of the same conquests in Judg. i. 10-16 and xviii., there can be no doubt that it was after Joshua's death that the places mentioned were taken permanently from the Canaanites, and came into the actual and permanent possession of the Israelites. For, according to Judg. i. 1-15, the Israelites inquired of the Lord, after the death of Joshua, who should begin the war with the Canaanites, *i.e.* with those who had not yet been destroyed, and received this reply, "Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand;" whereupon Judah and Simeon smote the Canaanites at Bezek, then advanced against Jerusalem, took this city and set it on fire, and "afterward" (ver. 9) proceeded against the Canaanites on the mountains and in the south, and took Hebron and Debir. From this account it is evident at once that even the capture of Jerusalem did not take place till after the death of Joshua, and that even then the Jebusites were not driven out of Jerusalem, but continued to dwell there by the side of the Benjamites (Judg. i. 21), so that the same statement in Joshua xv. 63 also points beyond the death of Joshua. It is equally evident from Judg. xviii. that the Danites of Zorah and Eshtaol did not enter upon the expedition against Leshem or Laish till after Joshua's death. This also applies to the other statements concerning the failure to expel

the Canaanites out of different districts and towns, which are common to this book and the book of Judges (compare chap. xiii. 2-5, xvi. 10, and xvii. 11, 12, with Judg. iii. 3, i. 29, and i. 27, 28), so that we might infer from every one of these passages that this book of Joshua was not written till after Joshua's death, and therefore that the closing accounts of his death in chap. xxiv. 29-33 formed a part of the original work.

If we endeavour to determine the date of composition more exactly, we have first of all to bear in mind the fact, that the wars and conquests just referred to cannot have occurred a very long time after Joshua's death; for, in the first place, it was in the very nature of things, that when the different tribes of Israel proceeded into their different possessions, even if they did not commence the attack upon the remaining Canaanites immediately, they would certainly do so very soon, in order that they might obtain complete and undisputed possession of the land. Moreover, when the division of the land by lot took place, Caleb was eighty-five years old; and yet he lived to see the capture of Hebron and Debir, and even took part in it, inasmuch as he not only promised but was able to give his daughter to the conqueror of Debir for a wife (chap. xv. 13-19; Judg. i. 11 sqq.). It was no doubt shortly after these wars, in which Judah took possession of the mountains, but was unable to destroy the Canaanites who dwelt in the valley, because of their possessing iron chariots (Judg. i. 19), that the Danites felt obliged to go northwards to conquer Leshem, and take it for a possession, on account of the inheritance assigned them by lot between Judah and Ephraim being too small for them, because the Canaanites had not been expelled. And whilst all these occurrences, which are mentioned in the book of Joshua, fell within the period immediately succeeding the death of Joshua, we can find distinct evidence in the book itself that it was not written after, but before, the establishment of the monarchy in Israel. According to chap. xvi. 10, the Canaanites were still dwelling in Gezer; yet they were destroyed at the close of David's reign, or the commencement of that of Solomon, when Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, conquered the town (1 Kings ix. 16). According to chap. xv. 63, the Jebusites had not yet been driven out of Jerusalem; but this was accomplished by David at the beginning of his reign over all the tribes of Israel (2 Sam. v. 3, 6-9). According to chap. ix. 27, the place for the temple had not yet been chosen, but this was done in the time of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 18 sqq.; 1 Chron. xxi. 16 sqq.). And the

Gibeonites were still hewers of wood and drawers of water to the congregation for the altar of the Lord, by virtue of the treaty which Joshua and the elders had made with them; whereas this treaty was violated by Saul, who endeavoured to destroy the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1 sqq.). If we add to this, that our book shows no traces whatever of later times and circumstances either in its style or contents, but that it is closely connected with the Pentateuch in the language as well as in its peculiar stand-point,—for example, when the only Phœnicians mentioned are the Sidonians, and they are reckoned as belonging to the Canaanites who were to be destroyed (chap. xiii. 4–6), whereas in the time of David we find the circumstances entirely changed (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 15; 1 Chron. xiv. 1); and again when Sidon is referred to as the chief city of Phœnicia, and the epithet “great” is applied to it (chap. xi. 8, xix. 28), whereas Tyre had outstripped Sidon even in the days of David,—the conclusion becomes an extremely probable one, that the book was written not later than twenty or twenty-five years after the death of Joshua, in all probability by one of the elders who crossed the Jordan with Joshua, and had taken part in the conquest of Canaan (*vid.* chap. v. 1, 6), but who survived Joshua a considerable time (chap. xxiv. 31; Judg. ii. 7).

But even if the book of Joshua was not composed till some time after the events recorded (and the authorship cannot be determined with certainty), this does not affect its *historico-prophetic character*; for both the contents and form of the book show it to be an independent and simple work composed with historical fidelity, and a work which is as thoroughly pervaded with the spirit of the Old Testament revelation as the Pentateuch itself. However closely it is connected with the Pentateuch both in language and contents, there is no tenable ground for the hypothesis set up in various forms by modern critics, that it has arisen, just like the Pentateuch, from the fusion of two or three earlier writings, and was composed by the so-called “Deuteronomist.” For, even if we leave altogether out of sight the fact that this hypothesis is unfounded and untenable in the case of the Pentateuch, the supposed community of authorship between the book of Joshua and that of Deuteronomy, as well as the rest of the Pentateuch, in the revised form in which it has come down to us, is founded chiefly upon the opinion that the death of Moses, with which the Pentateuch closes, “does not form a fitting conclusion for a work which commenced with the creation, and treated the earlier history in the manner in which this is done

in the Pentateuch;" because "it is hardly conceivable that a historical work, which was written at any rate some time after the conquest of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, should describe all the preparations that were made for the conquest of the land, and then break off without including either the capture of the land, or the division of it among the remaining tribes" (*Bleek's Einleitung, Stähelin*, and others). But, in the first place, it is to be observed that the Pentateuch was not written "some time after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites," and is not to be regarded as a historical work in the sense intended by these critics. It is the law book of the Old Testament, to which, as even *Bleek* admits, the book of Deuteronomy forms an appropriate close. And, in the second place, although the book of Joshua is closely connected with the Pentateuch, and carries on the history to the conquest of the promised land by the Israelites, there is evidence that it is an independent work, in the fact that it repeats the account of the conquest of the land on the east of Jordan, and its distribution by Moses among the two tribes and a half, and also of the cities of refuge which Moses had already appointed in that part of the land, for the purpose of giving a full and complete account of the fulfilment of the promise made by God to the patriarchs, that their seed should receive the land of Canaan for a possession; and still more in the peculiarities of language by which it is obviously distinguished from the books of Moses. In the book of Joshua not only do we find none of the archaisms which run pretty uniformly through all the books of the Pentateuch, such as הָיָא for הָיָה, נָעַר for נָעָרָה, הָאֵל for הָאֱלֹהִים, and other words which are peculiar to the Pentateuch; but we find, on the other hand, words and expressions which never occur in the Pentateuch, *e.g.* the constant form יִרְחֹו (chap. ii. 1-3, etc., in all twenty-six times) instead of the form יִרְחֹוּ, which is quite as uniformly adopted in the Pentateuch (Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, etc., in all eleven times): also מַמְלֶכֶת, for the kingdom of Sihon and Og (chap. xiii. 12, 21, 27, 30, 31), instead of מַמְלָכָה (Num. xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 4, 10, etc.); קָנוֹא (chap. xxiv. 19) instead of קָנָא (Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 24, v. 9, etc.); שָׁמַע, *fama* (chap. vi. 27, ix. 9), for שָׁמַעַ (Gen. xxix. 13, etc.); יָרָא (chap. xxii. 25) for יָרָאָה (Deut. iv. 10, v. 26, etc.); and lastly, גְּבוּרֵי הַחַיִּל (chap. i. 14, vi. 2, viii. 3, x. 7) for בְּנֵי הַיָּל (Deut. iii. 18); נֹאֵר, a bottle (chap. ix. 4, 13), for הֶמֶת (Gen. xxi. 14, 15, 19); הִצִּית, to set on fire or burn (chap. viii. 8, 19); צָנַח, to spring down (chap. xv. 18); קָצָץ, a prince or leader (chap. x. 24); שָׁקַט, to rest (chap. xi. 23,

xiv. 15); and other words besides, which you seek for in vain in the Pentateuch, whereas they frequently occur in the later books.¹

Whilst the independence of the book of Joshua is thus placed beyond all doubt, its internal unity, or the singleness of the authorship, is evident in general from the arrangement and connection of the contents, as shown above, and in particular from the fact, that in the different parts of the book we neither meet with material differences or discrepancies, nor are able to detect two different styles. The attempt which was formerly made by *De Wette*, *Hauff*, and others, to show that there were material discrepancies in the different parts, has been almost entirely given up by *Bleek* and *Stähelin* in their introductions. What *Bleek* still notices in this respect, in chaps. iii. and iv., viii. 1-20 and other passages, will be examined in our exposition of the chapters in question, along with the arguments which *Knobel* employs against the unity of the book. The many traces of different modes of thought which were adduced by *Stähelin* in 1843, have been dropped in his special introduction (1862): the only one that he insists upon now is the fact, that the way in which Joshua acts in chap. xviii. 1-10 is very different from chap. xiv. sqq.; and that in the historical sections, as a rule, Joshua is described as acting very differently from what would be expected from Num. xxvii. 21, inasmuch as he acts quite independently, and never asks the high priest to give him an answer through the Urim and Thummim. This remark is so far correct, that throughout the whole book, and not merely in the historical sections, Joshua is never said to have inquired the will of the Lord through the medium of the Urim and Thummim of the high priest, and Eleazar is not mentioned at all in the historical portions. But it does not follow from this that there is any such difference in the mode of thought as would point to a difference of authorship. For,

¹ How completely the hypothesis that the book of Joshua was written by the Deuteronomist is wrecked on these differences in language, is evident even from the attempts which have been made to set them aside. For example, when *Stähelin* observes that the later editor retained the form יְרָחֵם in the Pentateuch as he found it in the original work, whereas in the book of Joshua he altered the original work into the form he commonly used, this assumption is just as incredible as the hitherto unheard of assertion that the archaistic use of הָיָא as a feminine instead of הָיָה is traceable to a later form. What can have induced the later editor, then, to alter the form מִמְלֶכֶת, which he so commonly uses in Deuteronomy, into מַמְלָכֹת in Joshua? The "reliable" *Bleek* prefers, therefore, to take no notice of these differences, or at least to express no opinion about them.

on the one hand, Joshua is blamed in chap. ix. 14 for having made a treaty with the Gibeonites, without asking at the mouth of Jehovah, and in this there is evidently a gentle allusion to Num. xxvii. 21; and on the other hand, even Num. xxvii. 21 by no means implies that God would only make known His will to Joshua through the Urim and Thummim: so that when Joshua is there referred to the high priest for instructions, all other communications, such as those which he received directly from the Lord with regard to the conquest and division of Canaan, are thereby precluded. If the Lord made known to him what he was to do in this respect, partly by the direct communication of His will, and partly by His angel (chap. v. 13 sqq.), there was no occasion at all for Eleazar to be mentioned in the historical portion of the book, since the direction of the army to fight battles and conquer towns did not form part of the official functions of the high priest, even if he did accompany Joshua in his campaigns. In the geographical portion, however, Eleazar is only mentioned in connection with the committee of heads of the nation appointed according to the law in Num. xxxiv. 17 sqq. for the distribution of the land (chap. xiv. 1, xix. 51, xxi. 1); and even here he does not stand out with any peculiar prominence, as Joshua was still at the head of the whole nation when this was performed (chap. xiii. 1, 7). Consequently, not only did Caleb apply to Joshua with the request for the inheritance promised him by the Lord (chap. xiv. 6 sqq.); but even in other cases, where there was no reason for enumerating the different members of the commission for dividing the land, Joshua is mentioned as appointing and superintending the casting of the lots (chap. xviii. 3-10, xx. 1). The proofs adduced of the "double style" of the book are equally weak. The principal ones are the fact, that the word generally used for tribe in the historical sections is *shebet*, whereas *matteh* is the word employed in the geographical sections, and that in the latter the word *machaloketh* is altogether wanting (chap. xi. 23, xii. 7). But the interchange of *shebet* and *matteh* may be fully explained from the difference in the meaning of these two words, *shebet* denoting the tribe as a political corporation, possessing independence and power, and *matteh* having simple regard to its genealogical aspect,—a distinction which is not overthrown by the assurance, that "in chap. vii. 14, 16, 18, and xxii. 1, as compared with chap. xiii. 29, and in chap. iii. 12, as compared with Num. xxxiv. 18, the charge is perfectly arbitrary." But whether it be involuntary or carefully considered, there is no ground for inferring that there have been

two writers engaged upon the work, for the simple reason that both words occur in the historical as well as the geographical sections,—sometimes, in fact, in the very same verse, *e.g.* chap. xiii. 29 and Num. xviii. 2, where we cannot possibly imagine a fusion of different documents to have taken place. (For further remarks, see at chap. vii. 1.) The word *machaloketh*, however, is not synonymous with *nishpachah*, as *Stähelin* supposes, but denotes the various subdivisions of the tribes into families, fathers' houses and families; and this also not only occurs in chap. xi. 23 and xii. 7, but in the geographical portion also, in chap. xviii. 10. The other remark, viz. that “in the place of the *רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת*, who are the leading actors in the *geographical* sections, we find the elders, judges, heads *רָאשִׁים* and *שֹׁטְרִים* in the *historical*, or else simply the *shoterim* (chap. i. 10, iii. 2, viii. 33, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1), or the elders,” is neither quite correct, nor in the least degree conclusive. It is incorrect, inasmuch as even in the geographical portion, namely chap. xvii. 4, the *נְשִׂאִים* are mentioned instead of the *רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת*, along with Eleazar and Joshua. But the notion upon which this argument is founded is still more erroneous, viz. that “the *נְשִׂאִים*, *רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת*, *וְקָנִים*, and *שֹׁטְרִים* are all the same, as we may clearly see from Deut. i. 15;” for the identity of the terms elders and heads with the terms judges and officers (*shoterim*) cannot possibly be inferred from this passage, in which the judges and *shoterim* are said to have been chosen from the elders of the nation. Even the “heads of the fathers' houses” (see at Ex. vi. 14) were only a section of the princes and heads of the nation, and those mentioned in the book of Joshua are simply those who were elected as members of the distribution committee, and who are naturally referred to in connection with the division of the land by lot; whereas the judges and *shoterim* had nothing to do with it, and for this very reason are not mentioned at all in the geographical sections.—And if, instead of confining ourselves to the words, we turn our attention to the facts, all the peculiarities that we meet with in the different parts of the book may be explained in this way, and the seeming differences brought into harmony. In a work which embraces two such different subjects as the forcible conquest and the peaceable distribution of the land of Canaan, the same ideas and expression cannot possibly be constantly recurring, if the words are to be at all in conformity with the actual contents. And not the smallest conclusion can be drawn from such differences as these with regard to the composition of the book; much less can they be adduced as proofs of diversity of authorship. Moreover, the

unity of authorship is not to be overthrown by proving, or showing it to be probable, that the author made use of written documents for some of the sections—such, for example, as the official records prepared for the distribution of the land by lot—in his description of the possessions of the different tribes.

Lastly, the historical fidelity of the book of Joshua cannot justly be called in question; and so far as all the narratives and descriptions are concerned, which lie within the sphere of the ordinary laws of nature, this is generally admitted. This applies not only to the description of the possessions of the different tribes according to their boundaries and towns, which are almost universally acknowledged to have been derived from authentic records, but to such historical passages as the words of Caleb (chap. xiv. 6 sqq.), the address of Phinehas, and the reply of the two tribes and a half (chap. xxii.), the complaint of the children of Joseph on account of the smallness of the possessions that had fallen to their lot, and Joshua's answer (chap. xvii. 14 sqq.), which are so thoroughly original, and so perfectly appropriate to the persons and circumstances, that their historical credibility cannot be disputed.¹ It is chiefly at the miraculous occurrences that the opponents of the biblical revelation have taken offence: partly therefore because of the miracles themselves, and partly because the statement that God commanded the destruction of the Canaanites is irreconcilable with correct (?) views of the Godhead, they deny the historical character of the whole book. But the miracles recorded in this book do not stand alone; on the contrary, they are most intimately connected with the great work of divine revelation, and the redemption of the human race; so that it is only through unscriptural assumptions as to the character of God, and His operations in nature and the world of men, that they can be pronounced unreal, or altogether denied. And the objection, that the destruction of the Canaanites, as an act commanded by God, "cannot be reconciled even with only half correct notions of the Deity," as *Eichhorn* maintains, rests upon totally unscriptural and irrational views of God and the divine government, which

¹ Even *Eichhorn*, for example, says in his Introduction, "The words of Caleb, in chap. xiv. 1 sqq., in which he asks for the inheritance that had been promised him, bear too strongly the characteristics of an appeal from the mouth of an old man of eighty years of age, and breathe too thoroughly in every word his spirit, and age, and peculiar situation, for it to be possible that it should be merely the composition of a later writer, who placed himself in imagination in his situation, and put the words into his mouth."

deny *a priori* all living influence on the part of the "Deity" upon the earth and its inhabitants. But the true God is not a Deity who can neither help nor injure men (Jer. x. 5); He is the almighty creator, preserver, and governor of the world. This God was Jehovah, who chose Israel for His own people, "a living God, an everlasting King" (Jer. x. 10); who not only fixed for the nations the bounds of their habitations, but their appointed times as well, that they should seek Him, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him (Deut. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26, 27); who, because He has given to every nation upon earth life and being, property and land, to be rightly used, and to promote their own happiness through the glorification of the name of God, possesses both the power and the right to deprive them of all their possessions, and wipe out every trace of them from the earth, if they dishonour and disgrace the name of God by an obstinate abuse of the blessings and gifts entrusted to them. Thus the only true God, who judges the earth in eternally unchangeable wisdom and righteousness, and manifests His wrath in great judgments, as well as His mercy in innumerable blessings to all the children of men, had promised to Abraham that He would give him the land of Canaan for a possession for his seed the children of Israel, when the iniquity of the Amorites, who possessed it at that time, was full, *i.e.* had reached its full measure (Gen. xii. 7, xv. 13-16). The expulsion of the Canaanites, therefore, from possessions which they had no doubt rightfully held, but to which they had forfeited their right through the misuse they had made of them, is to be regarded quite as decidedly as an act of penal justice on the part of God, as the presentation of this land to Israel was an act of His free grace; and the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, as well as their capture of the possession which the Canaanites had forfeited through their sins (*vid.* Lev. xviii. 24-28; Deut. xii. 29-31), was perfectly justifiable, if, as our book affirms, the Israelites were only acting as instruments in the hands of the Lord. It is true they were not warranted in carrying on a war of extermination against the Canaanites simply because the land had been given them by God, any more than David was warranted in putting Saul to death and wresting the kingdom from him, although he had been rejected by the Lord, simply because Samuel had promised him the kingdom by the command of God, and had even anointed him king over Israel. But the Israelites did not proceed from Egypt to Canaan of their own accord, or by their own power; they were brought out of this land of their

bondage by the God of their fathers with a mighty arm, and led by Him through the wilderness into the promised land. Joshua acted, as Moses had done before him, by the immediate command of God; and the fact that this command was real and well-founded, and not a mere fancy, is proved by the miraculous signs through which God accredited the armies of Israel as the servants of His judicial righteousness, who were fighting in His name and by His command, when the Lord of the whole earth divided the waters of Jordan before them, threw down the walls of Jericho, filled the Canaanites with fear and despair, killed them with hailstones at Gibeon, and brought to nought all their plans and endeavours to resist the advance of Israel, so that Joshua smote great and mighty nations, and no one could stand before him. Hence the Psalmist was able to write, "Thou didst drive out the heathen with Thy hand, and plantedst them (the Israelites); Thou hast destroyed nations, and cast them out. For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm help them; but Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, because Thou hadst a favour unto them" (Ps. xlv. 2, 3).—And whilst the Israelites were thus proved to be the executors of the penal judgments of God, they acted in perfect accordance with this vocation by the manner in which they carried out the judgment entrusted to them. They submitted cheerfully and obediently to all the appointments of Joshua; they sanctified themselves by the circumcision of all who had remained uncircumcised in the desert and by keeping the passover at Gilgal; they set up the law of the Lord upon Ebal and Gerizim; they executed the ban upon the Canaanites, as the Lord had commanded, and punished Achan and his house for transgressing this ban, that they might expunge the sin from their midst; they vowed, in the most solemn manner, that when they had come into peaceable possession of the promised inheritance, they would renounce all idolatry, would serve Jehovah their God alone, and would hearken to His voice, to renew the covenant with the Lord; and they served the Lord as long as Joshua lived, and the elders after him, who knew all the works of the Lord which He had done for Israel.—(For further remarks upon this subject, see *Hengstenberg's* Dissertations on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 387–417, Eng. trans., Art. "On the Right of the Israelites to Palestine.")

Thus the contents of the book have their higher unity and their truth in the idea of the justice, holiness, and grace of God, as they were manifested in the most glorious manner in the great historical

event which forms the subject of the whole. Whilst justice was revealed in the case of the Canaanites, and grace in that of the Israelites, the holiness of the Almighty God was manifested in both,—in the Canaanites, who were liable to judgment, through their destruction; and in the Israelites, who were chosen to fellowship with the Lord, through the sanctification of their lives to the faithful performance of the duties of their vocation, both to the honour of God and the glory of His name.

The different views that have been expressed as to the time when the book was written are given more fully in *Keil's Commentary on Joshua* (1847, Eng. trans. 1857), where the exegetical aids are also given.

EXPOSITION.

THE PREAMBLE.

CHAP. I. 1-9.

AFTER the death of Moses the Lord summoned Joshua, the servant of Moses, whom He had appointed as the leader of Israel into Canaan, to go with all the people across the Jordan, and take the land which had been promised to the fathers on oath, assuring him at the same time of His powerful aid, on condition that he observed the law of Moses faithfully. This summons and promise of God form the preamble to the whole book, which is linked on to the conclusion of the Pentateuch by the introductory words, "And it came to pass after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord," though it is not so closely connected as to warrant the conclusion that the two works have been written by the same author.—Ver. 1. The imperfect with *vav consec.*, the standing mode of expressing a continued action or train of thought, "simply attaches itself by the conjunction 'and' to a completed action, which has either been mentioned before, or is supposed to be well known" (*Ewald*, § 231, *b.*). "*After the death of Moses*," i.e. after the expiration of the thirty days of general mourning for him (*vid.* Deut. xxxiv. 8). "*Servant of Jehovah*" is a standing epithet applied to Moses as an honourable title, and founded upon Num. xii. 7, 8 (*vid.* Deut. xxxiv. 5; 1 Kings viii. 56; 2 Kings xviii. 12; Ps. cv. 26, etc.).

On "*Joshua, Moses' minister*," see at Ex. xvii. 9 and Num. xiii. 16. *Minister (meshareth)*, as in Ex. xxiv. 13, etc. Although Joshua had already been called by the mouth of the Lord to be the successor of Moses in the task of leading the people into Canaan (Num. xxvii. 15 sqq.), and had not only been presented to the people in this capacity, but had been instituted in this office by the Lord, with the promise of His help (Deut. xxxi. 3-7 and 23), the word of the Lord came to him a second time after the death of Moses, with the command to enter upon the office to which he had been called, and with the promise that He would help him to fulfil its duties, as he had already helped His servant Moses. "Because even some of the bravest men, although fully prepared beforehand, either stand still or hesitate when the thing has to be done: this exhortation to Joshua, to gird himself at once for the expedition, was by no means superfluous; though his call was ratified again not only for his own sake, but in order that the people might not hesitate to follow him with their minds collected and calm, when they saw that he took no step without the guidance of God" (*Calvin*).—Joshua received this word of the Lord by a direct address from God, and not through the intervention of the Urim and Thummim of the high priest; for this appointed medium for the revelation of the will of God, to which he had been referred on the occasion of his first call (Num. xxvii. 21), whenever difficulties should arise in connection with his office, was not sufficient for the renewal and confirmation of his divine calling, since the thing required here was not merely that the will of God should be made known to him, but that he should be inspired with courage and strength for the fulfilment of it, *i.e.* for discharging the duties of his office, just as he afterwards was when in front of the fortified town of Jericho which he was directed to take, where the angel of the Lord appeared to him and assured him of its fall (chap. v. 13). Moreover, the conquest of Canaan formed part of the work which the Lord entrusted to His servant Moses, and in which therefore Joshua was now Moses' successor. Consequently the Lord would be with him as He had been with Moses (ver. 5); and for this reason He revealed His will directly to him, as He had done to Moses, though without talking with him mouth to mouth (Num. xii. 8).—Ver. 2. As Moses had died without having brought the Israelites to Canaan, Joshua was to arise and go with all the nation over *this* Jordan (*i.e.* the river then before him) into the land which the Lord would give them.—Ver. 3. "*Namely, every place that the sole of your foot shall tread*

upon," *i.e.* I have given you the whole land, not excepting a single foot's breadth. The perfect, "*I have given*," refers to the counsel of God as having been formed long before, and being now about to be carried into execution. These words, which are connected with Deut. xi. 24, so far as the form is concerned, rest upon the promise of God in Ex. xxiii. 30, 31, to which the words "as I said unto Moses" refer.—Ver. 4. The boundaries of the land are given as in Deut. xi. 24, with the simple difference in form, that the boundary line from the desert (of Arabia) and Lebanon, *i.e.* from the southern and northern extremity, is drawn first of all towards the east to the great river, the Euphrates, and then towards the west to "the great sea, toward the going down of the sun," *i.e.* the Mediterranean; and then between these two *termini ad quem* the more precise definition is inserted, "all the land of the Hittites;" whereas in Deuteronomy the southern, northern, and eastern boundaries are placed in antithesis to the western boundary, and the more precise definition of the country to be taken is given by an enumeration of the different tribes that were to be destroyed by the Israelites (ver. 23). On the oratorical character of these descriptions, see at Gen. xv. 18. The demonstrative pronoun "this," in connection with Lebanon, may be explained from the fact that Lebanon, or at all events Antilibanus, was visible from the Israelitish camp. The expression "*the Hittites*" (see at Gen. x. 15) is used here in a broader sense for Canaanites in general, as in 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6; Ezek. xvi. 3. The promise in ver. 5*a* is adopted from Deut. xi. 25, where it was made to the whole nation, and specially transferred to Joshua; and ver. 5*b* is repeated from Deut. xxxi. 8, as compared with ver. 6.—Vers. 6-9. The promise is followed by the condition upon which the Lord would fulfil His word. Joshua was to be firm and strong, *i.e.* well-assured, courageous, not alarmed (*vid.* Deut. xxxi. 6). In the first place (ver. 6), he was to rely firmly upon the Lord and His promise, as Moses and the Lord had already told him (Deut. xxxi. 7 and 23), and as is again repeated here, whilst at the same time the expression, "*thou shalt divide for an inheritance*," recalls to mind Deut. i. 38, iii. 28; and in the second place (vers. 7, 8), he was to strive to attain and preserve this firmness by a careful observance of the law. "*Observe to do*," etc., as Moses had already impressed upon the hearts of all the people (Deut. v. 29, cf. xxviii. 14 and ii. 27). The suffix in וְעָשָׂה is to be explained on the supposition that the speaker had the book of the law in his mind. The further expansion, in ver. 8, is not only attached

to the exhortations, with which Moses urges upon all the people in Deut. vi. 6, 7, and xi. 18, 19, an uninterrupted study and laying to heart of the commandments of God, but even more closely to the directions to the king, to read every day in the law (Deut. xvii. 19). "*Not to depart out of the mouth,*" is to be constantly *in* the mouth. The law is in our mouth, not only when we are incessantly preaching it, but when we are reading it intelligently for ourselves, or conversing about it with others. To this there was to be added meditation, or reflection upon it both day and night (*vid.* Ps. i. 2). הִתְחַלֵּץ does not mean theoretical speculation about the law, such as the Pharisees indulged in, but a practical study of the law, for the purpose of observing it in thought and action, or carrying it out with the heart, the mouth, and the hand. Such a mode of employing it would be sure to be followed by blessings. "*Then shalt thou make thy way prosperous,*" *i.e.* succeed in all thine undertakings (*vid.* Deut. xxviii. 29), "*and act wisely*" (as in Deut. xxix. 8).—Ver. 9. In conclusion, the Lord not only repeats His exhortation to firmness, but the promise that He gave in vers. 5 and 6. "*Have I not*" (*nonne*) is a rhetorical mode of saying, "Behold, I have," the assurance being clothed in the form of an affirmative question. On the words "*be not afraid,*" etc., see Deut. xxxi. 6 and 8.

I.—THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

CHAP. I.—XII.

PREPARATIONS FOR ENTERING CANAAN.—CHAP. I. 10—II. 24.

In consequence of the divine command (chap. i. 2–9), Joshua began without delay to make the necessary preparations for carrying out the work appointed him; *first* of all by issuing instructions to the people to make ready for crossing the river (i. 10, 11); *secondly*, by reminding the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh of their promise to help the other tribes to conquer Canaan, and calling upon them to fulfil it (vers. 12–18); and *thirdly*, by sending two spies to Jericho, to explore the land, and discover the feelings of its inhabitants (chap. ii.).

Chap. i. 10–18. PREPARATIONS FOR CROSSING THE JORDAN.

—Vers. 10, 11. For the purpose of carrying out the commands of the Lord, Joshua first of all directed the officers of the people (*shoterim*: see at Ex. v. vi.), whose duty it was, as the keepers of the family registers, to attend not only to the levying of the men who were bound to serve in the army, but also to the circulation of the commands of the general, to issue orders to the people in the camp to provide themselves with food, so that they might cross the Jordan within three days, and take the land that was promised them by God. By *zedah*, provision for a journey (Gen. xlii. 25, etc.), we are not to understand manna, for that had already ceased (see at chap. v. 12), but simply the natural produce of the inhabited country. The expression “*in three days*,” *i.e.*, as we may see from comparing Gen. xl. 13, 19, with ver. 20, on the third day from the publication of the command, “*will ye go over the Jordan*,” is not to be regarded as a prediction of the time when the crossing actually took place, but to be taken as the latest time that could be allowed to the people to prepare for crossing: viz. in this sense, “Prepare you victuals for crossing over the Jordan within three days,” *i.e.* that you may be able to leave Shittim within that time, to cross over the Jordan, and commence the conquest of Canaan. If we understand the words in this way, they are in perfect harmony with chap. ii. and iii. According to chap. ii., Joshua sent out spies from Shittim to Jericho, who were obliged to hide themselves for three days in the mountains after their flight from that city (chap. ii. 22), before they could return to the Israelitish camp; so that they were absent three or four days at any rate, and came back at the earliest in the evening or night of the fourth day after they had been sent out. It was not till the morning after this that the Israelites left Shittim and proceeded to the Jordan, where they halted again. Then, three days afterwards, they went across the river (chap. iii. 1, 2), so that at least $4 + 1 + 3$, *i.e.* eight whole days must have intervened between the day when the spies were sent out and the day on which the people crossed the river. Joshua no doubt intended to proceed to the Jordan and cross it within three days after despatching the spies; he therefore sent the spies to Jericho on the same day on which he issued the command to the people to prepare for crossing within three days, so that he might reasonably hope that they would fulfil their commission and return in two or three days. But as they were compelled to hide themselves for three days in the mountains, in consequence of the unexpected discovery of their arrival in Jericho, and the despatch of men in

pursuit of them, Joshua could not remove with the people from Shittim and proceed to the Jordan till the day after their return; and even then he could not cross the river at once, but waited three days after reaching the bank of the river before he crossed to the other side (*vid.* chap. iii. 1 sqq.).¹

Vers. 12-18. Joshua's appeal to the two tribes and a half, to remember the condition on which Moses gave them the land on the east of the Jordan for an inheritance, and to fulfil it, met with a ready response; so that these tribes not only promised to obey his commandments in every respect, but threatened every one with death who should refuse obedience. In recalling this condition to the recollection of the tribes referred to, Joshua follows the expressions in Deut. iii. 18-20, where Moses himself recapitulates his former command, rather than the original passage in Num. xxxii. The expression "*this land*" shows that the speaker was still on the other side of the Jordan. חֲמִשִּׁים, *with the loins girded, i.e.* prepared for war, synonymous with חֲלָצִים in Deut. iii. 18 and Num. xxxii. 32 (see at Ex. xiii. 18). כָּל-גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל, *all the mighty men of valour, i.e.* the brave warriors (as in chap. vi. 2, viii. 3, x. 7, and very frequently in the later books), is not common to this book and Deuteronomy, as *Knobel* maintains, but is altogether strange to the Pentateuch (see p. 9). The word "*all*" (ver. 14, like Num. xxxii. 21, 27) must not be pressed. According to chap. iv. 13, there were only about 40,000 men belonging to the two tribes and a half who crossed the Jordan to take part in the war; whereas, according to Num. xxvi. 7, 18, 34, there were 110,000 men in these tribes who were capable of bearing arms, so that 70,000 must have remained behind for the protection of the women and children and of the flocks and herds, and to defend the land of which they had taken possession. On ver. 15 see Deut. iii. 18; and on the more minute definition of "*on this side (lit. beyond) Jordan*" by "*toward the sun-rising,*"

¹ In this way the different statements in the three chapters harmonize perfectly well. But the majority of commentators have arranged the order of succession differently and in a very arbitrary way, starting with the unwarrantable assumption that the time referred to in this verse, "*within three days,*" is identical with that in chap. iii. 2, "*it came to pass after three days.*" Upon the strength of this groundless assumption, *Knobel* maintains that there is great confusion in the order of succession of the events described in chap. i.-iii., that chap. i. 11 is irreconcilable with chap. iii. 1-6, and that accounts written by three different authors have been mixed up together in these chapters. (For the different attempts to reconcile the accounts, see *Kail's Commentary on Joshua*, pp. 72-75, note, Eng. trans. Clark, 1857.)

compare the remarks on Num. xxxii. 19. The answer of the two tribes and a half, in which they not only most cheerfully promise their help in the conquest of Canaan, but also express the wish that Joshua may have the help of the Lord (ver. 17 compared with ver. 4), and after threatening all who refuse obedience with death, close with the divine admonition, "*only be strong and of a good courage*" (ver. 18, cf. ver. 6), furnishes a proof of the wish that inspired them to help their brethren, that all the tribes might speedily enter into the peaceable possession of the promised inheritance. The expression "*rebel against the commandment*" is used in Deut. i. 26, 43, ix. 23, 1 Sam. xii. 14, to denote resistance to the commandments of the Lord; here it denotes opposition to His representative, the commander chosen by the Lord, which was to be punished with death, according to the law in Deut. xvii. 12.

Chap. ii. TWO SPIES SENT OVER TO JERICHO.—Ver. 1. Although Joshua had received a promise from the Lord of His almighty help in the conquest of Canaan, he still thought it necessary to do what was requisite on his part to secure the success of the work committed to him, as the help of God does not preclude human action, but rather presupposes it. He therefore sent two men out secretly as spies from Shittim the place of encampment at that time (see at Num. xxv. 1), to view, *i.e.* explore, the land, especially Jericho, the strongly fortified frontier town of Canaan (chap. vi. 1). The word "*secretly*" is connected by the accents with "*saying*," giving them their instructions secretly; but this implies that they were also sent out secretly. This was done partly in order that the Canaanites might not hear of it, and partly in order that, if the report should prove unfavourable, the people might not be thrown into despair, as they had been before in the time of Moses. The spies proceeded to Jericho, and towards evening they entered the house of a harlot named Rahab, and lodged there, *lit.* laid themselves down, intended to remain or sleep there. Jericho was two hours' journey to the west of the Jordan, situated in a plain that was formerly very fertile, and celebrated for its palm trees and balsam shrubs, but which is now quite desolate and barren. This plain is encircled on the western side by a naked and barren range of mountains, which stretches as far as Beisan towards the north and to the Dead Sea on the south. Every trace of the town has long since passed away, though it evidently stood somewhere near, and probably on the northern side of, the miserable and dirty village of

Rîha, by the Wady Kelt (see *Robinson*, Pal. ii. pp. 279 sqq., 289 sqq.; v. *Raumer*, Pal. pp. 206 sqq.). *Rahab* is called a *zonah*, i.e. a harlot, not an innkeeper, as *Josephus*, the *Chaldee* version, and the *Rabbins* render the word. Their entering the house of such a person would not excite so much suspicion. Moreover, the situation of her house against or upon the town wall was one which facilitated escape. But the Lord so guided the course of the spies, that they found in this sinner the very person who was the most suitable for their purpose, and upon whose heart the tidings of the miracles wrought by the living God on behalf of Israel had made such an impression, that she not only informed the spies of the despondency of the Canaanites, but, with believing trust in the power of the God of Israel, concealed the spies from all the inquiries of her countrymen, though at the greatest risk to herself.

Vers. 2-6. When the king of Jericho was informed of the fact that these strange men had entered the house of Rahab, and suspecting their reason for coming, summoned Rahab to give them up, she hid them (*lit. hid him, i.e. each one of the spies: for this change from the plural to the singular see Ewald, § 219*), and said to the king's messengers: יֵזָ, *recte*, "It is quite correct, the men came to me, but I do not know where they were from; and when in the darkness the gate was at the shutting (i.e. ought to be shut: for this construction, see Gen. xv. 12), they went out again, I know not whither. Pursue them quickly, you will certainly overtake them." The writer then adds this explanation in ver. 6: she had hidden them upon the roof of her house among stalks of flax. The expression "*to-night*" (*lit. the night*) in ver. 2 is more precisely defined in ver. 5, viz. as night was coming on, before the town-gate was shut, after which it would have been in vain for them to attempt to leave the town. "*Stalks of flax*," not "cotton pods" (*Arab., J. D. Mich.*), or "tree-flax, i.e. cotton," as *Thenius* explains it, but flax stalks or stalk-flax, as distinguished from carded flax, in which there is no wood left, λινοκαλάμη, *stipula lini* (LXX., *Vulg.*). Flax stalks, which grow to the height of three or four feet in Egypt, and attain the thickness of a reed, and would probably be quite as large in the plain of Jericho, the climate of which resembles that of Egypt, would form a very good hiding-place for the spies if they were piled up upon the roof to dry in the sun. The falsehood by which Rahab sought not only to avert all suspicion from herself of any conspiracy with the Israelitish men who had entered her house, but to prevent any further search for them in her house, and to

frustrate the attempt to arrest them, is not to be justified as a lie of necessity told for a good purpose, nor, as *Grotius* maintains, by the unfounded assertion that, "before the preaching of the gospel, a salutary lie was not regarded as a fault even by good men." Nor can it be shown that it was thought "allowable," or even "praiseworthy," simply because the writer mentions the fact without expressing any subjective opinion, or because, as we learn from what follows (vers. 9 sqq.), Rahab was convinced of the truth of the miracles which God had wrought for His people, and acted in firm faith that the true God would give the land of Canaan to the Israelites, and that all opposition made to them would be vain, and would be, in fact, rebellion against the Almighty God himself. For a lie is always a sin. Therefore even if Rahab was not actuated at all by the desire to save herself and her family from destruction, and the motive from which she acted had its roots in her faith in the living God (Heb. xi. 31), so that what she did for the spies, and thereby for the cause of the Lord, was counted to her for righteousness ("justified by works," James ii. 25), yet the course which she adopted was a sin of weakness, which was forgiven her in mercy because of her faith.¹

Vers. 7-14. Upon this declaration on the part of the woman, the king's messengers ("the men") pursued the spies by the road to the Jordan which leads across the fords. Both the circumstances themselves and the usage of the language require that we should interpret the words in this way; for *עַל הַמַּעְבְּרוֹת* cannot mean "as far as the fords," and it is very improbable that the officers should have gone across the fords. If they did not succeed in overtaking the spies and apprehending them before they reached the fords, they certainly could not hope to do this on the other side of the river in the neighbourhood of the Israelitish camp. By "*the fords*" with the article we are to understand the ford near to Jericho which was generally used at that time (Judg. iii. 22; 2 Sam. xix. 16 sqq.); but whether this was the one which is commonly used now at the

¹ *Calvin's* estimate is also a correct one: "It has often happened, that even when good men have endeavoured to keep a straight course, they have turned aside into circuitous paths. Rahab acted wrongly when she told a lie and said that the spies had gone; and the action was acceptable to God only because the evil that was mixed with the good was not imputed to her. Yet, although God wished the spies to be delivered, He did not sanction their being protected by a lie." *Augustine* also pronounces the same opinion concerning Rahab as that which he expressed concerning the Hebrew midwives (see the comm. on Ex. i. 21).

mouth of Wady *Shaib*, almost in a straight line to the east of Jericho, or the more southerly one, *el Helu*, above the mouth of Wady Hesban (*Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 254), to the south of the bathing-place of Christian pilgrims, or *el Meshra* (*Lynch*, p. 155), or *el Mocktaa* (*Seetzen*, ii. p. 320), it is impossible to determine. (On these and other fords near Beisan, and as far up as the Sea of Galilee, see *Rob.* ii. p. 259, and *Ritter Erdk.* xv. pp. 549 sqq.) After the king's messengers had left the town, they shut the gate to prevent the spies from escaping, in case they should be still in the town. אַחֲרֵי בִּאֲשֶׁר for אַחֲרֵי כֵּן is uncommon, but it is analogous to אַחֲרֵי כֵּן אֲשֶׁר in Gen. vi. 4.—Vers. 8 sqq. Notwithstanding these precautions, the men escaped. As soon as the officers had left Rahab's house, she went to the spies, who were concealed upon the roof, before they had lain down to sleep, which they were probably about to do upon the roof,—a thing of frequent occurrence in the East in summer time,—and confessed to them all that she believed and knew, namely, that God had given the land to the Israelites, and that the dread of them had fallen upon the Canaanites (“*us*,” in contrast with “*you*,” the Israelites, signifies the Canaanites generally, and not merely the inhabitants of Jericho), and despair had seized upon all the inhabitants of the land. The description of the despair of the Canaanites (ver. 9) is connected, so far as the expressions are concerned, with Ex. xv. 15 and 16, to show that what Moses and the Israelites had sung after crossing the Red Sea was now fulfilled, that the Lord had fulfilled His promise (Ex. xxiii. 27 compared with Deut. ii. 25 and xi. 25), and had put fear and dread upon the Canaanites.—Ver. 10. The report of the drying up of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 15 sqq.), of the defeat of the mighty kings of the Amorites, and of the conquest of their kingdoms, had produced this effect upon the Canaanites. Even in the last of these occurrences the omnipotence of God had been visibly displayed, so that what the Lord foretold to Moses (Deut. ii. 25) had now taken place; it had filled all the surrounding nations with fear and dread of Israel, and the heart and courage of the Canaanites sank in consequence.—Ver. 11. “*When we heard this*”—Rahab proceeded to tell them, transferring the feelings of her own heart to her countrymen—“*our heart did melt*” (it was thus that the Hebrew depicted utter despair; “the hearts of the people melted, and became as water,” chap. vii. 5), “*and there did not remain any more spirit in any one:*” i.e. they lost all strength of mind for acting, in consequence of their fear and dread (*vid.* chap. v. 1, though in 1 Kings x. 5 this phrase is used to signify being out of

one's-self from mere astonishment). "*For Jehovah your God is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath.*" To this confession of faith, to which the Israelites were to be brought through the miraculous help of the Lord (Deut. iv. 39), Rahab also attained; although her confession of faith remained so far behind the faith which Moses at that time demanded of Israel, that she only discerned in Jehovah a Deity (*Elohim*) in heaven and upon earth, and therefore had not yet got rid of her polytheism altogether, however close she had come to a true and full confession of the Lord. But these miracles of divine omnipotence which led the heart of this sinner with its susceptibility for religious truth to true faith, and thus became to her a savour of life unto life, produced nothing but hardness in the unbelieving hearts of the rest of the Canaanites, so that they could not escape the judgment of death.—Vers. 12-14. After this confession Rahab entreated the spies to spare her family (father's house), and made them promise her on oath as a sign of their fidelity, that on the capture of Jericho, which is tacitly assumed as self-evident after what had gone before, they would save alive her parents, and brothers and sisters, and all that belonged to them (*i.e.*, according to chap. vi. 23, the children and families of her brothers and sisters), and not put them to death; all of which they promised her on oath. "*A true token,*" *lit.* a sign of truth, *i.e.* a sign by which they guaranteed the truth of the kindness for which she asked. This sign consisted in nothing but the solemn oath with which they were to confirm their assurance, and, according to ver. 14, actually did confirm it. The oath itself was taken in these words, "*our soul shall die for you,*" by which they pledged their life for the life of Rahab and her family in this sense: God shall punish us with death if we are faithless, and do not spare thy life and the lives of thy relations. Though the name of God is not really expressed, it was implied in the fact that the words are described as swearing by Jehovah. But the spies couple their assurance with this condition, "*if ye utter not this our business,*" do not betray us, *sc.* so that we should be pursued, and our life endangered; "*then will we show thee mercy and truth*" (cf. Gen. xxiv. 27).

Vers. 15-24. Rahab then let them down by a rope through the window, namely, into the open country; for her house stood against or upon the town wall, so that she lived upon the wall, and advised them to get to the mountains, that they might not meet the men who had been sent out in pursuit of them, and to hide themselves there for three days, when the pursuers would have returned.—

Vers. 17–20. In conclusion, the spies guarded against any arbitrary interpretation and application of their oath, by imposing three conditions, on the non-fulfilment of which they would be released from their oath. הָיָה for הָיְאָה is to be explained in ver. 17 from the fact that the gender is often disregarded in the use of the pronoun (see *Ewald*, § 183, *a.*), and in ver. 18 from the fact that there the gender is determined by the *nomen rectum* (see *Ewald*, § 317, *d.*).—Ver. 18. The *first* condition was, that when the town was taken Rahab should make her house known to the Israelites, by binding “*the cord of this crimson thread*,” *i.e.* this cord made of crimson thread, in the window from which she had let them down. The demonstrative “*this*” leads to the conclusion adopted by *Luther* and others, that “*this cord*” is the rope (חבל) mentioned in ver. 15, as no other cord had been mentioned to which they could refer; and the fact that nothing has been said about the sign in question being either given or received, precludes the idea that the spies gave the cord to Rahab for a sign. The crimson or scarlet colour of the cord (חֹלֶעֶת שָׁנִי = שָׁנִי; see at Ex. xxv. 4), as the colour of vigorous life, made this cord an expressive sign of the preservation of Rahab’s life and the lives of her relations. The *second* condition was, that when the town was taken, Rahab should collect together her parents, and her brothers and her sisters, into her own house.—Ver. 19. Whoever went outside the door, his blood should be upon his own head; *i.e.* if he was slain outside by the Israelitish soldiers, he should bear his death as his own fault. But every one who was with her in the house, his blood should fall upon their (the spies’) head, if any hand was against them, *i.e.* touched them or did them harm (*vid.* Ex. ix. 3). The formula, “*his blood be upon his head*,” is synonymous with the legal formula, “*his blood be upon him*” (Lev. xx. 9). The *third* condition (ver. 20) is simply a repetition of the principal condition laid down at the very outset (ver. 14).—Ver. 21. When Rahab had accepted all these conditions, she let the men go, and bound the red cord in the window. It is not to be supposed that she did this at once, but merely as soon as it was necessary. It is mentioned here for the purpose of bringing the subject to a close.—Ver. 22. The spies remained three days in the mountains, till the officers returned to the town, after searching for them the whole way in vain. The mountains referred to are probably the range on the northern side of Jericho, which afterwards received the name of *Quarantana* (Arab. *Kuruntul*), a wall of rock rising almost precipitously from the plain to the height of 1200 or

1500 feet, and full of grottoes and caves on the eastern side. These mountains were well adapted for a place of concealment; moreover, they were the nearest to Jericho, as the western range recedes considerably to the south of Wady Kelt (*vid. Rob. ii. p. 289*).—Vers. 23, 24. After this they returned to the camp across the Jordan, and informed Joshua of all that had befallen them, and all that they had heard. On ver. 24, see ver. 9.

PASSAGE THROUGH THE JORDAN.—CHAP. III. AND IV.

The following morning, after the return of the spies into the camp, Joshua proceeded with the people from Shittim to the bank of the Jordan, to complete the necessary preparations there, and then cross the river and enter Canaan (chap. iii. 1). The crossing of this boundary river of Canaan, or rather the passage through the bed of the river, which had been dried up by a miracle of divine omnipotence at the place of crossing, is narrated in these two chapters in the following manner: first (chap. iii. 1b–6), the final preparations for crossing; and then the passage through the bed of the river, and the erection of stones as a permanent memorial of this miracle. This is arranged in three parts: viz. vers. 7–17, the commencement of the crossing; chap. iv. 1–14, its further progress; and chap. iv. 15–24, its close. The account is also arranged upon the following plan: in every one of these three sections the command of God to Joshua is mentioned first (cf. chap. iii. 7, 8, iv. 2, 3, iv. 15, 16); then the communication of this command to the people by Joshua; and finally its execution (chap. iii. 9–17, iv. 4–13, iv. 17–20). This arrangement was adopted by the author for the purpose of bringing distinctly out to view, not only the miracle itself, but also the means with which God associated the performance of the miracle, and also of impressing deeply upon the memory of the people both the divine act and the end secured. In doing this, however, some repetitions were inevitable, in consequence of the endeavour, so peculiar to the Hebrew mode of writing history, to mark and round off the several points in the occurrences described, by such comprehensive statements as anticipate the actual course of events. It is to this arrangement and dovetailing of the different points that we must attribute the distribution of the revelation and commands which Joshua received from God, over the several portions of the history; and consequently we are not to suppose, that at each separate point during the passage God revealed

to Joshua what he was to do, but must rather assume that He actually revealed and commanded whatever was requisite all at once, on the day before the miraculous passage.¹

Chap. iii. 1-6. *Arrangements for the Passage through the Jordan.*—When they reached the Jordan, the Israelites rested till they passed over. לָן, *to pass the night*; then in a wider sense to tarry, Prov. xv. 31; here it means to rest. According to ver. 2, they stayed there three days. “*At the end (after the expiration) of three days*” cannot refer to the three days mentioned in chap. i. 11, if only because of the omission of the article, apart from the reasons given in the note upon chap. i. 11, which preclude the supposition that the two are identical. The reasons why the Israelites stayed three days by the side of the Jordan, after leaving Shittim, are not given, but they are not difficult to guess; for, in the first place, before it could be possible to pass into an enemy’s country, not only with an army, but with all the people, including wives, children, and all their possessions, and especially when the river had first of all to be crossed, it must have been necessary to make many preparations, which would easily occupy two or three days. Besides this, the Jordan at that time was so high as to overflow its banks, so that it was impossible to cross the fords, and they were obliged to wait till this obstruction was removed. But as soon as Joshua was assured that the Lord would make a way for His people, he issued the following instructions through the proper officers to all the people in the camp: “*When ye see the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, and (see) the Levitical priests bear it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it: yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it; that ye may know the way by which ye must go: for ye have not passed this way yesterday and the day before.*” On the expression “the Levitical priests,” see at Deut. xxxi. 25, as compared with ver. 9 and xvii. 9. בְּיָדוֹ, both here and in chap. viii. 11, should probably be pointed בְּיָדָיו (*vid. Ewald, § 266, a.*). This command referred simply to the march from the last resting-place by the Jordan into the river itself, and not to the passage through the

¹ The assertion made by Paulus, Eichhorn, Bleek, Knobel, and others, that the account is compounded from two different documents, is founded upon nothing else than a total oversight of the arrangement explained above and doctrinal objections to its miraculous contents. The supposed contradictions, which are cited as proofs, have been introduced into the text, as even Hauff acknowledges (*Offenbarungsgl.* pp. 209, 210).

river, during which the priests remained standing with the ark in the bed of the river until the people had all passed through (vers. 8 and 17).¹ The people were to keep about 2000 cubits away from the ark. This was not done, however, to prevent their going wrong in the unknown way, and so missing the ford, for that was impossible under the circumstances; but the ark was carried in front of the people, not so much to show the road as to make a road by dividing the waters of the Jordan, and the people were to keep at a distance from it, that they might not lose sight of the ark, but keep their eyes fixed upon it, and know the road by looking at the ark of the covenant by which the road had been made, *i.e.* might know and observe how the Lord, through the medium of the ark, was leading them to Canaan by a way which they had never traversed before, *i.e.* by a miraculous way.—Vers. 5, 6. Joshua then issued instructions (*a*) to the people to sanctify themselves, because on the morrow the Lord would do wonders among them; and (*b*) to the priests, to carry the ark of the covenant in front of the people. The issuing of these commands with the prediction of the miracle presupposes that the Lord had already made known His will to Joshua, and serves to confirm our conclusions as to the arrangement of the materials. The sanctification of the people did not consist in the washing of their clothes, which is mentioned in Ex. xix. 10, 14, in connection with the act of sanctification, for there was no time for this; nor did it consist in merely changing their clothes, which might be a substitute for washing, according to Gen. xxxv. 2, or in abstinence from connubial intercourse (Ex. xix. 15), for this was only the outward side of sanctification. It consisted in spiritual purification also, *i.e.* in turning the heart to God, in faith and trust in His promise, and in willing obedience to His commandments, that they should lay to heart in a proper way the miracle of grace which the Lord was about to work in the midst of them and on their behalf on the following day. “*Wonders:*” those miraculous displays of the omnipotence of God for the realization of His covenant of grace, which He had already promised in connection

¹ *Knobel* maintains that this statement, according to which the Israelites were more than 2000 cubits from the place of crossing, is not in harmony with ver. 1, where they are said to have been by the Jordan already; but he can only show this supposed discrepancy in the text by so pressing the expression, they “came to Jordan,” as to make it mean that the whole nation was encamped so close to the edge of the river, that at the very first step the people took their feet would touch the water.

with the conquest of Canaan (Ex. xxxiv. 10). In ver. 6, where the command to the priests is given, the fulfilment of the command is also mentioned, and the course of events anticipated in consequence.

Vers. 7–17. *Commencement of the Crossing.*—First of all (in vers. 7 and 8), the revelation made by God to Joshua, that He would begin this day to make him great, *i.e.* to glorify him before the Israelites, and the command to the priests who bore the ark of the covenant to stand still in the river, when they came to the water of the Jordan; then (vers. 9–13) the publication of this promise and command to the people; and lastly (vers. 14–17), the carrying out of the command. וְהָיָה, I will *begin* to make thee great. The miraculous guidance of the people through the Jordan was only the beginning of the whole series of miracles by which the Lord put His people in possession of the promised land, and glorified Joshua in the sight of Israel in the fulfilment of his office, as He had glorified Moses before. Just as Moses was accredited in the sight of the people, as the servant of the Lord in whom they could trust, by the miraculous division of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 31), so Joshua was accredited as the leader of Israel, whom the Almighty God acknowledged as He had His servant Moses, by the similar miracle, the division of the waters of Jordan. Only the most important points in the command of God to the priests are given in ver. 8. The command itself is communicated more fully afterwards in the address to the people, in ver. 13. When they came with the ark to the end of the waters of Jordan,—*i.e.* not to the opposite side, but to the nearest bank; that is to say, as soon as they reached the water in the bed of the river,—they were to stand still (*vid.* ver. 15, and chap. iv. 11), in order, as we see from what follows, to form a dam as it were against the force of the water, which was miraculously arrested in its course, and piled up in a heap. Moses divided the waters of the Red Sea with his *rod*; Joshua was to do the same to the Jordan with the *ark of the covenant*, the appointed symbol and vehicle of the presence of the Almighty God since the conclusion of the covenant. Wherever the ordinary means of grace are at hand, God attaches the operations of His grace to them; for He is a God of order, who does not act in an arbitrary manner in the selection of His means.—Vers. 9, 10. The summons to the children of Israel, *i.e.* to the whole nation in the persons of its representatives, to draw near (קָרְבוּ for קָרְבוּ, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 38; Ruth ii. 14) to hear the words of the Lord its God, points to the importance of the following announcement, by which Israel was to learn that there was a

living God in the midst of it, who had the power to fulfil His word. Jehovah is called a "living God," in contrast with the dead gods of the heathen, as a God who proved himself to be living, with special reference to those "divine operations by which God had shown that He was living and watchful on behalf of His people; just as His *being in the midst* of the people did not denote a naked presence, but a striking degree of presence on the part of God in relation to the performance of extraordinary operations, or the manifestation of peculiar care" (*Seb. Schmidt*). The God of Israel would now manifest himself as a living God by the extermination of the Canaanites, seven tribes of whom are enumerated, as in Deut. vii. 1 (see the remarks on this passage). Joshua mentions the destruction of these nations as the purpose which God had in view in the miraculous guidance of Israel through the Jordan, to fill the Israelites with confidence for their entrance into the promised land.¹—Vers. 11-13. After this inspiring promise, Joshua informed the people what the Lord intended to do first: "*Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of the whole earth will go before you into Jordan.*" אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית is a genitive dependent upon אֲרוֹן, the strict subordination of the construct state being loosened in this case by the article before the *nomen regens*. The punctuators have therefore separated it from the latter by *sakeph-katon*, without thereby explaining it as in opposition or giving any support to the mistaken exposition of *Buxtorff* and *Drusius*, that "the ark of the covenant is called the ruler of the whole earth." The description of Jehovah as "Lord of the whole earth," which is repeated in ver. 13, is very appropriately chosen for the purpose of strengthening confidence in the omnipotence of the Lord. This epithet "exalted the government of God over all the elements of the world, that the Israelites might have no doubt that as seas and rivers are under His control, the waters, although liquid by nature, would become stable at His nod" (*Calvin*). The expression, "*passeth over before you into Jordan,*" is more precisely explained in the course of the narrative:

¹ "He extends the force of the miracle beyond their entrance into the land, and properly so, since the mere opening of a way into a hostile country, from which there would be no retreat, would be nothing but exposure to death. For they would either easily fall, through being entangled in difficulties and in an unknown region, or they would perish through want. Joshua therefore foretold, that when God drove back the river it would be as if He had stretched out His hand to strike all the inhabitants of the land, and that the proof which He gave of His power in their crossing the Jordan would be a certain presage of victory, to be gained over all the tribes."

the ark of the covenant went (was carried) before the people into the river, and then stood still, as the bulwark of the people, till the passage was completed; so that the word "before" indicates the protection which it would afford.—Ver. 12. "*And take to you (i.e. appoint) twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, one for each tribe.*" For what purpose is not stated here, but is apparent from what follows (chap. iv. 2 sqq.). The choice or appointment of these men was necessarily commanded before the crossing commenced, as they were to stand by the side of Joshua, or near the bearers of the ark of the covenant, so as to be at hand to perform the duty to be entrusted to them (chap. iv. 3 sqq.). Joshua then concludes by foretelling the miracle itself: "*It will come to pass, that when the soles of the feet of the priests who bear the ark of the Lord shall settle down in the water of the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan shall be cut off; namely, the waters flowing down from above, and shall stand still as one heap.*" "*Shall be cut off,*" so as to disappear; namely, at the place where the priests stand with the ark of the covenant. This took place through the waters standing still as a heap, or being heaped up, at some distance above the standing-place. יַרְאָה is an accusative of more precise definition. The expression is taken from the song of Moses (Ex. xv. 8).

The event corresponded to the announcement.—Vers. 14–16. When the people left their tents to go over the Jordan, and the priests, going before with the ark of the covenant, dipped their feet in the water ("the brim of the water," ver. 15, as in ver. 8), although the Jordan was filled over all its banks throughout the whole time of harvest, the waters stood still: the waters flowing down from above stood as a heap at a very great distance off, by the town of Adam, on the side of Zarthan; and the waters flowing down to the salt sea were entirely cut off, so that the people went through the dried bed of the river opposite to Jericho. Vers. 14–16 form one large period, consisting of three protases (vers. 14, 15), the first and third of which are each of them more precisely defined by a circumstantial clause, and also of three apodoses (ver. 16). In the protases the construction passes from the infinitive (בִּנְסֹעַ and בְּבֹאֵה) into the finite verb (נִבְטְלוּ),—a thing of frequent occurrence (see *Ewald*, § 350). The circumstantial clause (ver. 15b), "*and the Jordan was filled over all its banks all the days of harvest,*" brings out in all its fulness the miracle of the stoppage of the water by the omnipotence of God. Every attempt to explain the miracle as a natural occurrence is thereby prevented; so that *Eichhorn*

pronounces the clause a gloss, and endeavours in this manner to get rid of it altogether. *עַל-כָּל-יְרֵדָתוֹ* might mean full against all its banks, flowing with its banks full, or "full to the brim" (*Robinson*, Pal. ii. p. 262, according to the LXX. and *Vulg.*); but if we compare chap. iv. 18, "the waters of Jordan returned to their place, and went over all its banks as before," with the parallel passage in Isa. viii. 7, "the river comes up over all its channels and goes over all its banks," there can be no doubt that the words refer to an overflowing of the banks, and not merely to their being filled to the brim, so that the words must be rendered "go over the banks." But we must not therefore understand them as meaning that the whole of the Ghor was flooded. The Jordan flows through the Ghor, which is two hours' journey broad at Beisan, and even broader to the south of that (see at Deut. i. 1), in a valley about a quarter of an hour in breadth which lies forty or fifty feet lower, and, being covered with trees and reeds, presents a striking contrast to the sandy slopes which bound it on both sides. In many places this strip of vegetation occupies a still deeper portion of the lower valley, which is enclosed by shallow banks not more than two or three feet high, so that, strictly speaking, we might distinguish three different banks at the places referred to: namely, the upper or outer banks, which form the first slope of the great valley; the lower or middle banks, embracing that strip of land which is covered with vegetation; and then the true banks of the river's bed (see *Burckhardt*, Syr. pp. 593 sqq., and *Robinson*, Pal. ii. pp. 254 sqq., and *Bibl. Researches*, pp. 333 sqq.). The flood never reaches beyond the lower line of the Ghor, which is covered with vegetation, but even in modern times this line has sometimes been overflowed. For example, *Robinson* (Pal. ii. p. 255, compared with p. 263) found the river so swollen when he visited it in 1838, that it filled its bed to the very brim, and in some places flowed over and covered the ground where the bushes grew. This rise of the water still takes place at the time of harvest in April and at the beginning of May (see at Lev. xxiii. 9 sqq.), and therefore really at the close of the rainy season, and after the snow has been long melted upon Hermon, as it is then that the lake of Tiberias reaches its greatest height, in consequence of the rainy season and the melting of the snow, so that it is only then that the Jordan flows with its full stream into the Dead Sea (*Robinson*, ii. p. 263). At this time of the year the river cannot of course be waded through even at its shallowest fords, whereas this is possible in the summer season, when the water

is low. It is only by swimming that it can possibly be crossed, and even that cannot be accomplished without great danger, as it is ten or twelve feet deep in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and the current is very strong (*vid.* *Seetzen*, R. ii. pp. 301, 320–1; *Rob.* ii. p. 256). Crossing at this season was regarded as a very extraordinary feat in ancient times, so that it is mentioned in 1 Chron. xii. 15 as a heroic act on the part of the brave Gadites. It may possibly have been in this way that the spies crossed and recrossed the river a few days before. But that was altogether impossible for the people of Israel with their wives and children. It was necessary, therefore, that the Lord of the whole earth should make a road by a miracle of His omnipotence, which arrested the descending waters in their course, so that they stood still as a heap “*very far*,” *sc.* from the place of crossing, “*by the town of Adam*” (צַדְדִּים must not be altered into צַדְדִּים, from Adam, according to the *Keri*), “*which is by the side of Zarthan*.” The city of *Adam*, which is not mentioned anywhere else (and which *Luther* has erroneously understood as an appellative, according to the Arabic, “people of the city”), is not to be confounded with *Adamah*, in the tribe of Naphtali (chap. xix. 36). The town of *Zarthan*, by the side of which *Adam* is situated, has also vanished. *Van de Velde* and *Knobel* imagine that the name *Zarthan* has been preserved in the modern *Kurn* (Horn) *Sartabeh*, a long towering rocky ridge on the south-west of the ford of *Damieh*, upon which there are said to be the ruins of a castle. This conjecture is not favoured by any similarity in the names so much as by its situation. For, on the one hand, the mountain slopes off from the end of this rocky ridge, or from the loftiest part of the horn, into a broad shoulder, from which a lower rocky ridge reaches to the Jordan, and seems to join the mountains on the east, so that the Jordan valley is contracted to its narrowest dimensions at this point, and divided into the upper and lower Ghor by the hills of *Kurn Sartabeh*; and consequently this was apparently the most suitable point for the damming up of the waters of the Jordan (see *Robinson*, *Bibl. Researches*, pp. 293–4). On the other hand, this site tallies very well with all the notices in the Bible respecting the situation of the town of *Zarthan*, or *Zeredetha* (1 Kings vii. 46, compared with 2 Chron. iv. 17): *viz.* at 1 Kings iv. 12, where *Zarthan* is said to have been by the side of the territory of *Bethshean*; also at 1 Kings vii. 46, where *Zarthan* and *Succoth* are opposed to one another; and at *Judg.* vii. 22, where the reading should be צַדְדִּתָּה, according to the Arabic and Syriac versions.

Hence *Knobel* supposes that *Adam* was situated in the neighbourhood of the present ford *Damieh*, near to which the remains of a bridge belonging to the Roman era are still to be found (*Lynch, Expedition*). The distance of Kurn Sartabeh from Jericho is a little more than fifteen miles, which tallies very well with the expression "very far." Through this heaping up of the waters coming down from above, those which flowed away into the Dead Sea (the sea of the plain, see Deut. iv. 49) were completely cut off (הַמַּיִם נִכְרְתוּ are to be taken together, so that הַמַּיִם merely expresses the adverbial idea wholly, completely), and the people went over, probably in a straight line from Wady Hesbân to Jericho.—Ver. 17. But the priests stood with the ark of the covenant "*in the midst of Jordan*," i.e. in the bed of the river, not merely by the river, "*upon dry ground*," הֶקְלָו, lit. *jirmando*, i.e. with a firm foot, whilst all Israel went over upon dry ground, "*till all the people were passed over*." This could easily have been accomplished in half a day, if the people formed a procession of a mile or upwards in breadth.

Chap. iv. 1-14. *Crossing the River*.—In the account of the crossing, the main point is their taking twelve stones with them from the bed of the river to the opposite side to serve as a memorial. To set forth the importance of this fact as a divine appointment, the command of God to Joshua is mentioned first of all (vers. 2, 3); then the repetition of this command by Joshua to the men appointed for the work (vers. 4-7); and lastly, the carrying out of the instructions (ver. 8). This makes it appear as though God did not give the command to Joshua till after the people had all crossed over, whereas the twelve men had already been chosen for the purpose (chap. iii. 12). But this appearance, and the discrepancy that seems to arise, vanish as soon as we take the different clauses, —which are joined together here by *vav consec.*, according to the simple form of historical composition adopted by the Hebrews, "*and Jehovah spake, saying*," etc. (vers. 2, 3); "*and Joshua called the twelve men*," etc. (ver. 4),—and arrange them in logical order, and with their proper subordination to one another, according to our own modes of thought and conversation, as follows: "Then Joshua called the twelve men,—as Jehovah had commanded him, saying, 'Take you twelve men out of the people,' etc.,—and said to them,"¹

¹ So far as the meaning is concerned, *Kimchi*, *Calvin*, and many others, were perfectly correct in taking vers. 1b-3 as a parenthesis, and rendering וַיִּאָּמֶר as a pluperfect, though, grammatically considered, and from a Hebrew point of view, the historical sense with *vav consec.* does not correspond to our pluperfect, but

etc.—Vers. 1 sqq. When all the people had crossed over Jordan,¹ Joshua issued to the twelve men who had been appointed by the twelve tribes the command given to him by God: “*Go before the ark of Jehovah into the midst of Jordan, and take every man a stone upon his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites;*” or, as it is expressed in the fuller explanation in the divine command in ver. 3, “*from the standing-place of the priests, the setting up of twelve stones (סִבְיָהּ is an infinitive used as a substantive, or else it should be pointed as a substantive), and carry them over with you, and lay them down in the place of encampment where ye shall pass the night.*”—Vers. 6, 7. This (viz. their taking the twelve stones with them and setting them up) was to be a sign in Israel; the stones were to serve as a memorial of the miraculous crossing of the Jordan to all succeeding generations. For the expression “*if your children ask to-morrow (in future),*” etc., see Ex. xiii. 14, xii. 26, 27, and Deut. vi. 20, 21.—Ver. 8. The children of Israel carried out these instructions. The execution is ascribed to the “children of Israel,” i.e. to the whole nation, because the men selected from the twelve tribes acted in the name of the whole nation, and the memorial was a matter of equal importance to all. יָנְחִי־ם does not signify that they set up the stones as a memorial, but simply that they laid them down in their place of encampment. The setting up at Gilgal is mentioned for the first time in ver. 20. In addition to this, Joshua set up twelve stones for a memorial, on the spot where the feet of the priests had stood as they bore the ark of the covenant, which stones were there “*to this day,*” i.e. the time when the account was written. There is nothing to warrant our calling this statement in question, or setting it aside as a probable gloss, either in the circumstance that nothing is said about any divine command to set up these stones, or in the opinion that such

always expresses the succession either of time or thought. This early Hebrew form of thought and narrative is completely overlooked by *Knobel*, when he pronounces vers. 1b–3 an interpolation from a second document, and finds the apodosis to ver. 1a in ver. 4. The supposed discrepancy—namely, that the setting up of the memorial is not described in vers. 5 sqq. as a divine command, as in vers. 8, 10—by which *Knobel* endeavours to establish his hypothesis, is merely a deduction from the fact that Joshua did not expressly issue his command to the twelve men as a command of Jehovah, and therefore is nothing more than an unmeaning *argumentum e silentio*.

¹ The *piska* in the middle of ver. 1 is an old pre-Masoretic mark, which the Masorites have left, indicating a space in the midst of the verse, and showing that it was the commencement of a *parashah*.

a memorial would have failed of its object, as it could not possibly have remained, but would very speedily have been washed away by the stream. The omission of any reference to a command from God proves nothing, simply because divine commands are frequently hinted at but briefly, so that the substance of them has to be gathered from the account of their execution (compare chap. iii. 7, 8, with iii. 9-13, and iv. 2, 3, with iv. 4-7); and consequently we may assume without hesitation that such a command was given, as the earlier commentators have done. Moreover, the monument did not fail of its object, even if it only existed for a short time. The account of its erection, which was handed down by tradition, would necessarily help to preserve the remembrance of the miraculous occurrence. But it cannot be so absolutely affirmed that these stones would be carried away at once by the stream, so that they could never be seen any more. As the priests did not stand in the middle or deepest part of the river, but just in the bed of the river, and close to its eastern bank, and it was upon this spot that the stones were set up, and as we neither know their size nor the firmness with which they stood, we cannot pronounce any positive opinion as to the possibility of their remaining. It is not likely that they remained there for centuries; but they were intended rather as a memorial for the existing generation and their children, than for a later age, which would be perpetually reminded of the miraculous help of God by the monument erected in Gilgal.—Vers. 10, 11. Whilst Joshua was carrying out all that Jehovah had commanded him to say to the people, according to the command of Moses,—that is to say, whilst the people were passing through the Jordan before the ark, and the twelve men were carrying over the stones out of the river to the resting-place on the other side, and Joshua himself was setting up twelve stones in Jordan for a memorial,—during all this time, the priests stood with the ark in the bed of the river; but after all the people, including the twelve men who took the stones out of the Jordan, had finished crossing, the ark of the Lord passed over, with the priests, before the people: that is to say, it stationed itself again, along with the priests, at the head of the people. The words “*according to all that Moses had commanded Joshua*” do not refer to any special instructions which Moses had given to Joshua with reference to the crossing, for no such instructions are to be found in the Pentateuch, nor can they be inferred from Num. xxvii. 23, Deut. iii. 28, or xxxi. 23; they simply affirm that Joshua carried out all the commands which the Lord had

given him, in accordance with the charge which he received from Moses at the time when he was first called. Moses had called him and instructed him to lead the people into the promised land, in consequence of a divine command; and had given him the promise, at the same time, that Jehovah would be with him as He had been with Moses. This contained *implicite* an admonition to Joshua to do only what the Lord should command him. And if this was how Joshua acted, the execution of the commands of God was also an observance of the command of Moses. The remark in ver. 10*b*, "*and the people hastened and passed over,*" i.e. passed hastily through the bed of the river, is introduced as an explanation of the fact that the priests stood still in the bed of the river the whole time that the crossing continued. As the priests stood in one spot whilst all the people were passing over, it was necessary that the people should hasten over, lest the strength of the priests should be exhausted. This reason for hastening, however, does not preclude the other,—namely, that the crossing had to be finished in one day, before night came on. The statement in ver. 11, that when all the people had passed over, the ark of the Lord also passed over with the priests, is so far anticipatory of the actual course of the events, that up to this time nothing has been said about the fighting men belonging to the two tribes and a half having passed over (vers. 12, 13); nor has the command of God for the ark to pass over been mentioned (vers. 15 sqq.), though both of these must have preceded the crossing of the ark in order of time. It is to be observed, that, in the words "*the ark of the Lord passed over, and the priests,*" the priests are subordinate to the ark, because it was through the medium of the ark of the Lord that the miracle of drying up the river had been effected: it was not by the priests, but by Jehovah the Almighty God, who was enthroned upon the ark, that the waters were commanded to stand still. "*Before the people*" (*Eng. Ver.* "in the presence of the people") has the same signification in ver. 11 as in chap. iii. 6, 14.—Vers. 12, 13. The account of the fighting men of the tribes on the east of the Jordan passing over along with them, in number about 40,000, is added as a supplement, because there was no place in which it could be appropriately inserted before, and yet it was necessary that it should be expressly mentioned that these tribes performed the promise they had given (chap. i. 16, 17), and in what manner they did so. The words *וַיַּעֲבֹרוּ* do not imply that these 40,000 men crossed over behind the priests with the ark, which would not only be at variance with the fact so expressly

stated, that the ark of the covenant was the medium of the miraculous division of the water, but also with the distinct statement in ver. 18, that when the priests, with the ark, set their feet upon the dry land, the waters filled the river again as they had done before. The imperfect with *vav consec.* here expresses simply the order of thought, and not of time. "*Arboth Jericho*," the steppes of Jericho, were that portion of the Arabah or Ghor which formed the environs of Jericho, and which widens here into a low-lying plain of about three and a half or four hours' journey in breadth, on account of the western mountains receding considerably to the south of the opening of the Wady Kelt (*Rob. Pal. ii. pp. 263 sqq.*).—In ver. 14 the writer mentions still further the fact that the Lord fulfilled His promise (in chap. iii. 7), and by means of this miracle so effectually confirmed the authority of Joshua in the eyes of Israel, that the people feared him all the days of his life as they had feared Moses. "This was not the chief end of the miracle, that Joshua increased in power and authority; but since it was a matter of great importance, so far as the public interests were concerned, that the government of Joshua should be established, it is very properly mentioned, as an addition to the benefits that were otherwise conferred, that he was invested as it were with sacred insignia, which produced such a feeling of veneration among the people, that no one dared to treat him with disrespect" (*Calvin*).

Vers. 15-24. *Termination of the miraculous Passage through the Jordan*.—As soon as the priests left their standing-place in the river with the ark of the covenant, according to the command of God made known to them by Joshua, and the soles of their feet "*tore themselves loose upon the dry ground*" (נִתְקוּ אֶל הָהָרָבָה, *constructio prægnaus*, for they tore themselves loose from the soft soil of the river, and trode upon the dry or firm ground), the waters of the Jordan returned again to their place, and went over all its banks as before (*vid. chap. iii. 15*). This affirms as clearly as possible that it was the ark which kept back the stream.—Ver. 19. The crossing took place on the tenth day of the first month, that is to say, on the same day on which, forty years before, Israel had begun to prepare for going out of Egypt by setting apart the paschal lamb (*Ex. xii. 3*). After crossing the river, the people encamped at Gilgal, on the eastern border of the territory of Jericho. The place of encampment is called *Gilyal* proleptically in vers. 19 and 20 (see at chap. v. 9).—Vers. 20 sqq. There Joshua set up the

twelve stones, which they had taken over with them out of the Jordan, and explained to the people at the same time the importance of this memorial to their descendants (vers. 21, 22), and the design of the miracle which had been wrought by God (ver. 24). On vers. 21, 22, see vers. 6, 7. אִשָּׁר (ver. 23), *quod*, as (see Deut. ii. 22). The miracle itself, like the similar one at the Dead Sea, had a double intention, viz. to reveal to the Canaanites the omnipotence of the God of Israel, the strong hand of the Lord (compare Ex. xiv. 4, 18, with chap. vi. 6; and for the expression "the hand of the Lord is mighty," see Ex. iii. 19, vi. 1, etc.), and to serve as an impulse to the Israelites to fear the Lord their God always (see at Ex. xiv. 31).

CIRCUMCISION OF THE PEOPLE, AND CELEBRATION OF THE PASSOVER AT GILGAL.—CHAP. V. 1–12.

When the Israelites had trodden the soil of Canaan, Joshua began immediately to make arrangements for conquering the land, and destroying its inhabitants. As the Lord had only promised him His assistance on condition that the law given by Moses was faithfully observed (chap. i. 7 sqq.), it was necessary that he should proceed first of all to impose it as an inviolable obligation, not only upon himself, but also upon all the people entrusted to his charge, to fulfil all the precepts of the law, many of which could not be carried out during the journey through the wilderness, whilst many others had only been given with special reference to the time when the people should be dwelling in Canaan. The first duty which devolved upon him in this respect, was to perform the rite of circumcision upon the generation that had been born in the wilderness, and had grown up without circumcision, so that the whole congregation might be included in the covenant of the Lord, and be able to keep the passover, which was to be celebrated in a few days in the manner prescribed by the law.

Vers. 1–9. CIRCUMCISION OF THE PEOPLE.—Ver. 1. Whilst, on the one hand, the approach of the passover rendered it desirable that the circumcision of those who had remained uncircumcised should be carried out without delay, on the other hand the existing circumstances were most favourable for the performance of this covenant duty, inasmuch as the miracle wrought in connection with the passage through the Jordan had thrown the Canaanites into

such alarm that there was no fear of their attacking the Israelitish camp. To indicate this, the impression produced by this miracle is described, namely, that all the kings of Canaan had been thrown into despair in consequence. All the tribes of Canaan are grouped together here under the names of Amorites and Canaanites, the tribes in possession of the mountains being all called Amorites, and those who lived by the sea, *i.e.* by the shore of the Mediterranean, Canaanites (*vid.* chap. i. 4): for the Amorites upon the mountains were the strongest of all the Canaanitish tribes at that time (see at Gen. x. 16); whilst the name Canaanite, *i.e.* the bent one (see at Gen. ix. 25), was peculiarly appropriate to the inhabitants of the lowlands, who relied upon trade more than upon warfare, and were probably dependent upon the strong and mighty Amorites. The application of the expression "*beyond Jordan*" (*Eng. Ver.* "on the side of") to the country on this side, may be explained on the ground that the historian was still writing from the stand-point of the crossing. But in order to prevent any misunderstanding, he adds "*towards the west*," as he had previously added "*towards the sunrise*," in chap. i. 15, when speaking of the land on the eastern side. That we have the report of an eye-witness here is evident from the words, "until *we* were passed over:" the reading of the *Keri*, עָבְרוּם (till *they* were passed over), is nothing but an arbitrary and needless conjecture, and ought not to have been preferred by *Bleek* and others, notwithstanding the fact that the ancient versions and some mss. also adopt it.—Vers. 2-8. At that time (*sc.* the time of their encampment at Gilgal, and when the Canaanites were in despair) Joshua had the people "*circumcised again, the second time*." The word שְׁנִיָּתָא (a second time) is only added to give emphasis to שָׁבַע, or as an explanation of it, and is not to be pressed, either here or in Isa. xi. 11, as though it denoted the repetition of the same act in every respect, *i.e.* of an act of circumcision which had once before been performed upon the whole nation. It merely expresses this meaning, "circumcise the people again, or the second time, as it was formerly circumcised" (*i.e.* a circumcised people, not in the same manner in which it once before had circumcision performed upon it). When the people came out of Egypt they were none of them uncircumcised, as distinctly affirmed in ver. 5; but during their journey through the wilderness circumcision had been neglected, so that now the nation was no longer circumcised, and therefore it was necessary that circumcision should be performed upon the nation as a whole, by circumcising all who were uncir-

cumcised. The opinion of *Masius* and *O. v. Gerlach*, that the expression "the second time" refers to the introduction of circumcision, when Abraham was circumcised with all his house, is very far-fetched. *חַרְבוֹת צָרִים* are not "sharp knives," but "*stone knives*," which were used according to ancient custom (see at *Ex. iv. 25*), literally knives of rocks (the plural *zurim* is occasioned by *charboth*, as in *Num. xiii. 32*, etc.; the singular might have been used: see *Ewald*, § 270, c.).—Ver. 3. Joshua had the circumcision performed "*at the hill of the foreskins*," as the place was afterwards called from the fact that the foreskins were buried there.—Vers. 4–7. The reason for the circumcision of the whole nation was the following: all the fighting men who came out of Egypt had died in the wilderness by the way; for all the people that came out were circumcised; but all that were born in the wilderness during the journey had not been circumcised (*בְּצֵאתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם*, on their coming out of Egypt, which only came to an end on their arrival in Canaan). They walked forty years in the wilderness; till all the people—that is to say, all the fighting men—who came out of Egypt were consumed, because they had not hearkened to the voice of the Lord, and had been sentenced by the Lord to die in the wilderness (ver. 6; cf. *Num. xiv. 26 sqq.*, *xxvi. 64, 65*, and *Deut. ii. 14–16*). But He (Jehovah) set up their sons in their place, *i.e.* He caused them to take their place; and these Joshua circumcised (*i.e.* had them circumcised), for they were uncircumcised, because they had not been circumcised by the way. This explains the necessity for a general circumcision of all the people, but does not state the reason why those who were born in the wilderness had not been circumcised. All that is affirmed in vers. 5 and 7 is, that this had not taken place "by the way." The true reason may be gathered from ver. 6, if we compare the statement made in this verse, "for the children of Israel walked forty years in the wilderness, till all the men that were capable of bearing arms were consumed . . . unto whom the Lord swore that He would not show them the land promised to the fathers," with the sentence pronounced by God to which these words refer, viz. *Num. xiv. 29–34*. The Lord is then said to have sworn that all the men of twenty years old and upwards, who had murmured against Him, should perish in the wilderness; and though their sons should enter the promised land, they too should pasture, *i.e.* lead a nomad life, for forty years in the wilderness, and bear the apostasy of their fathers, till their bodies had fallen in the desert. This clearly means, that not only was the generation that came out

of Egypt sentenced to die in the wilderness because of its rebellion against the Lord, and therefore rejected by God, but the sons of this generation had to bear the whoredom, *i.e.* the apostasy of their fathers from the Lord, for the period of forty years, until the latter had been utterly consumed; that is to say, during all this time they were to endure the punishment of rejection along with their fathers: with this difference alone, that the sons were not to die in the wilderness, but were to be brought into the promised land after their fathers were dead. The sentence upon the fathers, that their bodies should fall in the desert, was unquestionably a rejection of them on the part of God, an abrogation of the covenant with them. This punishment was also to be borne by their sons; and hence the reason why those who were born in the desert by the way were not circumcised. As the covenant of the Lord with the fathers was abrogated, the sons of the rejected generation were not to receive the covenant sign of circumcision. Nevertheless this abrogation of the covenant with the generation that had been condemned, was not a complete dissolution of the covenant relation, so far as the nation as a whole was concerned, since the whole nation had not been rejected, but only the generation of men that were capable of bearing arms when they came out of Egypt, whilst the younger generation which had grown up in the desert was to be delivered from the ban, which rested upon it as well, and brought into the land of Canaan when the time of punishment had expired. For this reason the Lord did not withdraw from the nation every sign of His grace; but in order that the consciousness might still be sustained in the young and rising generation, that the covenant would be set up again with them when the time of punishment had expired, He left them not only the presence of the pillar of cloud and fire, but also the manna and other tokens of His grace, the continuance of which therefore cannot be adduced as an argument against our view of the time of punishment as a temporary suspension of the covenant. But if this was the reason for the omission of circumcision,¹ it did

¹ This reason was admitted even by *Calvin*, and has been well supported by *Hengstenberg* (Diss. ii. pp. 13 sqq.). The arguments adduced by *Kurtz* in opposition to this view are altogether unfounded. We have already observed that the reason for the suspension is not given in ver. 7; and the further remark, that in ver. 5 ("all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised") the book of Joshua dates the suspension not from the sentence of rejection, but expressly and undoubtedly (?) from the departure from Egypt, has no force whatever, unless we so press the word *all* ("all the people that were born in the desert")

not commence till the second year of their journey, viz. at the time when the murmuring nation was rejected at Kadesh (Num. xiv.); so that by "all the people that were born in the wilderness" we are to understand those who were born after that time, and during the last thirty-eight years of their wanderings, just as "all the people that came out of Egypt" are to be understood as signifying only those men who were twenty years old and upwards when they came out. Consequently circumcision was suspended as long as the nation was under the ban of the divine sentence pronounced upon it at Kadesh. This sentence was exhausted when they crossed the brook Zared and entered the country of the Amorites (compare Deut. ii. 14 with Num. xxi. 12, 13). Why, then, was not the circumcision performed during the encampment in the steppes of Moab either

as not to allow of the slightest exception. But this is decidedly precluded by the fact, that we cannot imagine it possible for God to have established His covenant with the people at a time when they had neglected the fundamental law of the covenant, the transgression of which was threatened with destruction (Gen. xvii. 14), by neglecting to circumcise all the children who had been born between the departure from Egypt and the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai. We are also prevented from pressing the little word "all" in this manner by the evident meaning of the words before us. In vers. 4 and 5 the Israelites are divided into two classes: (1) All the people that came out of Egypt and were circumcised; and (2) All the people that were born in the desert and were uncircumcised. The first of these died in the wilderness, the second came to Canaan and were circumcised by Joshua at Gilgal. But if we should press the word "all" in these clauses, it would follow that all the male children who were under twenty years of age at the time of the exodus, either died in the desert or were circumcised a second time at Gilgal. Lastly, it does not follow from ver. 6 that the circumcision was suspended for exactly forty years; for the forty years during which Israel journeyed in the desert until the murmuring generation was consumed, are to be interpreted by Num. xiv. 33, 34, and amounted, chronologically considered, to no more than thirty-eight years and a few months (see the commentary on Num. xxiv. 28 sqq.). On the other hand, the other very general view which *Kurtz* adopts—namely, that the circumcision was omitted during the journey through the desert on account of the hardships connected with travelling, and because it was impossible to have regard to particular families who might wish for longer rest on account of their children who had just been circumcised, and were suffering from the wound, just at the time when they had to decamp and journey onward, and they could not well be left behind—throws but little light upon the subject, as the assumption that the people were constantly wandering about for forty years is altogether an unfounded one. The Israelites were not always wandering about: not only did they stay at Sinai for eleven whole months, but even after that they halted for weeks and months at the different places of encampment, when they might have circumcised their children without the slightest danger of their suffering from the wound.

before or after the numbering, since all those who had been sentenced to die in the wilderness were already dead (Num. xxvi. 65)? The different answers which have been given to this question are some of them wrong, and others incomplete. For example, the opinion held by some, that the actual reason was that the forty years had not yet expired, is incorrect (see Deut. ii. 14). And the uncertainty how long they would remain in the steppes of Moab cannot be adduced as an explanation, as there were no circumstances existing that were likely to occasion a sudden and unexpected departure from Shittim. The reason why Moses did not renew the circumcision before the end of his own life, is to be sought for in the simple fact that he would not undertake an act of such importance without an express command from the Lord, especially as he was himself under sentence to die without entering the promised land. But the Lord did not enjoin the renewal of the covenant sign before Israel had been conducted into the promised land, because He saw fit first of all to incline the hearts of the people to carry out His commandment through this magnificent proof of His grace. It is the rule of divine grace first to give and then to ask. As the Lord did not enjoin circumcision as a covenant duty upon Abraham himself till He had given him a practical proof of His grace by leading him to Canaan, and by repeated promises of a numerous posterity, and of the eventual possession of the land; and just as He did not give the law to the children of Israel at Sinai till He had redeemed them with a mighty arm from the bondage of Egypt, and borne them on eagles' wings, and brought them to Himself, and had thereby made them willing to promise gladly to fulfil all that He should say to them as His covenant nation; so now He did not require the renewal of circumcision, which involved as the covenant sign the observance of the whole law, till He had given His people practical proofs, through the help afforded in the defeat of Sihon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, and in the miraculous division of the waters of Jordan, that He was able to remove all the obstacles that might lie in the way of the fulfilment of His promises, and give them the promised land for their inheritance, as He had sworn to their fathers.

Ver. 8. When the rite of circumcision had been performed upon them all, the people remained quietly in the camp till those who were circumcised had recovered. "*They abode in their places,*" i.e. sat still as they were, without attempting anything. *וָיָחֳזְרוּ*, to revive (Gen. xlv. 27; Job xiv. 14), or recover (2 Kings i. 2, viii. 8,

etc.). The circumcision of the people could not be performed earlier than the day after the crossing of the Jordan, *i.e.*, according to chap. iv. 19, not earlier than the 11th day of the first month. Now, as the passover was to be kept, and actually was kept, on the 14th (ver. 10), the two accounts are said to be irreconcilable, and the account of the circumcision has been set down as a later and unhistorical legend. But the objections made to the historical credibility of this account—viz. that the suffering consequent upon circumcision made a person ill for several days, and according to Gen. xxxiv. 25 was worst on the third day, so that the people could not have kept the passover on that day, and also that the people could not possibly have been all circumcised on one day—are founded upon false assumptions. In the latter, for example, the number of persons to be circumcised is estimated, most absurdly, at a million; whereas, according to the general laws of population, the whole of the male population of Israel, which contained only 601,730 of twenty years of age and upwards, besides 23,000 Levites of a month old and upwards, when the census was taken a short time before in the steppes of Moab, could not amount to more than a million in all, and of these between 280,000 and 330,000 were thirty-eight years old, and therefore, having been born before the sentence was pronounced upon the nation at Kadesh, and for the most part before the exodus from Egypt, had been already circumcised, so that there were only 670,000, or at the most 720,000, to be circumcised now. Consequently the proportion between the circumcised and uncircumcised was one to three or three and a half; and the operation could therefore be completed without any difficulty in the course of a single day. As regards the consequences of this operation, Gen. xxxiv. 25 by no means proves that the pain was most acute on the third day; and even if this really were the case, it would not prevent the keeping of the passover, as the lambs could have been killed and prepared by the 280,000 or 330,000 circumcised men; and even those who were still unwell could join in the meal, since it was only Levitical uncleanness, and not disease or pain, which formed a legal impediment to this (Num. ix. 10 sqq.).¹ But if there were about 300,000 men of the age of forty and upwards who could not only perform the rite of circumcision upon their sons or younger brothers, but, if necessary, were able at any moment to draw the sword, there was no reason what-

¹ For the basis upon which this computation rests, see *Kail's Commentary on Joshua*, p. 139 (Eng. trans. 1857).

ever for their being afraid of an attack on the part of the Canaanites, even if the latter had not been paralyzed by the miraculous crossing of the Jordan.—Ver. 9. When the circumcision was completed, the Lord said to Joshua, “*This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you.*” “The reproach of Egypt” is the reproach proceeding from Egypt, as “the reproach of Moab,” in Zeph. ii. 8, is the reproach heaped upon Israel by Moab (cf. Isa. li. 7; Ezek. xvi. 57). We are not to understand by this the Egyptian bondage, or the misery which still cleaved to the Israelites from Egypt, and the still further misery which they had suffered during their journey, on account of the displeasure of Jehovah (*Knobel*), but the reproach involved in the thoughts and sayings of the Egyptians, that Jehovah had brought the Israelites out of Egypt to destroy them in the desert (Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13-16; Deut. ix. 28), which rested upon Israel as long as it was condemned to wander restlessly about and to die in the wilderness. This reproach was rolled away from Israel with the circumcision of the people at Gilgal, inasmuch as this act was a practical declaration of the perfect restoration of the covenant, and a pledge that the Lord would now give them the land of Canaan for their inheritance. From this occurrence the place where the Israelites were encamped received the name of *Gilgal*, viz. “rolling away,” from גלל, to roll. This explanation and derivation of the name is not to be pronounced incorrect and unhistorical, simply because it merely preserves the subordinate idea of rolling, instead of the fuller idea of the rolling away of reproach. For the intention was not to form a word which should comprehend the whole affair with exhaustive minuteness, but simply to invent a striking name which should recall the occurrence, like the name *Tomi*, of which Ovid gives the following explanation: *Inde Tomos dictus locus est quia fertur in illo membra soror fratris consecuisse sui* (*Trist.* iii. 9, 33). *Knobel* is wrong in maintaining that the name should be explained in a different way, and that this *Gilgal* is the same as *Geliloth* (circles) in chap. xviii. 17 (see the explanation given at chap. xv. 7). The word *gilgal*, formed from גלל, to roll, signifies primarily rolling, then a wheel (Isa. xxviii. 28); and if by possibility it signifies *orbis* also, like גלגל, this is neither the original nor the only meaning of the word. According to *Josephus* (*Ant.* v. 1, 4), Israel encamped fifty stadia, i.e. two hours and a half, from the Jordan, and ten stadia, or half an hour, from Jericho,—that is to say, in the plain or steppe between Jericho and the Jordan, in an uninhabited and unculti-

vated spot, which received the name of *Gilgal* for the first time, as the place where the Israelites were encamped. No town or village ever existed there, either at the period in question or at any later time. The only other places in which this Gilgal can be shown to be evidently referred to, are Micah vi. 5 and 2 Sam. xix. 16, 41; and the statement made by *Eusebius* in the *Onom. s. v. Galgala*, *δείκνυται ὁ τόπος ἔρημος ὡς ἰερός θρησκευόμενος*, which *Jerome* paraphrases thus, “Even to the present day a deserted place is pointed out at the second mile from Jericho, which is held in amazing reverence by the inhabitants of that region,” by no means proves the existence of a town or village there in the time of the Israelites. Consequently it is not to be wondered at, that in spite of repeated search, *Robinson* has not been able to discover any remains of Gilgal to the east of Jericho, or to meet with any Arab who could tell him of such a name in this locality (see *Rob. Pal. ii. pp. 287–8 and 278*). On the situation of the Gilgal mentioned in chap. ix. 6, x. 6, etc., see at chap. viii. 35.

Vers. 10–14. THE PASSOVER AT GILGAL.—When the whole nation had been received again into covenant with the Lord by circumcision, they kept the passover, which had no doubt been suspended from the time that they left Sinai (Num. ix. 1 sqq.), on the 14th of the month (Nisan), in the evening (according to the law in Ex. xii. 6, 18, Lev. xxiii. 5, Num. xxviii. 16, Deut. xvi. 6). The next day, *i.e.* on the 16th, or the day after the first feast-day, they ate unleavened loaves and parched corn (“roasted grains,” see at Lev. ii. 14) of the produce of the land (עֲבוֹר,¹ which only occurs in vers. 11 and 12, is synonymous with תְּבוּאָה² in ver. 12), *i.e.* corn that had grown in the land of Canaan, as the manna entirely ceased from this day forwards. “The morrow after the passover” is used in Num. xxxiii. 3 for the 15th Nisan; but here it must be understood as signifying the 16th, as the produce of the land, of which they ate not only on that day, but, according to ver. 12, throughout that year, cannot mean the corn of the previous year, but the produce of this same year, *i.e.* the new corn, and they were not allowed to eat any of that till it had been sanctified to the Lord by the presentation of the wave sheaf on the second day of the passover (Lev. xxiii. 11). According to Lev. xxiii. 11, the presentation was to take place on the day after the Sabbath, *i.e.* the

¹ Rendered “old corn” in the Eng. version.

² Rendered *fruit* in our version.

first day of the feast of Mazzoth, which was kept as a Sabbath, or the 16th of Nisan, as the seven days' feast of Mazzoth commenced on the 15th (Lev. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17). "On the morrow after the passover" is the same as "on the morrow after the Sabbath" in Lev. xxiii. 11, the term passover being used here not in its original and more restricted sense, in which it applies exclusively to the observance of the paschal meal, which took place on the evening of the 14th, and is expressly distinguished from the seven days' feast of *Mazzoth* (Ex. xii. 23, 27; Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. xxviii. 16), but in the broader sense, which we have already met with in Deut. xvi. 2, in which the name was gradually extended to the whole of the seven days' feast. The writer assumed that the facts themselves were already well known from the Mosaic law, and therefore did not think it necessary to give any fuller explanation. Moreover, the words, "they did eat of the fruit of the land," etc., are not to be understood as signifying that they began to eat unleavened bread for the first time on the 16th Nisan (they had already eaten it as an accompaniment to the paschal lamb); but unleavened bread of the produce of the land, the green corn of that year, was what they ate for the first time on that day. Especial prominence is given to this by the words, "in the self-same day," because not only did the eating of the new corn commence on that day, but from that day forward "*the children of Israel had manna no more.*" This statement is evidently related to Ex. xvi. 35, and must be understood, according to that passage, as merely signifying, that on that day the gift of the manna entirely ceased (see Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 70 sqq.).

APPEARANCE OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, AND CONQUEST OF
JERICHO.—CHAP. V. 13—VI. 27.

Having been confirmed and fortified in the covenant with the Lord through the observance of the passover, Joshua determined to proceed at once to the work entrusted to him, viz. the conquest of the land of Canaan. But the town of Jericho, which was surrounded with strong walls, as the border defence of Canaan against any foe approaching from the east, had its gates shut before the children of Israel. And whilst Joshua was deep in meditation concerning its capture, the angel of the Lord appeared to him to announce that the Lord had given Jericho and its king into his power, and would miraculously throw down its walls.

Chap. v. 13—vi. 5. APPEARANCE AND MESSAGE OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD.—Vers. 13–15. When Joshua was by Jericho, בְּיֵרִיחוֹ, *lit. in Jericho* (בְּ expressing immediate proximity, the entrance as it were into some other object, *vid. Ewald*, § 217),—that is to say, inside it in thought, meditating upon the conquest of it,—he saw, on lifting up his eyes, a man standing before him with a drawn sword in his hand; and on going up to him, and asking, “*Dost thou belong to us or to our enemies?*” he received this reply: “*Nay* (לֹא is not to be altered into הֲלֵי, which is the reading adopted in the *Sept.*, *Syr.*, and a few MSS.), *but I am the prince of the army of Jehovah; now I am come.*” The person who had appeared neither belonged to the Israelites nor to their enemies, but was the prince of the army of Jehovah, *i.e.* of the angels. “*The Lord’s host*” does not mean “the people of Israel, who were just at the commencement of their warlike enterprise,” as *v. Hofmann* supposes; for although the host of Israel who came out of Egypt are called “the hosts of the Lord” in Ex. xii. 41, the Israelites are never called the host or army of Jehovah (in the singular). “The host of Jehovah” is synonymous with “the host of heaven” (1 Kings xxii. 19), and signifies the angels, as in Ps. cxlviii. 2 and ciii. 21. With the words “*now I am come,*” the prince of the angels is about to enter upon an explanation of the object of his coming; but he is interrupted in his address by Joshua, who falls down before him, and says, “*What saith my lord to his servant?*” so that now he first of all commands Joshua to take off his shoes, as the place on which he stands is holy. It by no means follows that because Joshua fell down upon the ground and שָׁתַחֲוִי (Eng. Ver. “*did worship*”), he must have recognised him at once as the angel of the Lord who was equal with God; for the word הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, which is connected with the falling down, does not always mean divine worship, but very frequently means nothing more than the deep Oriental reverence paid by a dependant to his superior or king (*e.g.* 2 Sam. ix. 6, xiv. 33), and Joshua did not address the person who appeared to him by the name of God, אֲדֹנָי, but simply as אֲדֹנִי, “My lord.” In any case, however, Joshua regarded him at once as a superior being, *i.e.* an angel. And he must have recognised him as something more than a created angel of superior rank, that is to say, as the angel of Jehovah who is essentially equal with God, the visible revealer of the invisible God, as soon as he gave him the command to take off his shoes, etc.,—a command which would remind him of the appearance of God to Moses in the burning bush, and which im-

plied that the person who now appeared was the very person who had revealed himself to Moses as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (On the meaning of the command to take off the shoes, see the exposition of Ex. iii. 5.) The object of the divine appearance was indicated by the drawn sword in the hand (cf. Num. xxii. 31), by which he manifested himself as a heavenly warrior, or, as he describes himself to Joshua, as prince of the army of Jehovah. The drawn sword contained in itself this practical explanation: "I am now come with my heavenly army, to make war upon the Canaanites, and to assist thee and thy people" (*Seb. Schmidt*). It was not in a vision that this appearance took place, but it was an actual occurrence belonging to the external world; for Joshua saw the man with the drawn sword at a certain distance from himself, and went up to him to address him,—a fact which would be perfectly incompatible with an inward vision.

Chap. vi. 1-5. When Joshua had taken off his shoes, the prince of the army of God made known to him the object of his coming (vers. 2-5). But before relating the message, the historian first of all inserts a remark concerning the town of Jericho, in the form of an explanatory clause, for the purpose of showing the precise meaning of the declaration which follows.¹ This meaning is to be found not merely in the fact that the Lord was about to give Jericho into the hands of the Israelites, but chiefly in the fact that the town which He was about to give into their hands was so strongly fortified.—Ver. 1. "*Jericho was shutting its gates (vid. Judg. ix. 51), and closely shut.*" The participles express the permanence of the situation, and the combination of the active and passive in the emphatic form מְסֻגָּרָה (LXX. συγκεκλεισμένη καὶ ὠχυρωμένη; *Vulg. clausa erat atque munita*) serves to strengthen the idea, to which still further emphasis is given by the clause, "no one was

¹ If there is any place in which the division of chapters is unsuitable, it is so here; for the appearance of the prince of the angels does not terminate with chap. v. 15, but what he had come to communicate follows in chap. vi. 2-5, and chap. vi. 1 merely contains an explanatory clause inserted before his message, which serves to throw light upon the situation (*vid. Ewald*, § 341). If we regard the account of the appearance of the angel as terminating with chap. v. 15, as *Knobel* and other commentators have done, we must of necessity assume either that the account has come down to us in a mutilated form, or that the appearance ceased without any commission being given. The one is as incredible as the other. The latter especially is without analogy; for the appearance in Acts x. 9 sqq., which *O. v. Gerlach* cites as similar, contains a very distinct explanation in vers. 13-16.

going out and in," i.e. so firmly shut that no one *could* go out or in. —Ver. 2. "*And the Lord said to Joshua:*" this is the sequel to chap. v. 15, as ver. 1 is merely a parenthesis and Jehovah is the prince of the army of Jehovah (chap. v. 14), or the angel of Jehovah, who is frequently identified with Jehovah (see Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 184 sqq.). "*See, I have given into thy hand Jericho and its king, the mighty men of valour.*" ("Have given," referring to the purpose of God, which was already resolved upon, though the fulfilment was still in the future.) "*The mighty men of valour*" (brave warriors) is in apposition to Jericho, regarded as a community, and its king. In vers. 3-5 there follows an explanation of the way in which the Lord would give Jericho into the hand of Joshua. All the Israelitish men of war were to go round the town once a day for six days. תָּסִיף . . . פַּעַם אֶחָת, "*going round about the city once,*" serves as a fuller explanation of סָבוּתָם ("ye shall compass"). As they marched in this manner round the city, seven priests were to carry seven jubilee trumpets before the ark, which implies that the ark itself was to be carried round the city in solemn procession. But on the seventh day they were to march round the town seven times, and the priests to blow the trumpets; and when there was a blast with the jubilee horn, and the people on hearing the sound of the trumpet raised a great cry, the wall of the town should fall down "*under itself.*" The "jubilee trumpets" (*Eng. Ver.* "trumpets of rams' horns") are the same as the "jubilee horn" (*Eng. Ver.* "rams' horn") in ver. 5, for which the abbreviated form *shophar* (trumpet, ver. 5; cf. Ex. xix. 16) or *jobel* (jubilee: Ex. xix. 13) is used. They were not the silver trumpets of the priests (Num. x. 1 sqq.), but large horns, or instruments in the shape of a horn, which gave a loud far-sounding tone (see at Lev. xxiii. 24, xxv. 11). For תִּקַּע בַּשֹּׁפָר, blow the trumpet (*lit.* strike the trumpet), in ver. 4, מִשָּׁפָה בִּקְרָן, draw with the horn, i.e. blow the horn with long-drawn notes, is used in ver. 5 (see at Ex. xix. 13). The people were then to go up, i.e. press into the town over the fallen wall; "*every one straight before him,*" i.e. every one was to go straight into the town without looking round at his neighbour either on the right hand or on the left (*vid.* ver. 20).

Vers. 6-27. **TAKING OF JERICHIO.**—In the account of this we have first of all a brief statement of the announcement of the divine message by Joshua to the priests and the people (vers. 6, 7); then the execution of the divine command (vers. 8-20); and lastly

the burning of Jericho and deliverance of Rahab (vers. 21-27).—Vers. 6, 7. In communicating the divine command with reference to the arrangements for taking Jericho, Joshua mentions in the first place merely the principal thing to be observed. The plural *וַיֹּאמְרוּ* (“they said”), in ver. 7, must not be altered, but is to be explained on the ground that Joshua did not make the proclamation to the people himself, but through the medium of the *shoterim*, who were appointed to issue his commands (see chap. i. 10, 11, iii. 2, 3). In this proclamation the more minute instructions concerning the order of march, which had been omitted in vers. 3-5, are given; namely, that *הַחֲלִיץ* was to march in front of the ark. By *הַחֲלִיץ*, “the equipped (or armed) man,” we are not to understand all the fighting men, as *Knobel* supposes; for in the description of the march which follows, the whole of the fighting men (“all the men of war,” ver. 3) are divided into *הַחֲלִיץ* and *הַמֵּאֲפָה* (*Eng. Ver.* “the armed men” and “the rereward,” vers. 9 and 13), so that the former can only have formed one division of the army. It is very natural therefore to suppose, as *Kimchi* and *Rashi* do, that the former were the fighting men of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh (*חֲלִיצֵי הָעֵבֶר*, chap. iv. 13), and the latter the fighting men of the rest of the tribes. On the meaning of *מֵאֲפָה*, see at Num. x. 25. If we turn to the account of the facts themselves, we shall see at once, that in the report of the angel’s message, in vers. 3-5, several other points have been passed over for the purpose of avoiding too many repetitions, and have therefore to be gathered from the description of what actually occurred. First of all, in vers. 8-10, we have the appointment of the order of marching, namely, that the ark, with the priests in front carrying the trumpets of jubilee, was to form the centre of the procession, and that one portion of the fighting men was to go in front of it, and the rest to follow after; that the priests were to blow the trumpets every time they marched round during the seven days (vers. 8, 9, 13); and lastly, that it was not till the seventh time of going round, on the seventh day, that the people were to raise the war-cry at the command of Joshua, and then the walls of the town were to fall (vers. 10, 16). There can be no doubt that we are right in assuming that Joshua had received from the angel the command which he issued to the people in vers. 17 sqq., that the whole town, with all its inhabitants and everything in it, was to be given up as a ban to the Lord, at the time when the first announcement concerning the fall of the town was made.

Vers. 8-20. *Execution of the divine Command.*—Vers. 8-11. The march round on the first day; and the instructions as to the war-cry to be raised by the people, which are appended as a supplement in ver. 10. “*Before Jehovah*,” instead of “before the ark of Jehovah,” as the signification of the ark was derived entirely from the fact, that it was the medium through which Jehovah communicated His gracious presence to the people. In ver. 9, תִּקְעִי is in the perfect tense, and we must supply the relative אֲשֶׁר, which is sometimes omitted, not only in poetry, but also in prose, after a definite noun in the accusative (e.g. Ex. xviii. 20; see *Ewald*, § 332, a.). There is not sufficient ground for altering the form of the word into תִּקְעִי, according to the *Keri*, as תִּקְעִי is construed in other cases with the accusative הַשּׁוֹפָר, instead of with אֲשֶׁר, and that not only in poetry, but also in prose (e.g. Judg. vii. 22, as compared with vers. 18-20). הָלֹךְ וְתִקְעִי, “trumpeting continually” (*Eng. Ver.* “going on and blowing”). הָלֹךְ is used adverbially, as in Gen. viii. 3, etc.—Ver. 11. “*So the ark of the Lord compassed the city*,” not “Joshua caused the ark to compass the city.” The *Hiphil* has only an active, not a causative, meaning here, as in 2 Sam. v. 23, etc.—Vers. 12-14. The march on each of the next five days resembled that on the first. “*So they did six days*.” In ver. 13, וְתִקְעִי does not stand for וְתִקְעוּ, but corresponds to וְתִקְעִי in ver. 8; and the participle הֹלֵךְ is used interchangeably with the *inf. abs.* הָלֹךְ, as in Gen. xxvi. 13, Judg. iv. 24, etc., so that the *Keri* הָלֹךְ is an unnecessary emendation.—Vers. 15-19. On the seventh day the marching round the town commenced very early, at the dawning of the day, that they might go round seven times. בַּבֹּרֶחַ, in the manner prescribed and carried out on the previous days, which had become a *right* through precept and practice. On the seventh circuit, when the priests had blown the trumpet, Joshua commanded the fighting men to raise a war-cry, announcing to them at the same time that the town, with all that was in it, was to be a ban to the Lord, with the exception of Rahab and the persons in her house, and warning them not to take of that which was laid under the ban, that they might not bring a ban upon the camp of Israel. The construction in ver. 16, “*it came to pass at the seventh time the priests had blown the trumpets, then Joshua said, . . .*” is more spirited than if the conjunction בְּאִשֶּׁר had been used before תִּקְעִי, or בְּתִקְעוֹ had been used. Because the Lord had given Jericho into the hands of the Israelites, they were to consecrate it to Him as a ban (*cherem*), i.e. as a holy thing belonging to Jehovah, which was not to be touched by man, as being

the first-fruits of the land of Canaan. (On *cherem*, see the remarks at Lev. xxvii. 28, 29.) Rahab alone was excepted from this ban, along with all that belonged to her, because she had hidden the spies. The inhabitants of an idolatrous town laid under the ban were to be put to death, together with their cattle, and all the property in the town to be burned, as Moses himself had enjoined on the basis of the law in Lev. xxvii. 29. The only exceptions were metals, gold, silver, and the vessels of brass and iron; these were to be brought into the treasury of the Lord, *i.e.* the treasury of the tabernacle, as being holy to the Lord (ver. 19; *vid.* Num. xxxi. 54). Whoever took to himself anything that had been laid under the ban, exposed himself to the ban, not only because he had brought an abomination into his house, as Moses observes in Deut. vii. 25, in relation to the gold and silver of idols, but because he had wickedly invaded the rights of the Lord, by appropriating that which had been laid under the ban, and had wantonly violated the ban itself. The words, "*beware of the ban, that ye do not ban and take of the ban*" (ver. 18), point to this. As *Lud. de Dieu* observes, "the two things were altogether incompatible, to devote everything to God, and yet to apply a portion to their own private use; either the thing should not have been devoted, or having been devoted, it was their duty to abstain from it." Any such appropriation of what had been laid under the ban would make the camp of Israel itself a ban, and trouble it, *i.e.* bring it into trouble (*conturbare*, cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30). In consequence of the trumpet-blast and the war-cry raised by the people, the walls of the town fell together, and the Israelites rushed into the town and took it, as had been foretold in ver. 5. The position of *וַיִּרֶע הָעָם* is not to be understood as signifying that the people had raised the war-cry before the trumpet-blast, but may be explained on the ground, that in his instructions in ver. 16 Joshua had only mentioned the shouting. But any misinterpretation is prevented by the fact, that it is expressly stated immediately afterwards, that the people did not raise the great shout till they heard the trumpet-blast.

As far as the event itself is concerned, the different attempts which have been made to explain the miraculous overthrow of the walls of Jericho as a natural occurrence, whether by an earthquake, or by mining, or by sudden storming, for which the inhabitants, who had been thrown into a false security by the marvellous procession repeated day after day for several days, were quite unprepared (as *Ewald* has tried to explain the miracle away), really deserve no

serious refutation, being all of them arbitrarily forced upon the text. It is only from the naturalistic stand-point that the miracle could ever be denied; for it not only follows most appropriately upon the miraculous guidance of Israel through the Jordan, but is in perfect harmony with the purpose and spirit of the divine plan of salvation. "It is impossible," says *Hess*, "to imagine a more striking way, in which it could have been shown to the Israelites that Jehovah had given them the town. Now the river must retire to give them an entrance into the land, and now again the wall of the town must fall to make an opening into a fortified place. Two such decisive proofs of the co-operation of Jehovah so shortly after Moses' death, must have furnished a pledge, even to the most sensual, that the same God was with them who had led their fathers so mightily and so miraculously through the Red Sea." That this was *in part* the intention of the miracle, we learn from the close of the narrative (ver. 27). But this does not explain the *true object* of the miracle, or the reason why God gave up this town to the Israelites without any fighting on their part, through the miraculous overthrow of their walls. The reason for this we have to look for in the fact that Jericho was not only the first, but the strongest town of Canaan, and as such was the key to the conquest of the whole land, the possession of which would open the way to the whole, and give the whole, as it were, into their hands. The Lord would give His people the first and strongest town of Canaan, as the first-fruits of the land, without any effort on their part, as a sign that He was about to give them the whole land for a possession, according to His promise; in order that they might not regard the conquest of it as their own work, or the fruit of their own exertions, and look upon the land as a well-merited possession which they could do as they pleased with, but that they might ever use it as a gracious gift from the Lord, which he had merely conferred upon them as a trust, and which He could take away again, whenever they might fall from Him, and render themselves unworthy of His grace. This design on the part of God would of necessity become very obvious in the case of so strongly fortified a town as Jericho, whose walls would appear impregnable to a people that had grown up in the desert and was so utterly without experience in the art of besieging or storming fortified places, and in fact would necessarily remain impregnable, at all events for a long time, without the interposition of God. But if this was the reason why the Lord gave up Jericho to the Israelites by a miracle, it does

not explain either the connection between the blast of trumpets or the war-cry of the people and the falling of the walls, or the reason for the divine instructions that the town was to be marched round every day for seven days, and seven times on the seventh day. Yet as this was an appointment of divine wisdom, it must have had some meaning.

The significance of this repeated marching round the town culminates unquestionably in the ark of the covenant and the trumpet-blast of the priests who went before the ark. In the account before us the ark is constantly called the ark of the Lord, to show that the Lord, who was enthroned upon the cherubim of the ark, was going round the hostile town in the midst of His people; whilst in ver. 8 Jehovah himself is mentioned in the place of the ark of Jehovah. Seven priests went before the ark, bearing jubilee trumpets and blowing during the march. The first time that we read of a trumpet-blast is at Sinai, where the Lord announced His descent upon the mount to the people assembled at the foot to receive Him, not only by other fearful phenomena, but also by a loud and long-continued trumpet-blast (Ex. xix. 16, 19, xx. 14 (18)). After this we find the blowing of trumpets prescribed as part of the Israelitish worship in connection with the observance of the seventh new moon's day (Lev. xxiii. 24), and at the proclamation of the great year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 9). Just as the trumpet-blast heard by the people when the covenant was made at Sinai was as it were a herald's call, announcing to the tribes of Israel the arrival of the Lord their God to complete His covenant and establish His kingdom upon earth; so the blowing of trumpets in connection with the round of feasts was intended partly to bring the people into remembrance before the Lord year by year at the commencement of the sabbatical month, that He might come to them and grant them the Sabbath rest of His kingdom, and partly at the end of every seven times seven years to announce on the great day of atonement the coming of the great year of grace and freedom, which was to bring to the people of God deliverance from bondage, return to their own possessions, and deliverance from the bitter labours of this earth, and to give them a foretaste of the blessed and glorious liberty to which the children of God would attain at the return of the Lord to perfect His kingdom (*vid.* Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 466-7). But when the Lord comes to found, to build up, and to perfect His kingdom upon earth, He also comes to overthrow and destroy the worldly power which opposes His kingdom. The revelation of the grace and mercy of God to His children, goes

ever side by side with the revelation of justice and judgment towards the ungodly who are His foes. If therefore the blast of trumpets was the signal to the congregation of Israel of the gracious arrival of the Lord its God to enter into fellowship with it, no less did it proclaim the advent of judgment to an ungodly world. This shows clearly enough the meaning of the trumpet-blast at Jericho. The priests, who went before the ark of the covenant (the visible throne of the invisible God who dwelt among His people) and in the midst of the hosts of Israel, were to announce through the blast of trumpets both to the Israelites and Canaanites the appearance of the Lord of the whole earth for judgment upon Jericho, the strong bulwark of the Canaanitish power and rule, and to foretell to them through the falling of the walls of this fortification, which followed the blast of trumpets and the war-cry of the soldiers of God, the overthrow of all the strong bulwarks of an ungodly world through the omnipotence of the Lord of heaven and earth. Thus the fall of Jericho became the symbol and type of the overthrow of every worldly power before the Lord, when He should come to lead His people into Canaan and establish His kingdom upon earth. On the ground of this event, the blowing of trumpets is frequently introduced in the writings of the prophets, as the signal and symbolical omen of the manifestations of the Lord in great judgments, through which He destroys one worldly power after another, and thus maintains and extends His kingdom upon earth, and leads it on towards that completion to which it will eventually attain when He descends from heaven in His glory at the time of the last trump, with a great shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, to raise the dead and change the living, to judge the world, cast the devil, death, and hell into the lake of fire, create a new heaven and new earth, and in the new Jerusalem erect the tabernacle of God among men for all eternity (1 Cor. xv. 51 sqq.; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17; Rev. xx. and xxi.).

The appointment of the march round Jericho, which was to be continued for seven days, and to be repeated seven times on the seventh day, was equally significant. The number seven is a symbol in the Scriptures of the work of God and of the perfection already produced or to be eventually secured by Him; a symbol founded upon the creation of the world in six days, and the completion of the works of creation by the resting of God upon the seventh day. Through this arrangement, that the walls of Jericho were not to fall till after they had been marched round for seven days,

and not till after this had been repeated seven times on the seventh day, and then amidst the blast of the jubilee trumpets and the war-cry of the soldiers of the people of God, the destruction of this town, the key to Canaan, was intended by God to become a type of the final destruction at the last day of the power of this world, which exalts itself against the kingdom of God. In this way He not only showed to His congregation that it would not be all at once, but only after long-continued conflict, and at the end of the world, that the worldly power by which it was opposed would be overthrown, but also proved to the enemies of His kingdom, that however long their power might sustain itself in opposition to the kingdom of God, it would at last be destroyed in a moment.

Vers. 21-27. After the taking of Jericho, man and beast were banned, *i.e.* put to death without quarter (ver. 21; cf. ver. 17); Rahab and her relations being the only exceptions. Joshua had directed the two spies to fetch them out of her house, and in the first instance had them taken to a place of safety outside the camp of Israel (vers. 22, 23). "*Her brethren*," *i.e.* her brothers and sisters, as in chap. ii. 13, not her brothers only. "*All that she had*" does not mean all her possessions, but all the persons belonging to her house; and "*all her kindred*" are all her relations by birth or marriage, with their dependants (cf. chap. ii. 13). *Clericus* is correct in observing, that as Rahab's house was built against the town-wall, and rested partly upon it (chap. ii. 15), when the wall fell down, that portion against or upon which the house stood cannot have fallen along with the rest, "otherwise when the wall fell no one would have dared to remain in the house." But we must not draw the further inference, that when the town was burned Rahab's house was spared.¹ וַיִּנְחָם מְהֵרָא וְגו' (ver. 23; cf. Gen. xix. 16), "*they let them rest*," *i.e.* placed them in safety, "*outside the camp of Israel*," *sc.* till they had done all that was requisite for a formal reception into the congregation of the Lord, viz. by giving up idolatry and heathen superstition, and turning to the God of Israel as the only true God (to which circumcision had to be added in the case of the men), and by whatever lustrations and purifications were customary at the time in connection with reception into the covenant with Jehovah, of which we have no further information.—Vers. 24, 25. After man and beast had been put to death,

¹ The statements made by travellers in the middle ages, to the effect that they had seen Rahab's house (*Rob. Pal.* ii. pp. 295-6), belong to the delusions of pious superstition.

and Rahab and her relatives had been placed in security, the Israelites set the town on fire with everything in it, excepting the metals, which were taken to the treasury of the tabernacle, as had been commanded in ver. 19. On the conquest of the other towns of Canaan the inhabitants only were put to death, whilst the cattle and the rest of the booty fell to the conquerors, just as in the case of the conquest of the land and towns of Sihon and Og (compare chap. viii. 26, 27, x. 28, with Deut. ii. 34, 35, and iii. 6, 7), as it was only the inhabitants of Canaan that the Lord had commanded to be put under the ban (Deut. vii. 2, xx. 16, 17). In the case of Jericho, on the contrary, men, cattle, and booty were all put under the ban, and the town itself was to be laid in ashes. This was because Jericho was the first town of Canaan which the Lord had given up to His people. Israel was therefore to sacrifice it to the Lord as the first-fruits of the land, and to sanctify it to Him as a thing placed under the ban, for a sign that they had received the whole land as a fief from his hand, and had no wish to grasp as a prey that which belonged to the Lord.—Ver. 25. But Rahab and all that belonged to her Joshua suffered to live, so that she dwelt in Israel “*unto this day*.” It is very evident from this remark, that the account was written not very long after the event.¹

Vers. 26, 27. But in order to complete the ban pronounced upon Jericho in perfect accordance with the command of God in Deut. xiii. 17, and to make the destruction of it a memorial to posterity of the justice of God sanctifying itself upon the ungodly, Joshua completed the ban with an oath: “*Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof at the price of his first-born, and set up its gates at the price of his youngest son*” (נֶזֶק denoting the price of a

¹ Rahab is no doubt the same person as the Rachab mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus Christ, who married Salmon the tribe prince of Judah, to whom she bore Boaz, an ancestor of David (Matt. i. 5). The doubts which *Theophylact* expressed as to the identity of the two, and which *J. Outhov* has since sought to confirm, rest for the most part upon the same doctrinal scruples as those which induced the author of the Chaldee version to make Rahab an innkeeper, namely, the offence taken at her dishonourable calling. *Jerome's* view, on the other hand, is a very satisfactory one. “In the genealogy of the Saviour,” he says, “none of the holy women are included, but only those whom the Scriptures blame, that He who came on behalf of sinners, being himself born of sinners, might destroy the sins of all.” The different ways in which the name is written, viz. ἡ Παχάβ in Matthew, and Παάβ in the Sept. version of Joshua, and in Heb. xi. 31 and James ii. 25, is not enough to throw

thing). The rhythmical parallelism is unmistakeable in this curse. The two last clauses express the thought that the builder of the town would pay for its restoration by the loss of all his sons, from the first-born to the very youngest. The word "buildeth," however, does not refer to the erection of houses upon the site of the town that had been burnt to ashes, but to the restoration of the town as a fortification, the word בָּנָה being frequently used to denote the fortification of a town (*e.g.* 1 Kings xv. 17; 2 Chron. xi. 6, xiv. 5, 6). This is evident in general from the fact that a town is not founded by the erection of a number of houses upon one spot, but by the joining of these houses together into an enclosed whole by means of a surrounding wall, but more particularly from the last words of the verse, in which בָּנָה is explained as יִסְדֵּנָה (lay the foundation thereof) and יָצַב דְּלֵתֶיהָ (set up the gates of it). Setting up the gates of a town is not setting up doors to the houses, but erecting town-gates, which can only be done when a town-wall has been built. But if setting up the gates would be a sign of the completion of the wall, and therefore of the restoration of the town as a fortification, the "founding" (laying the foundation) mentioned in the parallel clause can only be understood as referring to the foundation of the town-wall. This view of the curse, which is well supported both by the language and the facts, is also confirmed by the subsequent history. Joshua himself allotted Jericho to the Benjamites along with certain other towns (chap. xviii. 21), which proves that he intended them to inhabit it; and accordingly we find the city of palms, *i.e.* Jericho, mentioned afterwards as an inhabited place (Judg. iii. 13; 2 Sam. x. 5), and yet it was not till the time of Ahab that Joshua's curse was fulfilled, when Hiel the Bethelite undertook to make it into a fortified town (1 Kings xvi.

any doubt upon the identity of the two, as *Josephus* always calls the harlot Rahab ἡ Παράβη. The chronological difficulty, that Salmon and Rahab lived much too soon to have been the parents of Boaz, which is adduced by *Knobel* as an argument against the identity of the mother of Boaz and the harlot Rahab, has no force unless it can be proved that every link is given in the genealogy of David (in Ruth iv. 21, 22; 1 Chron. ii. 11; Matt. i. 5), and that Boaz was really the great-grandfather of David; whereas the very opposite, viz. the omission from the genealogies of persons of no celebrity, is placed beyond all doubt by many cases that might be cited. Nothing more is known of Rahab. The accounts of the later Rabbins, such as that she was married to Joshua, or that she was the mother of eight prophets, and others of the same kind, are fables without the slightest historical foundation (see *Lightfoot*, *hor. hebr. et talm.* in Matt. i. 5).

34).¹—Ver. 27. Thus the Lord was with Joshua, fulfilling His promise to him (chap. i. 5 sqq.), so that his fame spread through all the land.

ACHAN'S THEFT AND PUNISHMENT.—CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. At Jericho the Lord had made known to the Canaanites His great and holy name; but before Ai the Israelites were to learn that He would also sanctify Himself on them if they transgressed His covenant, and that the congregation of the Lord could only conquer the power of the world so long as it was faithful to His covenant. But notwithstanding the command which Joshua had enforced upon the people (chap. vi. 18), Achan, a member of the tribe of Judah, laid hands upon the property in Jericho which had been banned, and thus brought the ban upon the children of Israel, the whole nation. His breach of trust is described as unfaithfulness (a trespass) on the part of the children of Israel in the ban, in consequence of which the anger of the Lord was kindled against the whole nation. *מַעַל מַעַל*, to commit a breach of trust (see at Lev. v. 15), generally against Jehovah, by purloining or withholding what was sanctified to Him, here in the matter of the ban, by appropriating what had been banned to the Lord. This crime was imputed to the whole people, not as *imputatio moralis*, i.e. as though the whole nation had shared in Achan's disposition, and cherished in their hearts the same sinful desire which Achan had carried out in action in the theft he had committed; but as *imputatio civilis*, according to which Achan, a member of the nation, had robbed the whole nation of the purity and holiness which it ought to possess before God, through the sin that he had committed, just as the whole body is affected by the sin of a single member.² Instead of

¹ *Knobel's* opinion, that the Jericho mentioned between the times of Joshua and Ahab in all probability did not stand upon the old site which Hiel was the first to build upon again, is at variance with 1 Kings xvi. 34, as it is not stated there that he rebuilt the old site of Jericho, but that he began to build the town of Jericho, which existed, according to 2 Sam. x. 5 and Judg. iii. 13, in the time of David, and even of the judges, i.e. to restore it as a fortified town; and it is not raised into a truth by any appeal to the statements of *Strabo*, *Appian*, and others, to the effect that Greeks and Romans did not choose places for building upon which any curse rested.

² In support of this I cannot do better than quote the most important of the remarks which I made in my former commentary (*Keil on Joshua*, pp. 177–8, Eng. trans.): "However truly the whole Scriptures speak of each man as indi-

Achan (the reading here and in chap. xxii. 20) we find *Achar* in 1 Chron. ii. 7, the liquids *n* and *r* being interchanged to allow of a play upon the verb עָכַר in ver. 25. Hence in *Josephus* the name is spelt *Acharos*, and in the *Cod. Vat.* of the LXX. *Achar*, whereas the *Cod. Al.* has *Achan*. Instead of *Zabdi*, we find *Zimri* in 1 Chron. ii. 6, evidently a copyist's error. *Zerah* was the twin-brother of Pharez (Gen. xxxviii. 29, 30). *Matteh*, from נָטַח, to spread out, is used to denote the tribe according to its genealogical ramifications; whilst *shebet* (from an Arabic root signifying "uniform, not curled, but drawn out straight and long without any curvature at all") was applied to the sceptre or straight staff of a magistrate or ruler (never to the stick upon which a person rested), and differed from *matteh* not only in its primary and literal meaning, but also in the derivative meaning *tribe*, in which it was used to designate the division of the nation referred to, not according to its genealogical ramifications and development, but as a corporate body possessing authority and power. This difference in the ideas expressed by the two words will explain the variations in their use: for example, *matteh* is used here (in vers. 1 and 18), and in chap. xxii. 1-14, and in fact is the term usually employed in the geographical sections; whereas *shebet* is used in vers. 14, 16, in chap. iii. 12, iv. 2, and on many other occasions, in those portions of the historical narratives in which the tribes of Israel are introduced as military powers.

Vers. 2-5. The anger of God, which Achan had brought upon Israel, was manifested to the congregation in connection with their attempt to take *Ai*. This town was situated near Bethaven, on the east of Bethel. *Bethel* was originally called *Luz* (see at Gen. xxviii. 19), a place on the border of Ephraim and Benjamin (chap.

vidually an object of divine mercy and justice, they teach just as truly that a nation is one organic whole, in which the individuals are merely members of the same body, and are not atoms isolated from one another and the whole, since the state as a divine institution is founded upon family relationship, and intended to promote the love of all to one another and to the invisible Head of all. As all then are combined in a fellowship established by God, the good or evil deeds of an individual affect injuriously or beneficially the welfare of the whole society. And, therefore, when we regard the state as a divine organization and not merely as a civil institution, a compact into which men have entered by treaty, we fail to discover caprice and injustice in consequences which necessarily follow from the moral unity of the whole state; namely, that the good or evil deeds of one member are laid to the charge of the entire body. Caprice and injustice we shall always find if we leave out of sight this fundamental unity, and merely look at the fact that the many share the consequences of the sin of one."

xvi. 2, xviii. 13). It is frequently mentioned, was well known at a later time as the city in which Jeroboam established the worship of the calves, and was inhabited again even after the captivity (see *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 178, 179). It has been preserved, in all probability, in the very extensive ruins called *Beitin* (see *Robinson*, Pal. ii. pp. 126 sqq.), about four hours' journey on horseback to the north of Jerusalem, and on the east of the road which leads from Jerusalem to Sichem (Nablus).¹ No traces have ever been discovered of Bethaven. According to chap. xviii. 12, 13, the northern boundary of the tribe of Benjamin, which ran up from Jericho to the mountains on the west, passed on to the desert of Bethaven, and so onwards to Luz (Bethel). If we compare with this the statement in 1 Sam. xiii. 5, that the Philistines who came against Israel encamped at Michmash before (in front of) Bethaven, according to which Bethaven was on the east or north-east of Michmash (Mukhmas), the desert of Bethaven may very possibly have been nothing more than the table-land which lies between the Wady Mutyah on the north and the Wadys Fuwar and Suweinit (in *Robinson's* map), or Wady Tuwâr (on *Van de Velde's* map), and stretches in a westerly direction from the rocky mountain Kuruntel to Abu Sebah (Subbah). Bethaven would then lie to the south or south-east of Abu Sebah. In that case, however, *Ai* (*Sept. Gai* or *Aggai*, Gen. xii. 8) would neither be found in the inconsiderable ruins to the south of the village of Deir Diwan, as *Robinson* supposes (Pal. ii. pp. 312 sqq.), nor on the site of the present Tell el Hajar, *i.e.* stone hill, three-quarters of an hour to the S.E. of Beitin, on the southern side of the deep and precipitous Wady Mutyah, as *Van de Velde* imagines; but in the ruins of *Medinet Chai* or *Gai*, which *Krafft*² and *Strauss*³ discovered on the flat surface of a mountain that slopes off towards the east, about forty minutes on the eastern side of Geba (Jeba), where "there are considerable ruins surrounded by a circular wall, whilst the place is defended on the south by the valley of Farah, and on the north by the valley of Es Suweinit, with steep shelving walls of rock" (*Strauss: vid. C. Ritter Erdk.* xvi. pp. 526-7). On the advice of the men who were sent out to explore the land, and who

¹ The statements of the *Onomasticon* of *Eusebius s. v. 'Αγγαί* agree with this: *Κεῖται Βαιθήλ ἀπίοντων εἰς Αἰλίαν ἀπὸ Νέας πόλεως ἐν λαιοῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἀπ' Αἰλίας σημειῖον.* Also *s. v. Βαιθήλ: καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη, Αἰλίας ἀποθεὺν σημείοις ιβ'* (twelve Roman miles are four or five hours' journey).

² *Topograph. v. Jerusalem*, p. ix.

³ *Sinai u. Golgoth.* pp. 326-7.

described the population on their return as small (*"they are but few"*), Joshua did not send the whole of the fighting men against Ai, but only about 3000 men. As there were not more than 12,000 inhabitants (chap. viii. 25), there could hardly have been 3000 fighting men, who might easily have been beaten by 3000 Israelitish warriors. But when the Israelites attacked the town they fled before its inhabitants, who slew about thirty-six men, and pursued them before the gate, *i.e.* outside the town, to the stone quarries, and smote them on the sloping ground. The *Shebarim*, from *sheber*, a breach or fracture, were probably stone quarries near the slope on the east of the town. Nothing more can be decided, as the country has not been thoroughly explored by travellers. On account of this repulse the people lost all their courage. *"The hearts of the people melted"* (see chap. ii. 15): this expression is strengthened still further by the additional clause, *"and became as water."*

Vers. 6-9. Joshua and the elders of the people were also deeply affected, not so much at the loss of thirty-six men, as because Israel, which was invincible with the help of the Lord, had been beaten, and therefore the Lord must have withdrawn His help. In the deepest grief, with their clothes rent (see at Lev. x. 6) and ashes upon their heads, they fell down before the ark of the Lord (*vid.* Num. xx. 6) until the evening, to pour out their grief before the Lord. Joshua's prayer contains a complaint (ver. 7) and a question addressed to God (vers. 8, 9). The complaint, *"Alas, O Lord Jehovah, wherefore hast Thou brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us?"* almost amounts to murmuring, and sounds very much like the complaint which the murmuring people brought against Moses and Aaron in the desert (Num. xiv. 2, 3); but it is very different from the murmuring of the people on that occasion against the guidance of God; for it by no means arose from unbelief, but was simply the bold language of faith wrestling with God in prayer,—faith which could not comprehend the ways of the Lord,—and involved the most urgent appeal to the Lord to carry out His work in the same glorious manner in which it had been begun, with the firm conviction that God could neither relinquish nor alter His purposes of grace. The words which follow, *"Would to God that we had been content"* (see at Deut. i. 5) *to remain on the other side of the Jordan,* assume on the one hand, that previous to the crossing of the river Israel had cherished a longing for the possession of Canaan, and on the

other hand, that this longing might possibly have been the cause of the calamity which had fallen upon the people now, and therefore express the wish that Israel had never cherished any such desire, or that the Lord had never gratified it. (On the unusual form הַעֲבֵרָה for הַעֲבֵרָה, see Ges. § 63, *anm.* 4, and *Ewald*, § 41, *b.*) The *inf. abs.* הַעֲבִיר (with the unusual *i* in the final syllable) is placed for the sake of emphasis after the finite verb, as in Gen. xlv. 4, etc. The Amorites are the inhabitants of the mountains, as in Gen. xlv. 4, etc.—Vers. 8, 9. The question which Joshua addresses to God he introduces in this way: “*Pray* (יָבֵֿ, contracted from יַבֵּֿ), *Lord, what shall I say?*” to modify the boldness of the question which follows. It was not because he did not know what to say, for he proceeded at once to pour out the thoughts of his heart, but because he felt that the thought which he was about to utter might involve a reproach, as if, when God permitted that disaster, He had not thought of His own honour; and as he could not possibly think this, he introduced his words with a supplicatory inquiry. What he proceeds to say in vers. 8, 9, does not contain two co-ordinate clauses, but one simple thought: how would God uphold His great name before the world, when the report that Israel had turned their back before them should reach the Canaanites, and they should come and surround the Israelites, and destroy them without a single trace from off the face of the earth.¹ In the words, “*the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land,*” there is involved the thought that there were other people living in Canaan beside the Canaanites, *e.g.* the Philistines. The question, “*What wilt Thou do with regard to Thy great name?*” signifies, according to the parallel passages, Ex. xxxii. 11, 12, Num. xiv. 13 sqq., Deut. ix. 28, “*How wilt Thou preserve Thy great name, which Thou hast acquired thus far in the sight of all nations through the miraculous guidance of Israel, from being misunderstood and blasphemed among the heathen?*” (“*what wilt Thou do?*” as in Gen. xxvi. 29).

Vers. 10–15. The answer of the Lord, which was addressed to Joshua directly and not through the high priest, breathed anger against the sin of Israel. The question, “*Wherefore liest thou upon*

¹ *Calovius* has therefore given the correct interpretation: “When they have destroyed our name, after Thou hast chosen us to be Thy people, and brought us hither with such great wonders, what will become of Thy name? Our name is of little moment, but wilt Thou consult the honour of Thine own name, if Thou destroyest us? For Thou didst promise us this land; and what people is there that will honour Thy name if ours should be destroyed?”

thy face?" ("fallest," as in Deut. xxi. 1) involved the reproof that Joshua had no reason to doubt the fidelity of the Lord. Instead of seeking for the cause of the calamity in God, he ought to seek it in the sin of the people.—Ver. 11. Israel had sinned, and that very grievously. This is affirmed in the clauses which follow, and which are rendered emphatic by the repetition of נָא as an expression of displeasure. The sin of one man was resting as a burden upon the whole nation in the manner explained above (on ver. 1). This sin was a breach of the covenant, being a transgression of the obligation into which the people had entered in their covenant with the Lord, to keep His commandments (Ex. xix. 8, xxiv. 7); yea, it was a grasping at the ban, and a theft, and a concealment, and an appropriation of that which was stolen to their own use. The first three clauses describe the sin in its relation to God, as a grievous offence; the three following according to its true character, as a great, obstinate, and reckless crime. "*They have put it among their own stuff*" (house furniture), viz. to use and appropriate it as their own property. As all that had been stolen was a property consecrated to the Lord, the appropriation of it to private use was the height of wickedness.—Ver. 12. On account of this sin the Israelites could not stand before their foes, because they had fallen under the ban (cf. chap. vi. 18). And until this ban had been removed from their midst, the Lord would not help them any further.—Vers. 13-15. Joshua was to take away this ban from the nation. To discover who had laid hands upon the ban, he was to direct the people to sanctify themselves for the following day (see at chap. iii. 5), and then to cause them to come before God according to their tribes, families, households, and men, that the guilty men might be discovered by lot; and to burn whoever was found guilty, with all that he possessed. נִקְרַב, "*to come near*," sc. to Jehovah, i.e. to come before His sanctuary. The tribes, families, households, and men, formed the four classes into which the people were organized. As the tribes were divided into families, so these again were subdivided into houses, commonly called fathers' houses, and the fathers' houses again into men, i.e. fathers of families (see the remarks on Ex. xviii. 25, 26, and my Bibl. Archæology, § 140). Each of these was represented by its natural head, so that we must picture the affair as conducted in the following manner: in order to discover the tribe, the twelve tribe princes came before the Lord; and in order to discover the family, the heads of families of the tribe that had been taken; and so on to the end, each one in turn being

subjected to the lot. For although it is not distinctly stated that the lot was resorted to in order to discover who was guilty, and that the discovery was actually made in this way, this is very evident from the expression *אֲשֶׁר יִלְכְּדָנָה* (*which the Lord taketh*), as this was the technical term employed, according to 1 Sam. xiv. 42, to denote the falling of the lot upon a person (see also 1 Sam. x. 20). Moreover, the lot was frequently resorted to in cases where a crime could not be brought home to a person by the testimony of eye-witnesses (see 1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42; Jonah i. 7; Prov. xviii. 18), as it was firmly believed that the lot was directed by the Lord (Prov. xvi. 33). In what manner the lot was cast we do not know. In all probability little tablets or potsherds were used, with the names written upon them, and these were drawn out of an urn. This may be inferred from a comparison of chap. xviii. 11 and xix. 1, with xviii. 6, 10, according to which the casting of the lot took place in such a manner that the lot *came up* (*עָלָה*, chap. xviii. 11, xix. 10; Lev. xvi. 9), or *came out* (*יָצָא*, chap. xix. 1, xvii. 24; Num. xxxiii. 54). *הַנִּלְכָּד בַּחֶרֶם*, the person taken in (with) the ban, *i.e.* taken by the lot as affected with the ban, was to be burned with fire, of course not alive, but after he had been stoned (ver. 25). The burning of the body of a criminal was regarded as heightening the punishment of death (*vid.* Lev. xx. 14). This punishment was to be inflicted upon him, in the *first* place, because he had broken the covenant of Jehovah; and in the *second* place, because he had wrought folly in Israel, that is to say, had offended grievously against the covenant God, and also against the covenant nation. "*Wrought folly*:" an expression used here, as in Gen. xxxiv. 7, to denote such a crime as was irreconcilable with the honour of Israel as the people of God.

Vers. 16–26. *Execution of the Command*.—Vers. 16–18. Discovery of the guilty man through the lot. In ver. 17 we should expect "the tribe" (*shebet*) or "the families" (*mishpachoth*) of Judah, instead of "*the family*." The plural *mishpachoth* is adopted in the LXX. and *Vulgate*, and also to be met with in seven MSS.; but this is conjecture rather than the original reading. *Mishpachah* is either used generally, or employed in a collective sense to denote all the families of Judah. There is no ground for altering *לְנַבְרִים* (man by man) into *לְבָתִּים* (house by house) in ver. 17, according to some of the MSS.; the expression "man by man" is used simply because it was the representative men who came for the lot to be cast, not only in the case of the fathers' houses, but in that of the families also.

—Ver. 19. When Achan had been discovered to be the criminal, Joshua charged him to give honour and praise to the Lord, and to confess without reserve what he had done. It is not ironically, or with dissimulation, that Joshua addresses him as “my son,” but with “sincere paternal regard.”¹ “*Give glory to the Lord:*” this is a solemn formula of adjuration, by which a person was summoned to confess the truth before the face of God (cf. John ix. 24). “*And give Him praise:*” the meaning is not, “make confession,” but give praise, as Ezra x. 11 clearly shows. Through a confession of the truth Achan was to render to God, as the Omniscient, the praise and honour that were due.—Vers. 20, 21. Achan then acknowledged his sin, and confessed that he had appropriated to himself from among the booty a beautiful Babylonish cloak, 200 shekels of silver, and a tongue of gold of 50 shekels weight. The form וְאֶרְאֵה is not to be abbreviated into וְאֶרְאֵה, according to the *Keri*, as the form is by no means rare in verbs הָיָה. “*A Babylonish cloak*” (*lit.* a cloak of Shinar, or Babylon) is a costly cloak, artistically worked, such as were manufactured in Babylon, and distributed far and wide through the medium of commerce.² Two hundred shekels of silver was about £25. “*A tongue of gold*” (according to *Luther*, “ornaments made in the shape of tongues”) was certainly a golden ornament in the form of a tongue, the use of which is unknown; it was of considerable size, as it weighed 50 shekels, *i.e.* 13,700 grains. It is not necessary to suppose that it was a golden dagger, as many do, simply because the ancient Romans gave the name *lingula* to an oblong dagger formed in the shape of a tongue. Achan had hidden these things in the ground in the midst of his tent, and the silver “*under it*,” *i.e.* under these things (the suffix is neuter, and must be understood as referring to all the things with the exception of the silver). The Babylonish cloak and the tongue of gold were probably placed in

¹ To these remarks *Calvin* also adds: “This example serves as a lesson to judges, that when punishing crimes they should moderate their rigour, and not lose all the feelings of humanity; and, on the other hand, that whilst merciful they should not be careless or remiss.”

² *Plinius h. n. viii. 48: Colores diversos picturæ vestium intexere Babylon maxime celebravit et nomen imposuit.* (See *Heeren Ideæ* i. 2, pp. 205 sqq., and *Movers Phönizier*, ii. 3, pp. 258 sqq.) The *Sept.* rendering is ψαλλή ποικίλη, *i.e.* a Babylonian cloak ornamented with pictures. It is called ψαλλή because it was cut smooth, and ποικίλη because it was covered with coloured figures, either of men or animals, sometimes woven, at other times worked with the needle (*Fischer de vers. græc. libr. V. T. pp. 87-8*).

a chest; at any rate they would be carefully packed up, and the silver was placed underneath. The article in ^{הָאֵלֶּיךָ}הֵאֱחָזֵק, which occurs twice, as it also does in chap. viii. 33, Lev. xxvii. 33, Micah ii. 12, is probably to be explained in the manner suggested by *Hengstenberg*, viz. that the article and noun became so fused into one, that the former lost its proper force.—Vers. 22, 23. Joshua sent two messengers directly to Achan's tent to fetch the things, and when they were brought he had them laid down before Jehovah, *i.e.* before the tabernacle, where the whole affair had taken place. הֵצִיָּק, here and in 2 Sam. xv. 24, signifies to lay down (synonymous with הֵצִיָּק), whilst the *Hiphil* form is used for pouring out.—Vers. 24, 25. Then Joshua and all Israel, *i.e.* the whole nation in the person of its heads or representatives, took Achan, together with the things which he had purloined, and his sons and daughters, his cattle, and his tent with all its furniture, and brought them into the valley of Achor, where they stoned them to death and then burned them, after Joshua had once more pronounced this sentence upon him in the place of judgment: "*How hast thou troubled us*" (עָכַר, as in chap. vi. 18, to bring into trouble)! "*The Lord will trouble thee this day.*" It by no means follows from the expression "stoned him" in ver. 25, that Achan only was stoned. The singular pronoun is used to designate Achan alone, as being the principal person concerned. But it is obvious enough that his children and cattle were stoned, from what follows in the very same verse: "*They burned them* (the persons stoned to death, and their things) *with fire, and heaped up stones upon them.*" It is true that in Deut. xxiv. 16 the Mosaic law expressly forbids the putting to death of children for their fathers' sins; and many have imagined, therefore, that Achan's sons and daughters were simply taken into the valley to be spectators of the punishment inflicted upon the father, that it might be a warning to them. But for what reason, then, were Achan's cattle (oxen, sheep, and asses) taken out along with him? Certainly for no other purpose than to be stoned at the same time as he. The law in question only referred to the punishment of ordinary criminals, and therefore was not applicable at all to the present case, in which the punishment was commanded by the Lord himself. Achan had fallen under the ban by laying hands upon what had been banned, and consequently was exposed to the same punishment as a town that had fallen away to idolatry (Deut. xiii. 16, 17). The law of the ban was founded upon the assumption, that the conduct to be punished was

not a crime of which the individual only was guilty, but one in which the whole family of the leading sinner, in fact everything connected with him, participated. Thus, in the case before us, the things themselves had been abstracted from the booty by Achan alone; but he had hidden them in his tent, buried them in the earth, which could hardly have been done so secretly that his sons and daughters knew nothing of it. By so doing he had made his family participators in his theft; they therefore fell under the ban along with him, together with their tent, their cattle, and the rest of their property, which were all involved in the consequences of His crime. The clause **וַיִּסְקְלוּ אֹתָם בְּאֲבָנִים** does not refer to the stoning as a capital punishment, but to the casting of stones upon the bodies after they were dead and had been burned, for the purpose of erecting a heap of stones upon them as a memorial of the disgrace (*vid.* chap. viii. 29; 2 Sam. xviii. 17).—In ver. 26, the account of the whole affair closes with these two remarks: (1) That after the punishment of the malefactor the Lord turned from the fierceness of His anger; and (2) That the valley in which Achan suffered his punishment received the name of *Achor* (troubling) with special reference to the fact that Joshua had described his punishment as well as Achan's sin as **עָכָר** (troubling: see ver. 25), and that it retained this name down to the writer's own time. With regard to the situation of this valley, it is evident from the word **וַיַּעַל** in ver. 24 that it was on higher ground than Gilgal and Jericho, probably in one of the ranges of hills that intersect the plain of Jericho, and from chap. xv. 7, where the northern border of the possessions of Judah is said to have passed through this valley, that it is to be looked for to the south of Jericho. The only other places in which there is any allusion to this event are Hos. ii. 17 and Isa. lxv. 10.

CONQUEST OF AI. BLESSINGS AND CURSES UPON GERIZIM AND
EBAL.—CHAP. VIII.

Vers. 1-29. CONQUEST AND BURNING OF AI.—Vers. 1, 2. After the ban which rested upon the people had been wiped away, the Lord encouraged Joshua to make war upon Ai, promising him that the city should be taken, and giving him instructions what to do to ensure the success of his undertaking. With evident allusion to Joshua's despair after the failure of the first attack, the Lord commences with these words, "*Fear not, neither be thou dismayed*" (as in Deut. i. 21, xxxi. 8), and then commands him to go against

Ai with all the people of war. By "all the people of war" we are hardly to understand all the men out of the whole nation who were capable of bearing arms; but as only a third of these were contributed by the two tribes and a half to cross over into Canaan and take part in the war (see p. 32), the other tribes also are not likely to have levied more than a third, say about 160,000, which would form altogether an army of about 200,000 men. But even such an army as this seems out of all proportion to the size of Ai, with its 12,000 inhabitants (ver. 25). On the other hand, however, we must bear in mind that the expression "*all the people of war*" simply denotes the whole army, in contrast with the advice of the spies that only a portion of the army should be sent (chap. vii. 3), so that we are not warranted in pressing the word "all" too absolutely;¹ and also that this command of God was not given with reference to the conquest of Ai alone, but applied at the same time to the conquest of the whole land, which Joshua was not to attempt by sending out detachments only, but was to carry out with the whole of the force at his command. עָלָה, to go up, is applied to the advance of an army against a hostile town, independently of the question whether the town was situated upon an eminence or not, as every town that had to be taken was looked upon as a height to be scaled, though as a fact in this instance the army had really to ascend from Jericho to Ai, which was situated up in the mountains. (On ver. 1b, see chap. vi. 2.) "*His land*" is the country round, which belonged to the town and was under its king. — Ver. 2. Joshua was to do the same to Ai and her king as he had already done to Jericho and her king, except that in this case the conquerors were to be allowed to appropriate the booty and the cattle to themselves. In order to conquer the town, he was to lay an ambush behind it.² אָרֶב, a collective noun, signifying the persons concealed in ambush; מֵאַרֶב (ver. 9), the place of ambush. "*Behind it,*" i.e. on the west of the town.

Vers. 3–13. Accordingly Joshua set out with all the people of war against Ai, and selected 30,000 brave men, and sent them out in the night, with instructions to station themselves as an ambuscade

¹ "As we have just before seen how their hearts melted, God *consulted their weakness*, by putting no heavier burden upon them than they were able to bear, until they had recovered from their alarm, and hearkened readily to His commands."—*Calvin*.

² The much agitated question, whether it could be worthy of God to employ stratagem in war, to which different replies have been given, has been answered

behind the town, and at no great distance from it. As the distance from Gilgal to Ai was about fifteen miles, and the road runs pretty straight in a north-westerly direction from Jericho through the Wady Faran, the detachment sent forward might easily accomplish the distance in a night, so as to arrive on the western side of Ai before the break of day. They were then to hold themselves in readiness to fight. He (Joshua) himself would approach the town with the people of war that remained with him; and if the inhabitants of Ai should come out against him as they did before, they would flee before them till they had drawn them quite away from their town (ver. 5). This was to be expected; "*for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first: and we will flee before them*" (ver. 6). When this was done, the warriors were to come forth from their ambush, fall upon the town, and set it on fire (vers. 7, 8). Having been sent away with these instructions, the 30,000 men went into ambush, and posted themselves "*between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai*" (ver. 9), *i.e.*, according to Strauss, in the Wady es Suweinit, to the north-west of Ai, where it forms almost a perpendicular wall, near to which the ruins of *Chai* are to be found, though "not near enough to the rocky wady for it to be possible to look down its almost perpendicular wall" (*Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. p. 528). Joshua remained for the night in the midst of the people, *i.e.* in the camp of that portion of the army that had gone with him towards Ai; not in Gilgal, as *Knobel* supposes.—Ver. 10. The next morning he mustered the people as early as possible, and then went, with the elders of Israel, "before the people of Ai." The elders of Israel are not "military tribunes, who were called *elders* because of their superiority in military affairs," as *Masius* supposes, but, as in every other case, the heads of the people, who accompanied Joshua as counsellors.—Ver. 11. The whole of the people of war also advanced with him to the front of the town, and encamped on the north of Ai, so that the valley was between it (בֵּינוֹ, as in chap. iii. 4) and Ai. This was probably a side valley branching off towards the south from the eastern continuation of the Wady es Suweinit.—In vers. 12, 13, the account of the prepara-

quite correctly by *Calvin*. "Surely," he says, "wars are not carried on by striking alone; but they are considered the best generals who succeed through art and counsel more than by force. . . . Therefore, if war is lawful at all, it is beyond all controversy that the way is perfectly clear for the use of the customary arts of warfare, provided there is no breach of faith in the violation of treaty or truce, or in any other way."

tions for the attack is rounded off by a repetition of the notice as to the forces engaged, and in some respects a more exact description of their disposition. Joshua, it is stated in ver. 12, took about 5000 men and placed them in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west of the town. As the place where this ambuscade was posted is described in precisely the same terms as that which was occupied, according to ver. 9, by the 30,000 men who were sent out to form an ambuscade in the night before the advance of the main army against Ai (for the substitution of "*the city*" for Ai cannot possibly indicate a difference in the locality), the view held by the majority of commentators, that ver. 12 refers to a second ambuscade, which Joshua sent out in addition to the 30,000, and posted by the side of them, is even more than questionable, and is by no means raised into a probability by the expression אֶת־עֶקְבוֹ (Eng. "their liers in wait") in ver. 13. The description of the place, "on the west of the city," leaves no doubt whatever that "their liers in wait" are simply the ambuscade (אֶרֶב) mentioned in ver. 12, which was sent out from the whole army, *i.e.* the ambuscade that was posted on the west of the town. עֶקֶב signifies literally the *liar in wait* (Ps. xlix. 5), from עָקַב, *insidiari*, and is synonymous with אֶרֶב. The meaning which Gesenius and others attach to the word, viz. the rear or hinder part of the army, cannot be sustained from Gen. xlix. 19. If we add to this the fact that ver. 13a is obviously nothing more than a repetition of the description already given in ver. 11 of the place where the main army was posted, and therefore bears the character of a closing remark introduced to wind up the previous account, we cannot regard ver. 12 as anything more than a repetition of the statements in vers. 3, 9, and can only explain the discrepancy with regard to the number of men who were placed in ambush, by supposing that, through a copyist's error, the number which was expressed at first in simple letters has in one instance been given wrongly. The mistake, however, is not to be found in the 5000 (ver. 12), but in the 30,000 in ver. 3, where ה has been confounded with ל. For a detachment of 5000 men would be quite sufficient for an ambuscade that had only to enter the town after the soldiers had left it in pursuit of the Israelites, and to set it on fire, whereas it hardly seems possible that 30,000 men should have been posted in ambush so near to the town.¹—In ver. 13a, הָעָם

¹ We need have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that there is a mistake in the number given in ver. 3, as the occurrence of such mistakes in the historical books is fully established by a comparison of the numbers given

(the people) is to be taken as the subject of the sentence: "*The people had set all the host, that was on the north of the city, and its ambuscade on the west of the city.*" In the night, namely the night before the army arrived at the north of the town, Joshua went through the midst of the valley, which separated the Israelites from the town, so that in the morning he stood with all the army close before the town.

Vers. 14-23. When the king of Ai saw the Israelites, he hurried out in the morning against them to battle at the (previously) appointed place (לְמוֹעֵד, *in locum condictum*, as in 1 Sam. xx. 35) before the steppe (*Arabah*, not the valley of the Jordan, but the steppe or desert of Bethaven; see at chap. vii. 2), as he knew nothing of the ambuscade behind the town.—Ver. 15. But the Israelites let them beat them, and fled along the desert (of Bethaven).—Vers. 16, 17. And all the people in the town were called together to pursue the Israelites, and were drawn away from the town, so that not a man, *i.e.* not a single soldier who could take part in the pursuit, remained either in Ai or the neighbouring town of Bethel, and the town stood open behind them. It is evident from ver. 17 that the inhabitants of Bethel, which was about three hours' journey from Ai, took part in the battle, probably in consequence of a treaty which the king of Ai had made with them in the expectation of a renewed and still stronger attack on the part of the Israelites. Nothing further is known upon this point; nor can anything be inferred from the fact that the king of Bethel is included in the list of the kings slain by Joshua (chap. xii. 16). Consequently, we cannot decide whether the Bethelites came to the help of the Aites

in the books of Samuel and Kings with those in the books of Chronicles, and is admitted by every commentator. In my earlier commentary on Joshua, I attempted to solve the difficulty by the twofold assumption: *first*, that ver. 12 contains a supplementary statement, in which the number of the men posted in ambush is given for the first time; and *secondly*, that the historian forgot to notice that out of the 30,000 men whom Joshua chose to make war upon Ai, 5000 were set apart to lie in ambush. But, on further examination of the text, I have come to the conclusion that the second assumption is irreconcilable with the distinct words of ver. 3, and feel obliged to give it up. On the other hand, I still adhere to the conviction that there is not sufficient ground either for the assumption that vers. 12, 13, contain an old marginal gloss that has crept into the text, or for the hypothesis of *Ewald* and *Knobel*, that these verses were introduced by the last editor of the book out of some other document. The last hypothesis amounts to a charge of thoughtlessness against the latest editor, which is hardly reconcilable with the endeavour, for which he is praised in other places, to reconcile the discrepancies in the different documents.

for the first time on the day of the battle itself, or, what is more probable, had already sent men to Ai, to help to repulse the expected attack of the Israelites upon that town.—Vers. 18, 19. At the command of God Joshua now stretched out the javelin in his hand towards the town. At this sign the ambuscade rose hastily from its concealment, rushed into the town, and set it on fire. **נָטָה בְּיָדוֹ** signifies to stretch out the hand with the spear. The object **יָר**, which is missing (cf. vers. 19, 26), may easily be supplied from the apposition **אֶשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ**. The raising of the javelin would probably be visible at a considerable distance, even if it was not provided with a small flag, as both earlier and later commentators assume, since Joshua would hardly be in the midst of the flying Israelites, but would take his station as commander upon some eminence on one side. And the men in ambush would have scouts posted to watch for the signal, which had certainly been arranged beforehand, and convey the information to the others.—Vers. 20, 21. The men of Ai then turned round behind them, being evidently led to do so by the Israelites, who may have continued looking round to the town of Ai when the signal had been given by Joshua, to see whether the men in ambush had taken it and set it on fire, and as soon as they saw that this had been done began to offer still further resistance to their pursuers, and to defend themselves vigorously against them. On looking back to their town the Aites saw the smoke of the town ascending towards heaven: “*and there were not hands in them to flee hither and thither,*” i.e. they were utterly unable to flee. “*Hands,*” as the organs of enterprise and labour, in the sense of “strength,” not “room,” for which we should expect to find **לָהֶם** instead of **בָּהֶם**. There is an analogous passage in Ps. lxxvi. 6, “None of the men of might have found their hands.” For the people that fled to the wilderness (the Israelitish army) turned against the pursuers (the warriors of Ai), or, as is added by way of explanation in ver. 21, when Joshua and all Israel saw the town in the hands of the ambuscade, and the smoke ascending, they turned round and smote the people of Ai; and (ver. 22) these (i.e. the Israelites who had formed the ambuscade) came out of the town to meet them. “*These*” (Eng. the other), as contrasted with “the people that fled” in ver. 20, refers back to “the ambush” in ver. 19. In this way the Aites were in the midst of the people of Israel, who came from this side and that side, and smote them to the last man. “*So that they let none of them remain:*” as in Num. xxi. 35 and Dent. iii. 3, except that in

this case it is strengthened still further by *וְיָצָא*, “*or escape*.”—Ver. 23. The king of Ai was taken alive and brought to Joshua.

Vers. 24-29. When all the men of Ai, who had come out to pursue the Israelites, had been slain upon the field (namely) in the desert, all Israel returned to Ai and smote it (the town, *i.e.* the inhabitants), so that on that day there fell of men and women 12,000, all the people of Ai: for Joshua did not draw back his hand, which had been stretched out with the javelin, till all the inhabitants of Ai were smitten with the ban, *i.e.* put to death; according to the common custom of war, that the general did not lower the war-signal till the conflict was to cease (see *Suidas* in *Σημεία*, and *Lipsius de militia*, *Rom.* iv. *dial.* 12).—Ver. 27. Only the cattle and the rest of the booty the conquerors retained for themselves, according to the word of the Lord (ver. 2).—Ver. 28. Joshua had the town burnt down and made into a heap of rubbish for ever.—Ver. 29. He had the king of Ai hanged upon a tree, *i.e.* put to death, and then suspended upon a stake (see *Num.* xxv. 4) until the evening; but at sunset he had him taken down (in accordance with *Deut.* xxi. 22, 23), and thrown at the entrance of the town-gate, and a heap of stones piled upon him (as in the case of Achan, chap. vii. 26).

Vers. 30-35. BLESSINGS AND CURSES UPON GERIZIM AND EBAL.—After the capture of Ai, Israel had gained so firm a footing in Canaan that Joshua was able to carry out the instructions of Moses in *Deut.* xxvii., that, after crossing the Jordan, he was to build an altar upon Mount Ebal for the setting up of the covenant. The fulfilment of these instructions, according to the meaning of this solemn act, as a symbolical setting up of the law of the Lord to be the invariable rule of life to the people of Israel in the land of Canaan (see at *Deut.* xxvii.), was not only a practical expression of thanksgiving on the part of the covenant nation for its entrance into this land through the almighty assistance of its God, but also a practical acknowledgment, that in the overthrow of the Canaanites thus far it had received a strong pledge of the conquest of the foes that still remained and the capture of the whole of the promised land, provided only it persevered in covenant faithfulness towards the Lord its God. The account of this transaction is attached, it is true, to the conquest of Ai by the introduction, “*Then Joshua built*,” etc. (ver. 30); but simply as an occurrence which had no logical connection with the conquest of Canaan and

the defeat of its kings. The particle *וְ* (*sequ. imperf.*) is used, for example, in cases where the historian either wishes to introduce contemporaneous facts, that do not carry forward the main course of the history, or loses sight for the time of the strictly historical sequence and simply takes note of the occurrence of some particular event (*vid. Ewald*, § 136, *b.*). The assertion of modern critics, which *Knobel* repeats, that this account is out of place in the series of events as contained in chap. vi.-xii., is so far correct, that the promulgation of the law and the renewal of the covenant upon Ebal form no integral part of the account of the conquest of Canaan; but it by no means proves that this section has been interpolated by the Jehovist from his first document, or by the last editor of this book from some other source, and that what is related here did not take place at the time referred to. The circumstance that, according to chap. vi.-viii. 29, Joshua had only effected the conquest of Jericho in the south of the land from Gilgal as a base, and that even in chap. ix. and x. he was still engaged in the south, by no means involves the impossibility or even the improbability of a march to *Shechem*, which was situated further north, where he had not yet beaten the Canaanites, and had not effected any conquests. The distance from Ai to Shechem between Gerizim and Ebal is about thirty miles in a straight line. *Robinson* made the journey from Bireh (Beeroth) to Sichem on mules in eleven and a half hours, and that not by the most direct route (*Pal. iii. pp. 81-2*), and Ai was not more than an hour to the south of Beeroth; so that Joshua could have gone with the people from Ai to Gerizim and Ebal in two days without any excessive exertion. Now, even if the conquests of the Israelites had not extended further north than Ai at that time, there was no reason why Joshua should be deterred from advancing further into the land by any fear of attack from the Canaanites, as the people of war who went with him would be able to repulse any hostile attack; and after the news had spread of the fate of Ai and Jericho, no Canaanitish king would be likely to venture upon a conflict with the Israelites alone. Moreover, Shechem had no king, as we may gather from the list of the thirty-one kings who were defeated by Joshua. To the further remark of *Knobel*, that "there was no reason for their hurrying with this ceremony, and it might have been carried out at a later period in undisturbed security," we simply reply, that obedience to the command of God was not a matter of such indifference to the servant of the Lord as *Knobel* imagines. There was no valid reason after the capture of

As for postponing any longer the solemn ceremony of setting up the law of Jehovah which had been enjoined by Moses; and if we consider the reason for this solemnity, to which we have already referred, there can be no doubt that Joshua would proceed without the least delay to set up the law of the Lord in Canaan as early as possible, even before the subjugation of the whole land, that he might thereby secure the help of God for further conflicts and enterprises.

The account of this religious solemnity is given very briefly. It presupposes an acquaintance with the Mosaic instructions in Deut. xxvii., and merely gives the leading points, to show that those instructions were carefully carried out by Joshua. Of the three distinct acts of which the ceremony consisted, in the book of Deuteronomy the setting up of the stones with the law written upon them is mentioned first (Deut. xxvii. 2-4), and then (vers. 5-7) the building of the altar and the offering of sacrifice. Here, on the contrary, the building of the altar and offering of sacrifice are mentioned first (vers. 30, 31), and then (ver. 32) the writing of the law upon the stones; which was probably the order actually observed.—In ver. 30 Jehovah is called "*the God of Israel*," to show that henceforth no other god was to be worshipped in Canaan than the God of Israel. On Mount *Ebal*, see at Deut. xi. 29 and xxvii. 4.—Ver. 31. "*As Moses commanded:*" namely, Deut. xxvii. 5. "*As it is written in the book of the law of Moses:*" viz. in Ex. xx. 22 (25). On the presentation of burnt-offerings and slain-offerings, see at Deut. xxvii. 6, 7.—In ver. 32 nothing is mentioned but the writing of the law upon the stones; all the rest is presupposed from Deut. xxvii. 2 sqq., to which the expression "*the stones*" refers. "*Copy of the law:*" as in Deut. xvii. 18; see the explanation at Deut. xxvii. 3. In connection with the third part of the ceremony, the promulgation of the law with the blessing and cursing, the account of the Mosaic instructions given in Deut. xxvii. 11 sqq. is completed in ver. 33 by the statement that "*all Israel, and their elders (i.e. with their elders), and shoterim, and judges,*" stood on both sides of the ark before the Levitical priests, the stranger as well as the native, *i.e.* without any exception, one half (*i.e.* six tribes) towards Mount *Ebal*, and the other half towards Mount *Gerizim*. For further remarks, see at Deut. xxvii. 11 sqq. "*As Moses commanded to bless the people before:*" *i.e.* as he had previously commanded. The fact that the thought itself does not suit the context is quite sufficient to show that the explanation given by many commentators, viz. that they were to commence with the

blessings, is incorrect. But if, on the other hand, we connect the word "before" with the principal verb of the sentence, "commanded," the meaning will be that Moses did not give the command to proclaim the blessings and cursings to the people for the first time in connection with these instructions (Deut. xxvii.), but had done so before, at the very outset, namely, as early as Deut. xi. 29. —Ver. 34. "*And afterwards* (after the people had taken the place assigned them) *he read to them all the words of the law,*" i.e. he had the law proclaimed aloud by the persons entrusted with the proclamation of the law, viz. the Levitical priests. קָרָא, *lit.* to call out or proclaim, then in a derivative sense to read, inasmuch as reading aloud is proclaiming (as, for example, in Ex. xxiv. 7). The words "*the blessing and the curse*" are in apposition to "*all the words of the law,*" which they serve to define, and are not to be understood as relating to the blessings in Deut. xxviii. 1–14, and the curses in Deut. xxvii. 15–26 and xxviii. 15–68. The whole law is called "the blessing and the curse" with special reference to its contents, inasmuch as the fulfilment of it brings *eo ipso* a blessing, and the transgression of it *eo ipso* a curse. In the same manner, in Deut. xi. 26, Moses describes the exposition of the whole law in the steppes of Moab as setting before them blessing and cursing. In ver. 35 it is most distinctly stated that Joshua had the whole law read to the people; whilst the expression "all Israel," in ver. 33, is more fully explained as signifying not merely the congregation in its representatives, or even the men of the nation, but "all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were in the midst of it."

Nothing is said about the march of Joshua and all Israel to Gerizim and Ebal. All that we know is, that he not only took with him the people of war and the elders or heads of tribes, but all the people. It follows from this, however, that the whole of the people must have left and completely vacated the camp at Gilgal in the valley of the Jordan. For if all Israel went to the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, which were situated in the midst of the land, taking even the women and children with them, it is not likely that they left their cattle and other possessions behind them in Gilgal, exposed to the danger of being plundered in the meantime by the Canaanites of the southern mountains. So again we are not informed in what follows (chap. ix. sqq.) in which direction Joshua and the people went after these solemnities at Ebal and Gerizim were over. It is certainly not stated that he went back to Gilgal

in the Jordan valley, and pitched his tent again on the old site. No doubt we find Gilgal still mentioned as the encampment of Israel, not only in chap. ix. 6, x. 6, 9, 15, 43, but even after the defeat and subjugation of the Canaanites in the south and north, when a commencement was made to distribute the land (chap. xiv. 6). But when it is asked whether this Gilgal was the place of encampment on the east of Jericho, which received its name from the circumcision of the whole nation which took place there, or the town of Gilgal by the side of the terebinths of Moreh, which is mentioned in Deut. xi. 30, and by which Moses defines the situation of Gerizim and Ebal, this question cannot be answered unhesitatingly according to the traditional view, viz. in favour of the encampment in the Jordan valley. For when not only the army, but all the people with their wives and children, had once proceeded from the Jordan valley to the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, we cannot imagine any reason why Joshua should go back again to the plain of Jericho, that is to say, to the extreme corner of Canaan on the east, for the purpose of making that the base of his operations for the conquest and extermination of the Canaanites. And there is just as much improbability in the assumption, that after Joshua had not only defeated the kings of southern Canaan, who had allied themselves with Adonizedek of Jerusalem in the battle fought at Gibeon (chap. x.), but had also overthrown the kings of northern Canaan, who were allied with Jabin of Hazor at the waters of Merom above the Sea of Galilee (chap. xi.), he should return again to Gilgal in the Jordan valley, and there quietly encamp with all the people, and commence the distribution of the land. The only thing that could bring us to assent to such extremely improbable assumptions, would be the fact that there was no other Gilgal in all Canaan than the encampment to the east of Jericho, which received the name of Gilgal for the first time from the Israelites themselves. But as the other Gilgal by the side of the terebinths of Moreh—*i.e.* the present *Jiljilia*, which stands upon an eminence on the south-west of Shiloh at about the same distance from Jerusalem as from Sichem—was a well-known place even in Moses' days (Deut. xi. 30), and from its situation on a lofty ridge, from which you can see the great lowlands and the sea towards the west, the mountains of Gilead towards the east, and far away in the north-east even Hermon itself (*Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 81), was peculiarly well adapted for a place of encampment, from which Joshua could carry on the conquest of the land toward both

the north and south, we can come to no other conclusion than that this Gilgal or Jiljilia was the Gilgal mentioned in chap. ix. 6, x. 6, 9, 15, 43, and xiv. 6, as the place where the Israelites were encamped. We therefore assume, that after the setting up of the law on Gerizim and Ebal, Joshua did not conduct the people with their wives and children back again to the camp which they had left in the Jordan valley on the other side of Jericho, but chose the Gilgal which was situated upon the mountains, and only seven hours' journey to the south of Sichem, as the future place of encampment, and made this the central point of all his further military operations; and that this was the place to which he returned after his last campaign in the north, to commence the division of the conquered land among the tribes of Israel (chap. xiv. 6), and where he remained till the tabernacle was permanently erected at Shiloh, when the further distribution was carried on there (chap. xviii. 1 sqq.). This view, which even *Van de Velde* (Memoir, p. 316) has adopted as probable, is favoured still further by the fact that this Gilgal or Jiljilia, which is still a large village, is frequently mentioned in the subsequent history of Israel, not only in 2 Kings ii. 1 and iv. 38, as the seat of a school of the prophets in the time of Elijah and Elisha, and in Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 12, Amos iv. 4, v. 5, as a place which was much frequented for the purpose of idolatrous worship; but even at an earlier date still, namely, as one of the places where Samuel judged the people (1 Sam. vii. 16), and as the place where he offered sacrifice (1 Sam. x. 8; cf. xiii. 7-9), and where he gathered the people together to confirm the monarchy of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 14, 15), at a time when the tabernacle at Shiloh had ceased to be the only national sanctuary of Israel, on account of the ark having been taken away. Gilgal had no doubt acquired this significance along with Bethel, which had been regarded as a holy place ever since the time of Jacob, from the fact that it was there that Joshua had established the camp of Israel with the ark of the covenant, until the land was divided, and Shiloh was appointed as the site for the national sanctuary.

STRATAGEM OF THE GIBEONITES, AND THEIR CONSEQUENT PRESERVATION.—CHAP. IX.

The victorious advance of the Israelites in the land induced the kings of Canaan to form a common league for the purpose of resisting them. But, as frequently happens, the many kings and

lords of the towns and provinces of Canaan were not all united, so as to make a common and vigorous attack. Before the league had been entered into, the inhabitants of Gibeon, one of the largest towns in the central part of Canaan, together with the smaller neighbouring towns that were dependent upon it, attempted to anticipate the danger which threatened them by means of a stratagem, and to enter into a friendly alliance with the Israelites. And they succeeded, inasmuch as Joshua and the elders of the congregation of Israel fell into the snare that was laid for them by the ambassadors of the Gibeonites, who came to the camp at Gilgal, and made the desired treaty with them, without inquiring of the Lord. "This account," as *O. v. Gerlach* says, "is a warning to the Church of God of all ages against the cunning and dissimulation of the world, which often seeks for a peaceable recognition on the part of the kingdom of God, and even for a reception into it, whenever it may be its advantage to do so."

Vers. 1, 2, form the introduction to chaps. ix.-xi., and correspond to the introduction in chap. v. 1. The news of the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Jordan had thrown all the kings of Canaan into such despair, that they did not venture to make any attack upon Israel. But they gradually recovered from their first panic, partly, no doubt, in consequence of the failure of the first attack of the Israelites upon Ai, and resolved to join together in making war upon the foreign invaders. The kings of Canaan did this when they heard, *sc.* what Israel had hitherto undertaken and accomplished, not merely "what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai" (*Knobel*): that is to say, all the kings across the Jordan, *i.e.* in the country to the west of the Jordan (עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן), as in chap. v. 1), viz. "upon the mountains" (not only the mountains of Judah, as in chap. x. 40, xi. 16, etc., but all the mountains which run throughout the whole length of Canaan, as in Deut. i. 7 and Num. xiii. 17: see the explanation of the latter passage); "in the lowlands" (*shephelah*, the low-lying country between the mountains and the sea-coast, which is simply intersected by small ranges of hills; see at Deut. i. 7); "and on all the coast of the Great Sea towards Lebanon," *i.e.* the narrow coast of the Mediterranean Sea from Joppa up to the Ladder of Tyre (see at Deut. i. 7). The different tribes of the Canaanites are also mentioned by name, as in chap. iii. 10, except that the Girgashites are omitted. These gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and Israel with one mouth, or with one accord (1 Kings xxii. 13).

Vers. 3-5. But the inhabitants of a republic, which included not only Gibeon the capital, but the towns of Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim also, acted differently from the rest. *Gibeon* (Γαβῶν, *Gabaon*, LXX. *Vulg.*) was larger than Ai, being one of the royal cities (chap. x. 2), and was inhabited by Hivites, who were a brave people (chap. x. 7, xi. 19). It was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Benjamin, and set apart as a Levitical town (chap. xviii. 25, xxi. 17). After the destruction of Nob by Saul, the tabernacle was removed thither, and there it remained till the building of Solomon's temple (1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29; 1 Kings iii. 4, 5; 2 Chron. i. 3 sqq.). According to *Josephus*, it was forty or fifty stadia from Jerusalem, and judging from its name was built upon a hill. It is to be found in the modern *Jib*, two good hours' journey to the north-west of Jerusalem, a village of moderate size, on a long chalk hill which overlooks a very fertile, well cultivated plain, or rather a basin, consisting of broad valleys and plains, and rises like a vineyard, in the form of separate terraces (*Strauss*, *Sinai*, p. 332). The remains of large massive buildings of great antiquity are still to be seen there, also some fountains, and two large subterraneous reservoirs (*vid. Rob. Pal. ii. p. 136*). When the Gibeonites heard of the fate of Jericho and Ai, they also did (something) with stratagem. In the expression נִם הָמָּה ("they also") there is a reference implied to what Joshua had done at Jericho and Ai; not, however, to the stratagem resorted to in the case of Ai, as such an allusion would not apply to Jericho. They set out as ambassadors: נִצְטִירִי, from צִיר, which occurs in every other instance in the form of a noun, signifying a messenger (*Prov. xiii. 17*, etc.). In the *Hithpael* it means to make themselves ambassadors, to travel as ambassadors. The translators of the ancient versions, however, adopted the reading נִצְטִירִי, they provided themselves with food; but this was nothing more than a conjecture founded upon ver. 12, and without the slightest critical value. They also took "old sacks upon their asses, and old mended wineskins." מְצֻרִים, from צָר, *lit.* bound together, is very characteristic. There are two modes adopted in the East of repairing skins when torn, viz. inserting a patch, or tying up the piece that is torn in the form of a bag. Here the reference is to the latter, which was most in harmony with their statement, that the skins had got injured upon their long journey. Also "old mended sandals upon their feet, and old clothes upon them (upon their bodies); and all the bread of their provisions had become dry and quite mouldy." נִקְרִים, *lit.*

furnished with points; נִקְּיָה, pointed, speckled (Gen. xxx. 32 sqq.). Hence the rendering of the LXX., εὐρωτιῶν; *Theod.*, βεβρωμένοι; *Luther schimmlicht*, mouldy; whereas the rendering adopted by *Aquila* is ἐψαθυρωμένος; by *Symmachus*, κάππος, i.e. adustus, torridus; and by the *Vulgate*, in *frusta comminuti*, i.e. crumbled.

Vers. 6-15. Having made these preparations, they went to the Israelitish camp at Gilgal (Jiljilia), introduced themselves to the men of Israel (שָׂרִים, in a collective sense, the plural being but little used, and only occurring in Prov. viii. 4, Isa. liii. 3, and Ps. cxli. 4) as having come from a distant land, and asked them to make a league with them. But the Israelites hesitated, and said to the Hivites, i.e. the Gibeonites who were Hivites, that they might perhaps be living in the midst of them (the Israelites), i.e. in the land of Canaan, which the Israelites already looked upon as their own; and if so, how could they make a league with them? This hesitation on their part was founded upon the express command of God, that they were not to make any league with the tribes of Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 32, xxxiv. 12; Num. xxxiii. 55; Deut. vii. 2, etc.). In reply to this the Gibeonites simply said, “*We are thy servants*” (ver. 8), i.e. we are at thy service, which, according to the obsequious language common in the East, was nothing more than a phrase intended to secure the favour of Joshua, and by no means implied a readiness on their part to submit to the Israelites and pay them tribute, as *Rosenmüller*, *Knobel*, and others suppose; for, as *Grotius* correctly observes, what they wished for was “a friendly alliance, by which both their territory and also full liberty would be secured to themselves.” The *Keri* וַיֹּאמְרוּ (ver. 7) is nothing more than a critical conjecture, occasioned not so much by the singular שָׂרִי, which is frequently construed in the historical writings as a collective noun with a plural verb, as by the singular suffix attached to בְּקֶרְבִּי, which is to be explained on the ground that only one of the Israelites (viz. Joshua) was speaking as the mouthpiece of all the rest. The plural וַיֹּאמְרוּ is used, because Joshua spoke in the name of the people.—Ver. 8. To the further question put by Joshua, where they had come from, the Gibeonites replied, “*From a very distant land have thy servants come, because of the name of Jehovah thy God*,” or as they themselves proceed at once to explain: “*for we have heard the fame (fama) of Him, and all that He did in Egypt, and to Sihon and Og, the two kings of the Amorites*.” They very wisely say nothing about the miracles connected with the crossing of the Jordan and the taking of Jericho, since, “as the inhabit-

ants of a very far distant region, they could not have heard anything about things that had occurred so lately, even by report" (*Masius*).—Vers. 11 sqq. When these tidings reached them, they were sent off by the elders (the leaders of the republic) and the inhabitants of the land to meet the Israelites, that they might offer them their service, and form an alliance with them. In confirmation of this, they point to their dried provisions, and their torn and mended skins and clothes.—Vers. 14, 15. The Israelites suffered themselves to be taken in by this pretence. "*The men* (the elders of Israel) *took of their provisions; but they did not ask the mouth of the Lord.*" Instead of inquiring the will of the Lord in this matter through the Urim and Thummim of the high priest (Num. xxvii. 21), they contented themselves with taking some of the bread that was shown them, and tasting it; as if the dry mouldy bread furnished a safe guarantee of the truth of the words of these foreign ambassadors. Some commentators regard their taking of their provisions as a sign of mutual friendship, or of the league which they made; but in that case their eating with them would at any rate have been mentioned. Among the Arabs, simply eating bread and salt with a guest is considered a sign of peace and friendship.—Ver. 15. So Joshua made (granted) them peace (*vid.* Isa. xxvii. 5), and concluded a covenant with them (לָחַם, in their favour), to let them live; and the princes of the congregation swore unto them. Letting them live is the only article of the league that is mentioned, both because this was the main point, and also with special reference to the fact that the Gibeonites, being Canaanites, ought properly to have been destroyed. It is true that Joshua and the princes of the congregation had not violated any express command of God by doing this; for the only thing prohibited in the law was making treaties with the *Canaanites*, which they did not suppose the Gibeonites to be, whilst in Deut. xx. 11, where wars with foreign nations (not Canaanites) are referred to, permission is given to make peace with them, so that all treaties with foreign nations are not forbidden. But they had failed in this respect, that, trusting to the crafty words of the Gibeonites, and to outward appearances only, they had forgotten their attitude to the Lord their God, who had promised to His congregation, in all important matters, a direct revelation of His own will.

Vers. 16–27. Three days after the treaty had been concluded, the Israelites discovered that they had been deceived, and that their allies dwelt among them (see ver. 7). They set out therefore

to deal with the deceivers, and reached their towns Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim on the third day. *Chephirah*, which was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Benjamin along with Gibeon and Beeroth, and was still inhabited after the captivity (chap. xviii. 25, 26; Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29), is to be seen in the ruins of *Kefir*, an hour's journey to the east of Yalo, in the mountains, and three hours to the west of Gibeon (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 146, and *Van de Velde*, *Memoir*, pp. 303-4). *Beeroth*, *Βηρώθ*, according to *Eusebius* (*Onom. s. v.*) a hamlet near Jerusalem, and seven miles on the road to *Nicopolis* (it should read *Neapolis*), was in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. iv. 2), and still exists in the large village of *Bireh*, which is situated upon a mountain nine Roman miles to the north of Jerusalem in a stony and barren district, and has still several springs and a good well, besides the remains of a fine old church of the time of the Crusades (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. pp. 130 sqq.; *Seetzen*, R. ii. pp. 195-6). *Kirjath-jearim*, also called *Kirjath-baal* (chap. xv. 60), *Baalah* (chap. xv. 9), and *Baal-Jehuda* (2 Sam. vi. 2), was allotted to the tribe of Judah. It stood upon the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (chap. xv. 60, xviii. 15); and the ark remained there, after it had been sent back by the Philistines, until the time of David (1 Sam. vii. 2; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 6). According to the *Onom.*, *s. v. Καριαθιαρείμ* and *Βαάλ*, it was nine or ten Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Diospolis (Lydda), and is probably to be seen in the present *Kuryet el Enab*, a considerable village with a large number of olive trees, figs, pomegranates, and vineyards, from the last of which the old "town of the forests" has received the more modern name of "town of the vine" (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 335, and *Bibl. Res.* pp. 156-7; and *Seetzen*, ii. p. 65). These towns, which formed one republic with Gibeon, and were governed by elders, were at so short a distance from Gilgal (Jiljilia), that the Israelites could reach it in one or two days. The expression "on the third day" is not at variance with this; for it is not stated that Israel took three days to march there, but simply that they arrived there on the third day after receiving the intelligence of the arrival of the ambassadors.—Ver. 18. "The Israelites smote them not," *sc.* with the edge of the sword, "because the princes of the congregation had sworn to them," *sc.* to let them live (ver. 15); but, notwithstanding the murmuring of the congregation, they declared that they might not touch them because of their oath. "This (*sc.* what we have sworn) we will do to them, and let them live (וְהַחַיֵּיהֶם, *inf.*

abs. with special emphasis instead of the finite verb), *lest wrath come upon us because of the oath.*" *Wrath* (*sc.* of God), a judgment such as fell upon Israel in the time of David, because Saul disregarded this oath and sought to destroy the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1 sqq.).

But how could the elders of Israel consider themselves bound by their oath to grant to the Gibeonites the preservation of life which had been secured to them by the treaty they had made, when the very supposition upon which the treaty was made, viz. that the Gibeonites did not belong to the tribes of Canaan, was proved to be false, and the Gibeonites had studiously deceived them by pretending that they had come from a very distant land? As they had been absolutely forbidden to make any treaties with the Canaanites, it might be supposed that, after the discovery of the deception which had been practised upon them, the Israelitish rulers would be under no obligation to observe the treaty which they had made with the Gibeonites in full faith in the truth of their word. And no doubt from the stand-point of strict justice this view appears to be a right one. But the princes of Israel shrank back from breaking the oath which, as is emphatically stated in ver. 19, they had sworn by Jehovah the God of Israel, not because they assumed, as *Hauff* supposes, "that an oath simply regarded as an outward and holy transaction had an absolutely binding force," but because they were afraid of bringing the name of the God of Israel into contempt among the Canaanites, which they would have done if they had broken the oath which they had sworn by this God, and had destroyed the Gibeonites. They were bound to observe the oath which they had once sworn, if only to prevent the sincerity of the God by whom they had sworn from being rendered doubtful in the eyes of the Gibeonites; but they were not justified in taking the oath. They had done this without asking the mouth of Jehovah (ver. 14), and thus had sinned against the Lord their God. But they could not repair this fault by breaking the oath which they had thus imprudently taken, *i.e.* by committing a fresh sin; for the violation of an oath is always sin, even when the oath has been taken inconsiderately, and it is afterwards discovered that what was sworn to was not in accordance with the will of God, and that an observance of the oath will certainly be hurtful (*vid.* Ps. xv. 4).¹ By taking an oath to the ambassadors that they

¹ "The binding power of an oath ought to be held so sacred among us, that we should not swerve from our bond under any pretence of error, even though we had been deceived: since the sacred name of God is of greater worth than all the riches of the world. Even though a person should have sworn therefore

would let the Gibeonites live, the princes of Israel had acted unconsciously in violation of the command of God that they were to destroy the Canaanites. As soon therefore as they discovered their error or their oversight, they were bound to do all in their power to ward off from the congregation the danger which might arise of their being drawn away to idolatry—the very thing which the Lord had intended to avert by giving that command. If this could by any possibility be done without violating their oath, they were bound to do it for the sake of the name of the Lord by which they swore; that is to say, while letting the Gibeonites live, it was their duty to put them in such a position, that they could not possibly seduce the Israelites to idolatry. And this the princes of Israel proposed to do, by granting to the Gibeonites on the one hand the preservation of their lives according to the oath they had taken, and on the other hand by making them slaves of the sanctuary. That they acted rightly in this respect, is evident from the fact that their conduct is never blamed either by the historian or by the history, inasmuch as it is not stated anywhere that the Gibeonites, after being made into temple slaves, held out any inducement to the Israelites to join in idolatrous worship, and still more from the fact, that at a future period God himself reckoned the attempt of Saul to destroy the Gibeonites, in his false zeal for the children of Israel, as an act of blood-guiltiness on the part of the nation of Israel for which expiation must be made (2 Sam. xxi. 1 sqq.), and consequently approved of the observance of the oath which had been sworn to them, though without thereby sanctioning the treaty itself.—Ver. 21. The princes declared again most emphatically, “*They shall live.*” Thus the Gibeonites became hewers of wood and drawers of water to the congregation, as the princes had said to them, *i.e.* had resolved concerning them. This resolution they communicated to the congregation at the time, using the expression *וַיִּחְיֶינָה* (*let them live*); but the historian has passed this over at ver. 21a, and instead of mentioning the resolution proceeds at once to describe its execution.—Vers. 22, 23. Joshua then summoned the Gibeonites, charged them with their deceit, and pronounced upon them the curse of

without sufficient consideration, no injury or loss will release him from his oath.” This is the opinion expressed by *Calvin* with reference to Ps. xv. 4; yet for all that he regards the observance of their oath on the part of the princes of Israel as a sin, because he limits this golden rule in the most arbitrary manner to private affairs alone, and therefore concludes that the Israelites were not bound to observe this “wily treaty.”

eternal servitude: "*There shall not be cut off from you a servant,*" i.e. ye shall never cease to be servants, ye shall remain servants for ever (*vid.* 2 Sam. iii. 29; 1 Kings ii. 4), "*and that as hewers of wood and drawers of waters for our God's house.*" This is a fuller definition of the expression "for all the congregation" in ver. 21. The Gibeonites were to perform for the congregation the slaves' labour of hewing wood and drawing water for the worship of the sanctuary, —a duty which was performed, according to Deut. xxix. 10, by the lowest classes of the people. In this way the curse of Noah upon Canaan (Gen. ix. 25) was literally fulfilled upon the Hivites of the Gibeonitish republic.—Vers. 24, 25. The Gibeonites offered this excuse for their conduct, that having heard of the command of God which had been issued through Moses, that all the Canaanites were to be destroyed (Deut. vii. 1, xx. 16, 17), they had feared greatly for their lives, and readily submitted to the resolution which Joshua made known to them.—Vers. 26, 27. "*And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not. He made them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and indeed for the altar of the Lord,*" (assigning them) "*to the place which God would choose,*" viz. for the altar. אֶל־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ (to the place) is grammatically dependent upon וַיִּתֵּן (he "gave them"). It by no means follows, however, that Joshua sent them there at that very time, but simply that he sentenced them to service at the altar in the place which would be chosen for the sanctuary. From the words "*unto this day,*" it no doubt follows, on the one hand, that the account was written after the fact had taken place; but, on the other hand, it also follows from the future יִבְחַר (should, or shall choose), that it was written before the place was definitely fixed, and therefore before the building of Solomon's temple.

VICTORY AT GIBEON, AND CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN CANAAN.—

CHAP. X.

Vers. 1-5. The report that Joshua had taken Ai, and put it, like Jericho, under the ban, and that the Gibeonites had concluded a treaty with Israel, filled Adonizedek the king of Jerusalem with alarm, as Gibeon was a large town, like one of the king's towns, even larger than Ai, and its inhabitants were brave men. He therefore joined with the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, to make a common attack upon Gibeon, and punish it for

its alliance with the Israelites, and at the same time to put a check upon the further conquests of Israel. *Adonizedek*, i.e. lord of righteousness, is synonymous with *Melchizedek* (king of righteousness), and was a title of the Jebusite kings, as Pharaoh was of the Egyptian. *Jerusalem*, i.e. the founding or possession of peace, called *Salem* in the time of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 18), was the proper name of the town, which was also frequently called by the name of its Canaanitish inhabitants *Jebus* (Judg. xix. 10, 11; 1 Chron. xi. 4), or "city of the Jebusites" (*Ir-Jebusi*, Judg. xix. 11), sometimes also in a contracted form, *Jebusi* (יְבוּסִי, chap. xviii. 16, 28, xv. 8; 2 Sam. v. 8).¹ On the division of the land it was allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 28); but being situated upon the border of Judah (chap. xv. 8), it was conquered, and burned by the sons of Judah after the death of Joshua (Judg. i. 8). It was very soon taken again and rebuilt by the Jebusites, whom the sons of Judah were unable to destroy (Judg. xv. 63, xix. 12), so that both Benjaminites and Judahites lived there along with the Jebusites (Judg. i. 21, xv. 63); and the upper town especially, upon the summit of Mount Zion, remained as a fortification in the possession of the Jebusites, until David conquered it (2 Sam. v. 6 sqq.), made it the capital of his kingdom, and called it by his own name, "the city of David," after which the old name of Jebus fell into disuse. *Hebron*, the town of *Arba* the Anakite (chap. xiv. 15, etc.; see at Gen. xxiii. 2), was twenty-two Roman miles south of Jerusalem, in a deep and narrow valley upon the mountains of Judah, a town of the greatest antiquity (Num. xiii. 22), now called *el Khalil*, i.e. the friend (of God), with reference to Abraham's sojourn there. The ruins of an ancient heathen temple are still to be seen there, as well as the Haram, built of colossal blocks, which contains, according to Mohammedan tradition, the burial-place of the patriarchs (see at Gen. xxiii. 17). *Jarmuth*, in the lowlands of Judah (chap. xv. 35; Neh. xi. 29), according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Jermus*) a hamlet, *Jermucha* (Ἰερμοχῶς), ten Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem, is the modern *Jarnuk*, a village on a lofty hill, with the remains of walls and cisterns of a very ancient date, the name of which, according to *Van de Velde* (Mem. pp. 115-6), is pronounced *Tell 'Armuth* by the Arabs (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 344). *Lachish*, in the lowlands of Judah (chap. xv. 39), was fortified

¹ In our English version, we have the Hebrew word itself simply transposed in Joshua xviii. 16, 28; whilst it is rendered "the Jebusite" in chap. xv. 8, and "the Jebusites" in 2 Sam. v. 8.—TR

by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 9), and besieged by Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xviii. 14, xix. 8; Jer. xxxiv. 7), and was still inhabited by Jews after the return from the captivity (Neh. xi. 30). It is probably to be found in *Um Lakis*, an old place upon a low round hill, covered with heaps of small round stones thrown together in great confusion, containing relics of marble columns; it is about an hour and a quarter to the west of Ajlun, and seven hours to the west of Eleutheropolis.¹ *Eglon*: also in the lowlands of Judah (chap. xv. 39). The present name is *Ajlân*, a heap of ruins, about three-quarters of an hour to the east of Um Lakis (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 392, and *Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 308). In the *Onom.* (s. v. *Eglon*) it is erroneously identified with *Odollam*; whereas the situation of *Agla*, "at the tenth stone, as you go from Eleutheropolis to Gaza" (*Onom.* s. v. *Βηθαλαῖμ*, *Bethaglu*), suits *Eglon* exactly.—Ver. 5. These five kings marched against Gibeon and besieged the town. The king of Jerusalem headed the expedition, as his town was so near to Gibeon that he was the first to fear an attack from the Israelites.

Vers. 6–11. The Gibeonites then sent to Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, and entreated him to come to his help as speedily as possible. "*Slack not thy hand from thy servants,*" i.e. withhold not thy help from us. The definition appended to "the kings of the Amorites" ("*that dwelt in the mountains*") is to be understood a *potiori*, and does not warrant us in drawing the conclusion, that all the towns mentioned in ver. 3 were in the mountains of Judah. The Amorites who dwelt in the mountains were the strongest of all the Canaanites.—Ver. 7. In accordance with this petition Joshua advanced from Gilgal (גלגל, not went up) with all the people of war, even (*var. expl.*) all the men of valour.—Ver. 8. The Lord then renewed the assurance of His help in this particular war, in which Joshua was about to fight for the first time with several allied kings of Canaan (cf. chap. ii. 24, vi. 2, viii. 1, 18).—Ver. 9. Joshua came

¹ It is true that *Robinson* disputes the identity of *Um Lakis* with the ancient *Lachish* (*Pal.* ii. p. 388), but "not on any reasonable ground" (*Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 320). The statement in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Lochis*), that it was seven Roman miles to the south of Eleutheropolis, cannot prove much, as it may easily contain an error in the number, and *Robinson* does not admit its authority even in the case of *Eglon* (*Pal.* ii. p. 392). Still less can *Knobel's* conjecture be correct, that it is to be found in the old place called *Sukkarijeh*, two hours and a half to the south-west of Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), as *Sukkarijeh* is on the east of Ajlun, whereas, according to vers. 31–36, *Lachish* is to be sought for on the west of *Eglon*.

suddenly upon them (the enemy), as he had marched the whole night from Gilgal, *i.e.* had accomplished the entire distance in a night. Jiljilia is fully fifteen miles from el-Jib.—Ver. 10. “*Jehovah threw them into confusion,*” as He had promised in Ex. xxiii. 27, and in all probability, judging from ver. 11, by dreadful thunder and lightning (*vid.* 1 Sam. vii. 10; Ps. xviii. 15, cxliv. 6: it is different in Ex. xiv. 24). “*Israel smote them in a great slaughter at Gibeon, and pursued them by the way of the ascent of Bethhoron,*” *i.e.* Upper Bethhoron (*Beit Ur, el-Foka*), which was nearest to Gibeon, only four hours distant on the north-west, on a lofty promontory between two valleys, one on the north, the other on the south, and was separated from Lower Bethhoron, which lies further west, by a long steep pass, from which the ascent to Upper Bethhoron is very steep and rocky, though the rock has been cut away in many places now, and a path made by means of steps (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 59). This pass between the two places leads downwards from Gibeon towards the western plain, and was called sometimes the ascent, or going up to Bethhoron, and sometimes the descent, or going down from it (ver. 11), ἀνάβασις καὶ κατὰβασις Βαιθωρῶν (1 Macc. iii. 16, 24). Israel smote the enemy still further, “*to Azekah and Makkedah:*” so far were they pursued and beaten after the battle (*cf.* vers. 16, 21). If we compare ver. 11, according to which the enemy was smitten, from Bethhoron to Azekah, by a violent fall of hail, it is very evident that the two places were on the west of Bethhoron. And it is in perfect harmony with this that we find both places described as being in the lowland; Azekah in the hill-country between the mountains and the plain (chap. xv. 35), Makkedah in the plain itself (chap. xv. 41). *Azekah*, which was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 9), besieged by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxxiv. 7), and still inhabited after the captivity (Neh. xi. 30), was not far from Socoh, according to chap. xv. 35; whilst sideways between the two was *Ephes-danimum* (1 Sam. xvii. 1). *Van de Velde* has discovered the latter in the ruins of *Damûm*, about an hour’s journey east by south from Beit Nettif (Mem. p. 290), and consequently imagines that *Azekah* is to be found in the village of *Ahbeke*, which stands upon a lofty mountain-top a mile and a half to the north of *Damûm*, and about four or five miles N.N.E. of *Shuweikeh*, supposing this to be *Aphek*. The statement in the *Onom.* (s. v. Ἀζηκά), ἀνάμεσον Ἐλευθεροπόλεως καὶ Αἰλίας, agrees with this. *Makkedah* is described in the *Onom.* as being eight Roman miles to the east of Eleutheropolis, and hence *Knobel* supposes it to have

been near *Terkumieh*, or *Morak* ; but he is wrong in his supposition, as in that case it would have been in the hill-country or upon the mountains, whereas it was one of the towns in the plain (chap. xv. 41). *Van de Velde's* conjecture (p. 332) is a much more probable one, viz. that it is to be found in *Sumneil*, a considerable village on an eminence in the plain, with a large public well 110 feet deep and 11 feet in diameter, with strongly built walls of hewn stones, where there is also part of an old wall, which to all appearance must formerly have belonged to a large square castle built of uncemented stones, resembling in some respects the oldest foundation wall of Beit Jibrin (*Rob. Pal. ii. p. 368*). It is two hours and a half to the north-west of Beit Jibrin, and there *Van de Velde* discovered the large cave (see at ver. 16), which *Robinson* has not observed (see his *Journey through Syria and Palestine*).—Ver. 11. The large stones which the Lord threw upon the flying foe at the slope of Bethhoron were hail-stones (see *Isa. xxx. 30*), not stone-hail, or a shower of stones, but a terrible hail-storm, in which hail fell upon the foe in pieces as large as stones (see *Wisd. xlv. 6*), and slew a greater number of them than the swords of the Israelites. This phenomenon, which resembled the terrible hail in Egypt (*Ex. ix. 24*), was manifestly a miraculous occurrence produced by the omnipotent power of God, inasmuch as the hail-stones slew the enemy without injuring the Israelites, who were pursuing them. By this the Israelites were to be made to see that it was not their own power, but the supernatural help of their God, which had given them the victory ; whilst the enemy discovered that it was not only the people of Israel, but the God of Israel, that had devoted them to destruction.

Vers. 12–15. In firm reliance upon the promise of God (ver. 8), Joshua offered a prayer to the Lord during the battle, that He would not let the sun go down till Israel had taken vengeance upon their foes ; and the Lord hearkened to the prayer of His servant, and the sun hastened not to go down till the defeat of the Amorites was accomplished. This miraculous victory was celebrated by the Israelites in a war-song, which was preserved in the “*book of the Righteous*.” The author of the book of Joshua has introduced the passage out of this book which celebrates the mighty act of the Lord for the glorification of His name upon Israel, and their foes the Amorites. It is generally admitted, that vers. 12–15 contain a quotation from the “*book of Jasher*,” mentioned in ver. 13. This quotation, and the reference to the work itself, are analogous to the

notice of "the book of the wars of the Lord," in Num. xxi. 14, and to the strophes of a song which are there interwoven with the historical narrative; the object being, not to confirm the historical account by referring to an earlier source, but simply to set forth before other generations the powerful impression which was made upon the congregation by these mighty acts of the Lord. The "*book of Jasher*," i.e. book of the upright, or righteous man, that is to say, of the true members of the theocracy, or godly men. יָשָׁר (*Jasher*, the righteous) is used to denote the genuine Israelite, in the same sense as in Num. xxiii. 10, where Balaam calls the Israelites "the righteous," inasmuch as Jehovah, the righteous and upright one (Deut. xxxii. 4), had called them to be His people, and to walk in His righteousness. In addition to this passage, the "book of the righteous (*Jasher*)" is also mentioned in 2 Sam. i. 18, as a work in which was to be found David's elegy upon Saul and Jonathan. From this fact it has been justly inferred, that the book was a collection of odes in praise of certain heroes of the theocracy, with historical notices of their achievements interwoven, and that the collection was formed by degrees; so that the reference to this work is neither a proof that the passage has been interpolated by a *later* hand, nor that the work was composed at a very late period. That the passage quoted from this work is extracted from a song, is evident enough, both from the poetical form of the composition, and also from the parallelism of the sentences. The quotation, however, does not begin with וַיֹּאמֶר (*and he said*) in ver. 12*b*, but with בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (*in the day when the Lord delivered*) in ver. 12*a*, and vers. 13 and 14 also form part of it; so that the title of the book from which the quotation is taken is inserted in the middle of the quotation itself. In other cases, unquestionably, such formulas of quotation are placed either at the beginning (as in Num. xxi. 14, 27; 2 Sam. i. 18), or else at the close of the account, which is frequently the case in the books of Kings and Chronicles; but it by no means follows that there were no exceptions to this rule, especially as the reason for mentioning the original sources is a totally different one in the books of Kings, where the works cited are not the simple vouchers for the facts related, but works containing fuller and more elaborate accounts of events which have only been cursorily described. The poetical form of the passage in ver. 13 also leaves no doubt whatever that vers. 13 and 14 contain the words of the old poet, and are not a prose comment made by the historian upon the poetical passage quoted. The only purely his-

torical statement is ver. 15 ; and this is repeated in ver. 43, at the close of the account of the wars and the victory. But this literal repetition of ver. 15 in ver. 43, and the fact that the statement, that Joshua returned with all the people to the camp at Gilgal, anticipates the historical course of the events in a very remarkable manner, render it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that ver. 15 was also taken from the book of the righteous.

In the day when Jehovah delivered up the Amorites to the children of Israel ("before," as in Deut. ii. 31, 33, etc.), Joshua said before the eyes (*i.e.* in the presence) of Israel, so that the Israelites were witnesses of his words (*vid.* Deut. xxxi. 7) : "*Sun, stand still (wait) at Gibeon ; and, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.*" שָׁמָּה, to be silent, to keep one's self quiet or still, to wait (1 Sam. xiv. 9). The address to the sun and moon implies that they both of them stood, or were visible in the heavens at the time ; and inasmuch as it was spoken to the Lord, involves a prayer that the Lord and Creator of the world would not suffer the sun and moon to set till Israel had taken vengeance upon its foes. This explanation of the prayer is only to be found, it is true, in the statement that the sun and moon stood still at Joshua's word ; but we must imagine it as included in the prayer itself. שָׁמָּה without an article, when used to denote the people of Israel, is to be regarded as a poetical expression. In the sequel (ver. 13*b*) the sun only is spoken of : "*and the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.*" The poetical word שָׁמָּה, to press or hurry, is founded upon the idea that the sun runs its course like a strong man, with vigour, and without weariness or cessation (Ps. xix. 6, 7). It follows from this, that Joshua merely prayed for the day to be lengthened, *i.e.* for the setting of the sun to be delayed ; and that he included the moon (ver. 12), simply because it was visible at the time. But even if this is the case, we are not therefore to conclude, as *C. v. Lapide*, *Clericus*, and others have done, that Joshua spoke these words in the afternoon, when the sun was beginning to set, and the moon had already risen. The expression בְּחֵצֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, "*in the half,*" *i.e.* the midst, "*of the sky,*" is opposed to this view, and still more the relative position of the two in the sky, the sun at Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, *i.e.* in the fine broad basin on the north side of Yalo (see at chap. xix. 42), the present *Merj Ibn Omeir* (*Rob.* iii. pp. 63, 64), which is four hours' journey to the west of Gibeon. As Joshua smote the enemy at Gibeon, and they fled to the south-west, he was no doubt on the west of

Gibeon when he commanded the sun and moon to stand still ; and therefore from his point of view the sun would be in the east when it stood over Gibeon, and the moon in the far west when it stood over the valley of Ajalon. But that could only be the case before noon, a few hours after sunrise, when the moon had not yet set in the western sky. In all probability the battle took place quite early in the morning, as Joshua had marched from Gilgal the night before, and fell quite suddenly upon the enemy (ver. 9). But after the conflict had lasted for some hours, and Joshua began to be anxious lest he should be unable to overcome the enemy before night came on, he addressed the prayer to the Lord to lengthen out the day, and in a short time saw his prayer so far fulfilled, that the sun still stood high up in the sky when the enemy was put to flight. We take for granted that these words were spoken by Joshua before the terrible hail-storm which fell upon the enemy in their flight, when they were near Bethhoron, which is about two hours from Gibeon, and smote them to Azekah. There is nothing to prevent our assuming this. The fact, that in the historical account the hail is mentioned before the desire expressed by Joshua and the fulfilment of that desire, may be explained on the simple ground, that the historian, following the order of importance, relates the principal incident in connection with the battle first, before proceeding to the special point to be cited from the book of the righteous. בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, “*towards* (about, or as it were) *a whole day*,” neither signifies “when the day was ended” (*Clericus*), nor “as it usually does when the day is perfected or absolutely finished” (*Rosenmüller*); but the sun did not hasten or press to go down, delayed its setting, almost a whole day (“*day*” being the time between sunrise and sunset).

What conception are we to form of this miraculous event ? It is not stated that the sun actually stood still in one spot in the heavens,—say, for instance, in the zenith. And if the expression, “the sun stood still in the midst of heaven,” which is added as an explanation of יָדָם, is so pressed as to mean that the sun was miraculously stopped in its course, this is hardly reconcilable with לֹא אָץ לָבוֹא, “it hastened not to go down,” as these words, if taken literally, merely denote a slower motion on the part of the sun, as many of the Rabbins have observed. All that is clearly affirmed in vers. 12 and 13 is, that at Joshua’s word the sun remained standing in the sky for almost a whole day longer. To this there is added, in ver. 14, “*There was no day like that before it, or after it, that*

Jehovah hearkened to the voice of a man ; for Jehovah fought for Israel." This expression must not be pressed too far, as the analogous passages ("there was none like him," etc.) in 2 Kings xviii. 5 and xxiii. 25 clearly show. They merely express this thought: no other day like this, which God so miraculously lengthened, ever occurred either before or afterwards. So much, therefore, is obvious enough from the words, that the writer of the old song, and also the author of the book of Joshua, who inserted the passage in his narrative, were convinced that the day was miraculously prolonged. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that it is not stated that God lengthened that day at the request of Joshua almost an entire day, or that He made the sun stand still almost a whole day, but simply that God hearkened to the voice of Joshua, *i.e.* did not permit the sun to go down till Israel had avenged itself upon its enemies. This distinction is not without importance: for a miraculous prolongation of the day would take place not only if the sun's course or sun's setting was delayed for several hours by the omnipotent power of God, and the day extended from twelve to eighteen or twenty hours, but also if the day seemed to Joshua and all Israel to be miraculously prolonged; because the work accomplished on that day was so great, that it would have required almost two days to accomplish it without supernatural aid. It is not easy to decide between these two opposite views; in fact, it is quite impossible if we go to the root of the matter. When we are not in circumstances to measure the length of the day by the clock, it is very easy to mistake its actual length, especially in the midst of the pressure of business or work. The Israelites at that time had neither sun-clocks nor any other kind of clock; and during the confusion of the battle it is hardly likely that Joshua, or any one else who was engaged in the conflict, would watch the shadow of the sun and its changes, either by a tree or any other object, so as to discover that the sun had actually stood still, from the fact that for hours the shadow had neither moved nor altered in length. Under such circumstances, therefore, it was quite impossible for the Israelites to decide whether it was in reality, or only in their own imagination, that the day was longer than others. To this there must be added the poetical character of the verses before us. When David celebrates the miraculous deliverance which he had received from the Lord, in these words, "In my distress I called upon the Lord. . . . He heard my voice out of His temple. . . . He bowed the heavens also, and came down. . . . He sent from above, He took

me, He drew me out of many waters" (Ps. xviii. 7-17), who would ever think of interpreting the words literally, and supposing them to mean that God actually came down from the sky, and stretched out His hand to draw David out of the water? Or who would understand the words of Deborah, "They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Judg. v. 20), in their literal sense? The truthfulness of such utterances is to be sought for in the subjective sphere of religious intuition, and not in a literal interpretation of the words. And it may be just the same with these verses, without their actual contents being affected, if the day was merely *subjectively* lengthened,—that is to say, in the religious conviction of the Israelites. But even if the words really affirmed that a miraculous and objective lengthening of the day did actually take place, we should have no reason whatever for questioning the credibility of the statement. All the objections that have been raised with reference to the reality or possibility of such a miracle, prove to have no force when we examine the subject more closely. Thus, for example, the objection that the annals of the other nations of the earth contain no account of any such miracle, which must have extended over the whole world, loses all its significance from the simple fact that there are no annals in existence belonging to other nations and reaching back to that time, and that it is altogether doubtful whether the miracle would extend far beyond the limits of Palestine. Again, an appeal to the unchangeableness of the motions of the stars according to eternal and unchangeable laws, is not adapted to prove the impossibility of such a miracle. The eternal laws of nature are nothing more than phenomena, or forms of manifestation, of those divine creative powers, the true character of which no mortal has ever fathomed. And does not the almighty Creator and Upholder of nature and all its forces possess the power so to direct and govern the working of these forces, as to make them subservient to the realization of His purposes of salvation? And lastly, the objection that a sudden stoppage of the revolution of the earth upon its axis would have dashed to pieces all the works of human hands that were to be found upon its surface, and hurled the earth itself, with its satellite the moon, out of their orbits, cannot prove anything, because it leaves out of sight the fact that the omnipotent hand of God, which not only created the stars, but gave them the power to revolve with such regularity in their orbits as long as this universe endures, and which upholds and governs all things in heaven and on earth, is

not too short to guard against any such disastrous consequences as these. But to this we may add, that even the strictest and most literal interpretation of the words does not require us to assume, as the fathers and earlier theologians did, that the sun itself was miraculously made to stand still, but simply supposes an optical stopping of the sun in its course,—that is to say, a miraculous suspension of the revolution of the earth upon its axis, which would make it appear to the eye of an observer as if the sun itself were standing still. *Knobel* is by no means warranted in pronouncing this view of the matter an assumption at variance with the text. For the Scriptures speak of the things of the visible world as they appear; just as we speak of the sun as rising and setting, although we have no doubt whatever about the revolution of the earth. Moreover, the omnipotence of God might produce such an optical stoppage of the sun, or rather a continuance of the visibility of the sun above the horizon, by celestial phenomena which are altogether unknown to us or to naturalists in general, without interfering with the general laws affecting the revolution of the heavenly bodies. Only we must not attempt, as some have done, to reduce the whole miracle of divine omnipotence to an unusual refraction of the light, or to the continuance of lightning throughout the whole night.

Vers. 16–27. The five kings fled and hid themselves in the cave that was at Makkedah. When they were discovered there, Joshua ordered large stones to be rolled before the entrance to the cave, and men to be placed there to watch, whilst the others pursued the enemy without ceasing, and smote their rear (*vid.* Deut. xxv. 18), and prevented their entering into their cities. He himself remained at Makkedah (ver. 21).—Vers. 20, 21. When the great battle and the pursuit of the enemy were ended, and such as remained had reached their fortified towns, the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace, *i.e.* without being attacked by anybody. “*There pointed not (a dog) its tongue against the sons of Israel, against any one*” (see at Ex. xi. 7). לֹא־נִשָּׁאֵן is in apposition to לִבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, and serves to define it more precisely. It is possible, however, to regard the ל as a copyist’s error, as *Houbigant* and *Maurer* do, in which case נִשָּׁאֵן would be the nominative to the verb.—Vers. 22–27. Joshua then commanded the five kings to be fetched out of the cave, and directed the leaders of the army to set their feet upon the necks of the kings; and when this had been done, he ordered the kings to be put to death, and to be hanged upon

trees until the evening, when their bodies were to be thrown into the cave in which they had concealed themselves. Of course this did not take place till the day after the battle, as the army could not return from their pursuit of the foe to the camp at Makkedah till the night after the battle; possibly it did not take place till the second day, if the pursuit had lasted any longer. In ver. 24, "*all the men of Israel*" are all the warriors in the camp. הָהָלְכִים, with הָ artic., instead of the relative pronoun (see *Ges.* § 109; *Ew.* § 331, b.); and the ending ך for ך or ך, as in Isa. xxviii. 12 (see *Ew.* § 190, b.). The fact that the military leaders set their feet at Joshua's command upon the necks of the conquered kings, was not a sign of barbarity, which it is necessary to excuse by comparing it with still greater barbarities on the part of the Canaanites, as in Judg. i. 7, but was a symbolical act, a sign of complete subjugation, which was customary in this sense even in the Eastern empire (see *Bynæus de calceis*, p. 318, and *Constant. Porphyrogen de cerimon. aulae Byzant.* ii. 19). It was also intended in this instance to stimulate the Israelites to further conflict with the Canaanites. This is stated in the words of Joshua (ver. 25): "*Fear not, nor be dismayed (vid. chap. i. 9, viii. 1); for thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies.*" On the putting to death and then hanging, see chap. viii. 29 and Deut. xxi. 22, 23. The words וַיִּשְׂמוּ וְגו' (ver. 27b) are generally understood as signifying, that after the bodies of the kings had been cast into the cave, the Israelites placed large stones before the entrance, just as in other cases heaps of stones were piled upon the graves of criminals that had been executed (*vid.* chap. vii. 25), and that these stones remained there till the account before us was written. But this leaves the words עַד עֵצָם unexplained, as עֵצָם never occurs in any other case where the formula "until this day" is used with the simple meaning that a thing had continued to the writer's own time. הָיָה עֵצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה expresses the thought that the day referred to was the very same day about which the author was writing, and no other (see chap. v. 11; Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23; Ex. xii. 17, etc.). If, therefore, it has any meaning at all in the present instance, we must connect the whole clause with the one preceding, and even construe it as a relative clause: "*where they (the kings) had hidden themselves, and they (the Israelites) had placed large stones at the mouth of the cave until that very day*" (on which the kings were fetched out and executed).

Vers. 28-39. Further prosecution of the victory, by the conquest of the fortified towns of the south, into which those who

escaped the sword of the Israelites had thrown themselves.—Ver. 28. On the same day on which the five kings were impaled, Joshua took Makkedah (see at ver. 10), and smote the town and its king with the edge of the sword, banning the town and all the persons in it, *i.e.* putting all the inhabitants to death (many MSS. and some editions adopt the reading מַקְדֵּשׁ for מַקְדָּה, as in ver. 37), taking the cattle and the property in the town as booty, as in the case of Ai (chap. viii. 27, 28), and treating its king like the king of Jericho, who was suspended upon a stake, to judge from chap. viii. 2, 29, although this is not stated in chap. vi.—Vers. 29, 30. From Makkedah he went with all Israel, *i.e.* all the men of war, against *Libnah*, and after effecting the conquest of it, did just the same as he had done to Makkedah. *Libnah* was one of the towns of the plain or of the hill-country of Judah (chap. xv. 42); it was allotted to the priests (chap. xxi. 13), revolted from Judah in the reign of Joram (2 Kings viii. 22), and was besieged by Sennacherib (Isa. xxxvii. 8). It is to be sought on the north-west of Lachish, not on the south as *Knobel* erroneously infers from Isa. xxxvii. 8. According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Lebna*), it was at that time *villa in regione Eleuthero-politana, quæ appellatur Lobna*. It has not been discovered yet; but according to the very probable conjecture of *V. de Velde* (Mem. p. 330), the ruins of it may perhaps be seen upon the hill called *Arâk el Menshiyeh*, about two hours to the west of Beit Jibrin.¹—Vers. 31, 32. *Lachish*, *i.e.* *Um Lakis* (see at ver. 3), shared the same fate.—Ver. 33. Joshua also smote the king of *Gezer*, who had come with his people to the help of Lachish, and left no one remaining. Nothing is said about the capture of the town of Gezer. According to chap. xvi. 10 and Judg. i. 29, it was still in the possession of the Canaanites when the land was divided, though this alone is not sufficient to prove that Joshua did not conquer it, as so many of the conquered towns were occupied by the Canaanites again after the Israelites had withdrawn. But its situation makes it very probable that Joshua did not conquer it at that time, as it was too much out of his road, and too far from Lachish. *Gezer* (LXX. Γάζερ, in 1 Chron. xiv. 16 Γαζηρά, in 1 Macc. Γαζήρα or Γάζαρα plur., in

¹ *Knobel* is decidedly wrong in his supposition, that *Libnah* is to be seen in the considerable ruins called *Hora*, which lie in the plain (*Seetzen* and *V. de Velde*) and are called *Hawara* by *Robinson*. He founds his conjecture upon the fact that the name signifies *white*, and is the Arabic translation of the Hebrew name. But *Hora* is only two hours and a half to the north of Beersheba, and is not in the plain at all, but in the Negeb.

Josephus Γάζα, Ant. vii. 4, 1, viii. 6, 1, and also Γάδα, v. 1, 22, xii. 7, 4) was on the southern boundary of Ephraim (chap. xvi. 3), and was given up by that tribe to the Levites (chap. xvi. 9, 10, xxi. 20, 21). It is very frequently mentioned. David pursued the Philistines to Gezer (Gazer), after they had been defeated at Gibeon or Geba (2 Sam. v. 25 ; 1 Chron. xiv. 16). At a later period it was conquered by Pharaoh, and presented to his daughter, who was married to Solomon ; and Solomon built, *i.e.* fortified it (1 Kings ix. 16, 17). It was an important fortress in the wars of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ix. 52 ; 2 Macc. x. 32 ; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 15, vii. 45, xiii. 53, xiv. 34, xv. 28, 35). According to the *Onom.* (*s. v.* Gazer), it was four Roman miles to the north of Nicopolis, *i.e.* Anwas, and was called Γαζάρα. This is not only in harmony with chap. xvi. 3, according to which the southern border of Ephraim ran from Lower Bethhoron to Gezer, and then on to the sea, but also with all the other passages in which Gezer is mentioned,¹ and answers very well to the situation of *el Kubab*, a village of considerable size on a steep hill at the extreme north of the mountain

¹ The statement in 1 Macc. vii. 45, that Judas Maccabæus pursued the army of Nicanor, which had been beaten at Adasa, for a day's journey, as far as Gazera ("a day's journey from Adasa into Gazera"), is perfectly reconcilable with the situation of *el Kubab* ; for, according to *Josephus* (Ant. xii. 10, 5), Adasa was thirty stadia from Bethhoron, and Bethhoron is ten miles to the west of Kubab (measuring in a straight line upon the map) ; so that Judas pursued the enemy fifteen miles,—a distance which might very well be called "a day's journey," if we consider that the enemy, when flying, would not always take the straightest road, and might even make a stand at intervals, and so delay their pursuers. Still less do the statement in 1 Macc. xiv. 34, that Simon fortified Joppa on the sea, and Gazara on the border of Ashdod, the combination of Joppa, Gazara, and the tower that is in Jerusalem (1 Macc. xv. 28, 35), and the fact that the country of Gadaris, with the town of Gadara, occurs between Joppa and Jamnia in *Strabo* xvi. 759, warrant us in making a distinction between Gazara (Gezer) and the place mentioned in the *Onom.*, as *Grimm* does (on 1 Macc. iv. 15), and identifying it with the village of *Jazûr*, an hour and a half from Jaffa, although *Arvieux* calls this village *Gesser*. The objections of *Van de Velde* against the identity of Kubab and Gazer are without any force. It does not necessarily follow from the expression "went up," that Lachish stood on higher ground than Gezer, as going up often signifies nothing more than making a hostile attack upon a fortification. And no importance can be attached to the conjecture, that with the great distance of Kubab from Um Lakis, the king of Gezer would have come to the help of the kings of Makkedah and Libnah, who were much nearer and were attacked first, as the circumstances which determined his conduct are too thoroughly unknown to us, for it to be possible to pronounce an opinion upon the subject with any certainty.

chain which runs to the north-west of Zorea, and slopes off towards the north into the broad plain of Merj el Omeir, almost in the middle of the road from Ramleh to Yalo. For this village, with which *Van Semden* identifies Gezer (*Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 315), was exactly four Roman miles north by west of Anwas, according to *Robinson's* map, and not quite four hours from Akir (Ekron), the most northerly city of the Philistines; so that *Josephus* (Ant. vii. 4, 1) could very properly describe Gazara as the frontier of the territory of the Philistines. *Robinson* discovered no signs of antiquity, it is true, on his journey through Kubab, but in all probability he did not look for them, as he did not regard the village as a place of any importance in connection with ancient history (Bibl. Res. pp. 143-4).

Vers. 34, 35. From Lachish Joshua proceeded eastwards against Eglon (Ajlan, see ver. 3), took the town, and did to it as he had done to Lachish.—Vers. 36, 37. From Eglon he went up from the lowland to the mountains, attacked Hebron and took it, and did to this town and its king, and the towns belonging to it, as he had already done to the others. The king of Hebron cannot of course be the one who was taken in the cave of Makkedah and put to death there, but his successor, who had entered upon the government while Joshua was occupied with the conquest of the towns mentioned in vers. 28-35, which may possibly have taken more than a year. “*All the cities thereof*” are the towns dependent upon Hebron as the capital of the kingdom.—Vers. 38, 39. Joshua then turned southwards with all Israel (*i.e.* all the army), attacked *Debir* and took it, and the towns dependent upon it, in the same manner as those mentioned before. *Debir*, formerly called *Kirjath-sepher*, *i.e.* book town, πόλις γραμμάτων (LXX. chap. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11), and *Kirjath-sanna*, *i.e.* in all probability the city of palm branches (chap. xv. 49), was given up by Judah to the priests (chap. xxi. 15). It stood upon the mountains of Judah (chap. xv. 49), to the south of Hebron, but has not yet been certainly discovered, though *V. de Velde* is probably correct in his supposition that it is to be seen in the ruins of *Dilbeh*, on the peak of a hill to the north of Wady Dilbeh, and on the road from Dhoberiyeh to Hebron, about two hours to the south-west of the latter. For, according to *Dr Stewart*, there is a spring at *Dilbeh*, the water of which is conducted by an aqueduct into the Birket el Dilbeh, at the foot of the said hill, which would answer very well to the upper and lower springs at *Debir*, if only *Debir* might be placed, according to chap. xv. 49, so

far towards the north.¹ Moreover, not very long afterwards, probably during the time when the Israelites were occupied with the subjugation of northern Canaan, Hebron and Debir were taken again by the Canaanites, particularly the Anakites, as Joshua had not entirely destroyed them, although he had thoroughly cleared the mountains of Judah of them, but had left them still in the towns of the Philistines (chap. xi. 21, 22). Consequently, when the land was divided, there were Anakites living in both Hebron and Debir; so that Caleb, to whom these towns were given as his inheritance, had first of all to conquer them again, and to exterminate the Anakites (chap. xiv. 12, xv. 13-17: cf. Judg. i. 10-13).²

Vers. 40-43. *Summary of the Conquest of the whole of Southern Canaan.*—In the further prosecution of his victory over the five allied kings, Joshua smote the whole land, *i.e.* the whole of the south of Canaan from Gibeon onwards, in all its districts, namely

¹ *Knobel* imagines that Debir is to be found in the modern village of *Dhoberiyeh* (*Dhabarije*), five hours to the south-west of Hebron, on the south-west border of the mountains of Judah, upon the top of a mountain, because, in addition to the situation of this village, which is perfectly reconcilable with chap. xv. 49, there are remains of a square tower there (according to *Krafft*, a Roman tower), which point to an ancient fortification (*vid. Rob. Pal. i. pp. 308 sqq.*; *Ritter, Erdk. xvi. pp. 202 sqq.*), and because the name, which signifies “placed behind the back,” agrees with *Debir*, the hinder part or back (?), and *Kirjath-sepher*, if interpreted by the Arabic words, which signify “*extremitas, margo, ora.*” But both reasons prove very little. The meanings assigned to *Debir* and *Kirjath-sepher* are improbable and arbitrary. Moreover, it has not been shown that there are any springs near *Dhoberiyeh*, such as there were in the neighbourhood of Debir (chap. xv. 19 sqq.). The view held by *Rosenmüller*, and adopted by *Bunsen*, with regard to the situation of *Debir*,—namely, that it was the same as the modern *Idwîrbân* or *Dewîrbân*, an hour and a quarter to the west of Hebron, because there is a large spring there with an abundant supply of excellent water, which goes by the name of *Ain Nunkûr*,—is also quite untenable; for it is entirely at variance with chap. xv. 49, according to which Debir was not on the west of Hebron, but upon the mountains to the south, and rests entirely upon the erroneous assumption that, according to ver. 38 (וַיִּשָּׁב, he turned round), as Joshua came from Eglon, he conquered Hebron first, and after the conquest of this town turned back to Debir, to take it also. But וַיִּשָּׁב does not mean only to turn round or turn back: it signifies turning generally; and it is very evident that this is the sense in which it is used in ver. 38, since, according to chap. xv. 49, Debir was on the south of Hebron.

² By this simple assumption we get rid of the pretended contradictions, which neological critics have discovered between chap. x. 36-39 on the one hand, and chap. xi. 21, 22, and xiv. 12, xv. 13-17 on the other, and on account of which *Knobel* would assign the passages last named to a different document. On the first conquest of the land by Joshua, *Masius* observes that “in

the mountains (chap. xv. 48), the Negeb (the south land, chap. xv. 21), the lowlands (chap. xv. 33), and the slopes, *i.e.* the hill region (chap. xii. 8, and comm. on Num. xxi. 15), and all the kings of these different districts, banning every living thing (כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ = כָּל-בָּשָׂר, vers. 28, 30, *i.e.* all the men; *vid.* Deut. xx. 16), as Jehovah had commanded, viz. Num. xxxiii. 51 sqq.; Deut. vii. 1, 2, xx. 16. He smote them from Kadesh-barnea, on the southern boundary of Canaan (chap. xv. 3; see at Num. xii. 16), to Gaza (see at Gen. x. 9), and all the country of *Goshen*, a different place from the Goshen of Egypt, deriving its name in all probability from the town of *Goshen* on the southern portion of the mountains (chap. xv. 51). As the line "*from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza*" defines the extent of the conquered country from south to north on the western side, so the parallel clause, "*all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon*," defines the extent from south to north on the eastern side. There is no tenable ground for the view expressed by *Knobel*, which rests upon very uncertain etymological combinations, that the land of Goshen signifies the hill country between the mountains and the plain, and is equivalent to אֶשְׁרֵית.—Ver. 42. All these kings and their country Joshua took "*once*," *i.e.* in one campaign, which lasted, however, a considerable time (cf. chap. xi. 18). He was able to accomplish this, because Jehovah the God of Israel fought for Israel (see ver. 14). After this he returned with the army to the camp at Gilgal (Jiljilia, see p. 93; cf. ver. 15).

DEFEAT OF THE KINGS OF NORTHERN CANAAN. SUBJUGATION OF THE WHOLE LAND.—CHAP. XI.

Vers. 1–15. THE WAR IN NORTHERN CANAAN.—Vers. 1–3. On receiving intelligence of what had occurred in the south, the king of Hazor formed an alliance with the kings of Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph, and other kings of the north, to make a common attack upon the Israelites. This league originated with Jabin the king of Hazor, because Hazor was formerly the head of this expedition Joshua ran through the southern region with an armed band, in too hurried a manner to depopulate it entirely. All that he needed was to strike such terror into the hearts of all through his victories, that no one should henceforth offer any resistance to himself and to the people of God. Those whom he pursued, therefore, he destroyed according to the commands of God, not sparing a single one, but he did not search out every possible hiding-place in which any could be concealed. This was left as a gleanings to the valour of each particular tribe, when it should take possession of its own inheritance."

all the kingdoms of northern Canaan (ver. 10). *Hazor*, which Joshua conquered and burned to the ground (vers. 10, 11), was afterwards restored, and became a capital again (Judg. iv. 2; 1 Sam. xii. 9); it was fortified by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 15), and taken by Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xv. 29). It belonged to the tribe of Naphtali (chap. xix. 36), but has not yet been discovered. According to *Josephus* (Ant. v. 5, 1), it was above the Lake of Samochonitis, the present Bahr el Huleh. *Robinson* conjectures that it is to be found in the ruins upon Tell *Khuraibeh*, opposite to the north-west corner of the lake of Huleh, the situation of which would suit Hazor quite well, as it is placed between Ramah and Kedesh in chap. xix. 35, 36 (see Bibl. Res. p. 364). On the other hand, the present ruins of *Huzzur* or *Hazireh*, where there are the remains of large buildings of a very remote antiquity (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 62), with which *Knobel* identifies Hazor, cannot be thought of for a moment, as these ruins, which are about an hour and a quarter to the south-west of Yathir, are so close to the Ramah of Asher (chap. xix. 29) that Hazor must also have belonged to Asher, and could not possibly have been included in the territory of Naphtali. There would be more reason for thinking of Tell *Hazûr* or *Khirbet Hazûr*, on the south-west of Szafed (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 81); but these ruins are not very ancient, and only belong to an ordinary village, and not to a town at all. *Madon* is only mentioned again in chap. xii. 19, and its situation is quite unknown. *Shimron*, called Shimron-meron in chap. xii. 20, was allotted to the tribe of Zebulun (chap. xix. 15), and is also unknown. For *Meron* cannot be connected, as *Knobel* supposes, with the village and ruins of *Marón*, not far from Kedesh, on the south-west (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 371), or *Shimron* with the ruins of *Khuraibeh*, an hour to the south of Kedesh; as the territory of Zebulun, to which Shimron belonged, did not reach so far north, and there is not the slightest ground for assuming that there were two Shimrons, or for making a distinction between the royal seat mentioned here and the Shimron of Zebulun. There is also no probability in *Knobel's* conjecture, that the *Shimron* last named is the same as the small village of *Semanieh*, probably the *Simonias* of *Josephus* (Vita, § 24), on the west of Nazareth (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 201). *Achshaph*, a border town of Asher (chap. xix. 25), is also unknown, and is neither to be sought, as *Robinson* supposes (*Bibl. Res.* p. 55), in the ruins of *Kesáf*, which lie even farther north than *Abel* (*Abil*), in the tribe of Naphtali, and therefore much too far

to the north to have formed the boundary of Asher ; nor to be identified with *Acco* (*Ptolemais*), as *Knobel* imagines, since *Acco* has nothing in common with *Achshaph* except the letter *caph* (see also at chap. xix. 25).—Ver. 2. Jabin also allied himself with the kings of the north “*upon the mountains*,” i.e. the mountains of Naphtali (chap. xx. 7), and “*in the Arabah to the south of Chinne-reth*” (chap. xix. 35), i.e. in the Ghor to the south of the sea of Galilee, and “*in the lowland*,” i.e. the northern portion of it, as far down as Joppa, and “*upon the heights of Dor*.” The town of *Dor*, which was built by Phœnicians, who settled there on account of the abundance of the purple mussels (*Steph. Byz. s. v. Δῶρος*), was allotted to the Manassites in the territory of Asher (chap. xvii. 11 ; cf. xix. 26), and taken possession of by the children of Joseph (1 Chron. vii. 29). It was situated on the Mediterranean Sea, below the promontory of Carmel, nine Roman miles north of Cæsarea, and is at the present time a hamlet called *Tantura* or *Tortura*, with very considerable ruins (*Wilson, The Holy Land*, ii. 249, and *V. de Velde, Journey*, i. p. 251). The old town was a little more than a mile to the north, on a small range of hills, which is covered with ruins (*Ritter, Erdk.* xvi. pp. 608–9 ; *V. de Velde, Mem.* p. 307), and on the north of which there are rocky ranges, with many grottos, and houses cut in the rock itself (*Buckingham, Syria*, i. pp. 101–2). These are “the heights of Dor,” or “the high range of Dor” (chap. xii. 23 ; 1 Kings iv. 11).—Ver. 3. “*Namely, with the Canaanites on the east and west, the Amorites*” and other tribes dwelling upon the mountains (*vid.* chap. iii. 10), and “*the Hivites under the Hermon in the land of Mizpah*,” i.e. the country below *Hasbeya*, between *Nahr Hasbany* on the east, and *Merj Ayûn* on the west, with the village of *Mutulleh* or *Mtelleh*, at present inhabited by Druses, which stands upon a hill more than 200 feet high, and from which there is a splendid prospect over the Huleh basin. It is from this that it has derived its name, which signifies prospect, *specula*, answering to the Hebrew *Mizpah* (see *Robinson, Bibl. Res.* p. 372).

Vers. 4–9. These came out with their armies, a people as numerous as the sand by the sea-shore (*vid.* Gen. xxii. 17, etc.), and very many horses and chariots. All these kings agreed together, *sc.* concerning the war and the place of battle, and encamped at *Merom* to fight against Israel. The name *Merom* (*Meirûm* in the Arabic version) answers to *Meirôm*, a village whose name is also pronounced *Meirûm*, a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the

Jews, because Hillel, Shammai, Simeon ben Jochai, and other noted Rabbins are said to be buried there (see *Robinson*, Pal. iii. p. 333), about two hours' journey north-west of Szafed, upon a rocky mountain, at the foot of which there is a spring that forms a small brook and flows away through the valley below Szafed (*Seetzen*, R. ii. pp. 127-8; *Robinson*, Bibl. Res. pp. 73 sqq.). This stream, which is said to reach the Lake of Tiberias, in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, is in all probability to be regarded as the "waters of Merom," as, according to Josephus (Ant. v. 1, 18), "these kings encamped at Berothe (de. Bell. Jud. xx. 6, and Vit. 37, 'Meroth'), a city of Upper Galilee, not far from Kedese."¹

Vers. 6 sqq. On account of this enormous number, and the might of the enemy, who were all the more to be dreaded because of their horses and chariots, the Lord encouraged Joshua again,² as in chap. viii. 1, by promising him that on the morrow He would deliver them all up slain before Israel; only Joshua was to lame their horses (Gen. xlix. 6) and burn their chariots. אֶנֶּכֶּי before נִתֵּן gives emphasis to the sentence: "I will provide for this; by my power, which is immeasurable, as I have shown thee so many times, and by my nod, by which heaven and earth are shaken, shall these things be done" (*Masius*).—Vers. 7, 8. With this to inspirit them, the Israelites fell upon the enemy and smote them, chasing them towards the north-west to Sidon, and westwards as far as Misrephothmaim, and into the plain of Mizpah on the east. *Sidon* is called the great (as in chap. xix. 28), because at that time it was the metropolis of Phœnicia; whereas even by the time of David it had lost its ancient splendour, and was outstripped by its daughter city Tyre. It is still to be seen in the town of *Saida*, a town of five or six thousand inhabitants, with many large and well-built

¹ The traditional opinion that "waters of Merom" is the Old Testament name for the Lake of Samochonitis, or Huleh, is not founded upon any historical evidence, but is simply an inference of *Hadr. Reland* (Pal. Ill. p. 262), (1) from the statement made by *Josephus* (Ant. v. 5, 1), that Hazor was above the Lake of Samochonitis, it being taken for granted without further reason that the battle occurred at Hazor, and (2) from the supposed similarity in the meaning of the names, viz. that *Samochonitis* is derived from an Arabic word signifying to be high, and therefore means the same as *Merom* (height), though here again the *zere* is disregarded, and *Merom* is arbitrarily identified with *Marom*.

² "As there was so much more difficulty connected with the destruction of so populous and well-disciplined an army, it was all the more necessary that he should be inspired with fresh confidence. For this reason God appeared to Joshua, and promised him the same success as He had given him so many times before."—*Calvin*.

houses (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 415, and *Movers*, Phönizier, ii. 1, pp. 86 sqq.). *Misrephothmaim* (mentioned also at chap. xiii. 6), which the Greek translators have taken as a proper name, though the Rabbins and some Christian commentators render it in different ways, such as salt-pits, smelting-huts, or glass-huts (see *Ges. Thes.* p. 1341), is a collection of springs, called *Ain Mesherfi*, at the foot of the promontory to which with its steep pass the name of *Ras el Nakhûra* is given, the *scala Tyriorum* or *Passepoulain* of the Crusaders (see *V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 335, and *Ritter*, Erdk. xvi. p. 807). בְּקַעַת מִצְפָּה (*Eng. Ver.* "the valley of Mizpeh") is probably the basin of the *Huleh* lake and of *Nahr Hasbany*, on the western side of which lay the land of *Mizpah* (ver. 3).—Ver. 9. Joshua carried out the command of the Lord with regard to the chariots and horses.

Vers. 10–15. After destroying the foe, and returning from the pursuit, Joshua took Hazor, smote its king and all the inhabitants with the edge of the sword, and burned the town, the former leader of all those kingdoms. He did just the same to the other towns, except that he did not burn them, but left them standing upon their hills. הָעִמָּרוֹת עַל-הַלָּם (ver. 13) neither contains an allusion to any special fortification of the towns, nor implies a contrast to the towns built in the valleys and plains, but simply expresses the thought that these towns were still standing upon their hill, *i.e.* upon the old site (cf. *Jer.* xxx. 18: the participle does not express the preterite, but the present). At the same time, the expression certainly implies that the towns were generally built upon hills. The pointing in הַלָּם is not to be altered, as *Knobel* suggests. The singular "upon their hill" is to be taken as distributive: standing, now as then, each upon its hill.—With ver. 15, "*as Jehovah commanded His servant Moses*" (cf. *Num.* xxxiii. 52 sqq.; *Deut.* vii. 1 sqq., xx. 16), the account of the wars of Joshua is brought to a close, and the way opened for proceeding to the concluding remarks with reference to the conquest of the whole land (vers. 16–23). לֹא הֵסִיר דָּבָר, he put not away a word, *i.e.* left nothing undone.

Vers. 16–23. RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE CONQUEST OF THE WHOLE LAND.—Vers. 16, 17. Joshua took all this land, namely, those portions of Southern Canaan that have already been mentioned in chap. x. 40, 41; also the Arabah, and the mountains of Israel and its lowlands (see ver. 2), *i.e.* the northern part of the land (in the campaign described in vers. 1–15), that is to say, Canaan in all its extent, "*from the bald mountain which goeth up to*

Seir" in the south, "to *Baal-gad*, in the valley of Lebanon under Hermon." The "*bald mountain*" (*Halak*), which is mentioned here and in chap. xii. 7 as the southern boundary of Canaan, is hardly the row of white cliffs which stretches obliquely across the Arabah eight miles below the Dead Sea and forms the dividing line that separates this valley into *el-Ghor* and *el-Araba* (*Rob. Pal. ii. pp. 489, 492*), or the present *Madara*, a strange-looking chalk-hill to the south-west of the pass of Sufah (*Rob. ii. p. 589*), a steep bare mountain in a barren plain, the sides of which consist of stone and earth of a leaden ashy hue (*Seetzen, R. iii. pp. 14, 15*); but in all probability the northern edge of the Azazimeh mountain with its white and glistening masses of chalk. *Baal-gad*, *i.e.* the place or town of Baal, who was there worshipped as Gad (see *Isa. lxxv. 11*), also called *Baal-hermon* in *Judg. iii. 3* and *1 Chron. v. 23*, is not Baalbek, but the *Pneas* or *Cæsarea Philippi* of a later time, the present *Banjas* (see at *Num. xxxiv. 8, 9*). This is the opinion of *v. Raumer* and *Robinson*, though *Van de Velde* is more disposed to look for Baal-gad in the ruins of *Kalath* (the castle of) *Bostra*, or of *Kalath Aisafa*, the former an hour and a half, the latter three hours to the north of Banjas, the situation of which would accord with the biblical statements respecting Baal-gad exceedingly well. The "*valley of Lebanon*" is not *Cœle-Syria*, the modern *Bekâa*, between Lebanon and Antilibanus, but the valley at the foot of the southern slope of *Jebel Sheik* (*Hermon*).—Vers. 18 sqq. Joshua made war with the kings of Canaan a long time; judging from chap. xiv. 7, 10, as much as seven years, though *Josephus* (*Ant. v. 1, 19*) speaks of five (see at chap. xiv. 10). No town submitted peaceably to the Israelites, with the exception of Gibeon: they took the whole in war. "*For it was of the Lord*" (ver. 20), *i.e.* God ordered it so that they (the Canaanites) hardened their heart to make war upon Israel, that they might fall under the ban, and be destroyed without mercy. On the hardening of the heart as a work of God, see the remarks upon the hardening of Pharaoh (*Ex. iv. 21*). It cannot be inferred from this, that if the Canaanites had received the Israelites amicably, God would have withdrawn His command to destroy them, and allowed the Israelites to make peace with them; for when they made peace with the Gibeonites, they did not inquire what was the will of the Lord, but acted in opposition to it (see at chap. ix. 14). The remark is made with special reference to this, and has been correctly explained by *Augustine* (qu. 8 in *Jos.*) as follows: "Because the Israelites had

shown mercy to some of them of their own accord, though in opposition to the command of God, therefore it is stated that they (the Canaanites) made war upon them so that none of them were spared, and the Israelites were not induced to show mercy to the neglect of the commandment of God."

In vers. 21, 22, the destruction of the Anakites upon the mountains of Judah and Israel is introduced in a supplementary form, which completes the history of the subjugation and extermination of the Canaanites in the south of the land (chap. x.). This supplement is not to be regarded either as a fragment interpolated by a different hand, or as a passage borrowed from another source. On the contrary, the author himself thought it necessary, having special regard to Num. xiii. 28, 31 sqq., to mention expressly that Joshua also rooted out from their settlements the sons of Anak, whom the spies in the time of Moses had described as terrible giants, and drove them into the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod. "*At that time*" points back to the "long time," mentioned in ver. 18, during which Joshua was making war upon the Canaanites. The words "cut off," etc., are explained correctly by *Clericus*: "Those who fell into his hands he slew, the rest he put to flight, though, as we learn from chap. xv. 14, they afterwards returned." (On the *Anakim*, see at Num. xiii. 22.) They had their principal settlement upon the mountains in Hebron (*el Khulil*, see chap. x. 3), Debir (see at chap. x. 38), and Anab. The last place (*Anab*), upon the mountains of Judah (chap. xv. 50), has been preserved along with the old name in the village of *Anáb*, four or five hours to the south of Hebron, on the eastern side of the great Wady *el Khulil*, which runs from Hebron down to Beersheba (*Rob. Pal. ii. p. 193*). "*And from all (the rest of) the mountains of Judah, and all the mountains of Israel:*" the latter are called the mountains of Ephraim in chap. xvii. 15. The two together form the real basis of the land of Canaan, and are separated from one another by the large Wady *Beit Humina* (see *Rob. Pal. ii. p. 333*). They received their respective names from the fact that the southern portion of the mountain land of Canaan fell to the tribe of Judah as its inheritance, and the northern part to the tribe of Ephraim and other tribes of Israel.¹ *Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod* were towns

¹ The distinction here made may be explained without difficulty even from the circumstances of Joshua's own time. Judah and the double tribe of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) received their inheritance by lot before any of the others. But whilst the tribe of Judah proceeded into the territory allotted to

of the Philistines; of these Gaza and Ashdod were allotted to the tribe of Judah (chap. xv. 47), but were never taken possession of by the Israelites, although the Philistines were sometimes subject to the Israelites (see at chap. xiii. 3).—With ver. 23a, “*thus Joshua took the whole land*” etc., the history of the conquest of Canaan by Joshua is brought to a close; and ver. 23b, “*and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel*,” forms a kind of introduction to the second part of the book. The list of the conquered kings in chap. xii. is simply an appendix to the first part.

The taking of the *whole* land does not imply that all the towns and villages to the very last had been conquered, or that all the Canaanites were rooted out from every corner of the land, but simply that the conquest was of such a character that the power of the Canaanites was broken, their dominion overthrown, and their whole land so thoroughly given into the hands of the Israelites, that those who still remained here and there were crushed into powerless fugitives, who could neither offer any further opposition to the Israelites, nor dispute the possession of the land with them, if they would only strive to fulfil the commandments of their God and persevere in the gradual extermination of the scattered remnants. Moreover, Israel had received the strongest pledge, in the powerful help which it had received from the Lord in the conquests thus far obtained, that the faithful covenant God would continue His help in the conflicts which still remained, and secure for it a complete victory and the full possession of the promised land. Looking,

them in the south, all the other tribes still remained in Gilgal; and even at a later period, when Ephraim and Manasseh were in their possessions, all Israel, with the exception of Judah, were still encamped at Shiloh. Moreover, the two parts of the nation were now separated by the territory which was afterwards assigned to the tribe of Benjamin, but had no owner at this time; and in addition to this, the altar, tabernacle, and ark of the covenant were in the midst of Joseph and the other tribes that were still assembled at Shiloh. Under such circumstances, then, would not the idea of a distinction between Judah, on the one hand, and the rest of Israel, in which the double tribe of Joseph and then the single tribe of Ephraim acquired such peculiar prominence, on the other, shape itself more and more in the mind, and what already existed in the germ begin to attain maturity even here? And what could be more natural than that the mountains in which the “children of Judah” had their settlements should be called the mountains of *Judah*; and the mountains where all the rest of Israel was encamped, where the “children of Israel” were gathered together, be called the mountains of *Israel*, and, as that particular district really belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, the mountains of *Ephraim* also? (chap. xix. 50, xx. 7; also xxiv. 30.)

therefore, at the existing state of things from this point of view, Joshua had taken possession of the whole land, and could now proceed to finish the work entrusted to him by the Lord, by dividing the land among the tribes of Israel. Joshua had really done all that the Lord had said to Moses. For the Lord had not only promised to Moses the complete extermination of the Canaanites, but had also told him that He would not drive out the Canaanites at once, or "in one year," but only little by little, until Israel multiplied and took the land (Ex. xxiii. 28-30; cf. Deut. vii. 22). Looking at this promise, therefore, the author of the book could say with perfect justice, that "*Joshua took the whole land according to all that* (precisely in the manner in which) *the Lord had said to Moses.*" But this did not preclude the fact, that a great deal still remained to be done before all the Canaanites could be utterly exterminated from every part of the land. Consequently, the enumeration of towns and districts that were not yet conquered, and of Canaanites who still remained, which we find in chap. xiii. 1-6, xvii. 14 sqq., xviii. 3, xxiii. 5, 12, forms no discrepancy with the statements in the verses before us, so as to warrant us in adopting any critical hypotheses or conclusions as to the composition of the book by different authors. The Israelites could easily have taken such portions of the land as were still unconquered, and could have exterminated all the Canaanites who remained, without any severe or wearisome conflicts; if they had but persevered in fidelity to their God and in the fulfilment of His commandments. If, therefore, the complete conquest of the whole land was not secured in the next few years, but, on the contrary, the Canaanites repeatedly gained the upper hand over the Israelites; we must seek for the explanation, not in the fact that Joshua had not completely taken and conquered the land, but simply in the fact that the Lord had withdrawn His help from His people because of their apostasy from Him, and had given them up to the power of their enemies to chastise them for their sins.—The distribution of the land for an inheritance to the Israelites took place "*according to their divisions by their tribes.*" מַחֲלָקוֹת denote the division of the twelve tribes of Israel into families, fathers' houses, and households; and is so used not only here, but in chap. xii. 7 and xviii. 10. Compare with this 1 Chron. xxiii. 6, xxiv. 1, etc., where it is applied to the different orders of priests and Levites. "*And the land rested from war:*" i.e. the war was ended, so that the peaceable task of distributing the land by lot could

now be proceeded with (*vid.* chap. xiv. 15; Judg. iii. 11, 30, v. 31).

LIST OF THE KINGS SLAUGHTERED BY THE ISRAELITES.—

CHAP. XII.

In the historical account of the wars of Joshua in the south and north of Canaan, the only kings mentioned by name as having been conquered and slain by the Israelites, were those who had formed a league to make war upon them; whereas it is stated at the close, that Joshua had smitten all the kings in the south and north, and taken possession of their towns (chap. x. 40, xi. 17). To complete the account of these conquests, therefore, a detailed list is given in the present chapter of all the kings that were slain, and not merely of those who were defeated by Joshua in the country on this side of the Jordan, but the two kings of the Amorites who had been conquered by Moses are also included, so as to give a complete picture of all the victories which Israel had gained under the omnipotent help of its God.

Vers. 1-6. List of the *kings* whom the Israelites smote, and whose land they took, *on the other side of the Jordan*,—namely, the land by the brook Arnon (Mojob; see Num. xxi. 13) to Hermon (Jebel es Sheikh, Deut. iii. 8), and the whole of the eastern Arabah (the valley of the Jordan on the eastern side of the river).—Vers. 2, 3. On Sihon and his kingdom, see Num. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 36, iii. 16, 17. “*Aroër on the Arnon:*” the present ruins of *Araayr*, on the northern bank of the Mojob (see Num. xxxii. 34). יְתוֹךְ הַנָּחַל, “*and (from) the middle of the valley onwards:*” *i.e.*, according to the parallel passages in chap. xiii. 9, 16, and Deut. ii. 36, from the town in the Arnon valley, the city of Moab mentioned in Num. xxii. 36, *viz.* *Ar* or *Areopolis* (see at Num. xxi. 15) in the neighbourhood of Aroër, which is mentioned as the exclusive *terminus a quo* of the land taken by the Israelites along with the inclusive terminus Aroër. “*Half-Gilead,*” *i.e.* the mountainous district on the south side of the Jabbok (see at Deut. iii. 10), “*to the river Jabbok,*” *i.e.* the upper Jabbok, the present Nahr Ammân (see at Num. xxi. 24).—Ver. 3. “*And (over) the Arabah, etc., Sihon reigned,*” *i.e.* over the eastern side of the Ghor, between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea (see at Deut. iii. 17). “*By the way to Bethjeshimoth, and towards the south below the slopes of Pisgah*” (see at Num. xxi. 15 and xxvii. 12), *i.e.* to the north-

eastern border of the desert by the Dead Sea (see at Num. xxii. 1).—Vers. 4, 5. “*And the territory of Og*,” *sc.* they took possession of (ver. 1). On Og, *vid.* Deut. iii. 11; and on his residences, *Ash-taroth* (probably to be seen in Tell *Ashtereh*) and *Edrei* (now *Draa* or *Déra*), see at Gen. xiv. 5 and Num. xxi. 33. On his territory, see Deut. iii. 10, 13, 14.—Ver. 6. These two kings were smitten by Moses, etc.: *vid.* Num. xxi. 21 sqq., and xxxii. 33 sqq.

Vers. 7–24. List of the *thirty-one kings of Canaan* whom Joshua smote on the western side of the Jordan, “*from Baal-gad, in the valley of Lebanon, to the bald mountain that goeth up towards Seir*” (see chap. xi. 17). This land Joshua gave to the other tribes of Israel. (On the different parts of the land, see at chap. ix. 1, x. 40, and xi. 2.)—Vers. 9 sqq. The different kings are given in the order in which they were defeated: Jericho (chap. vi. 1); Ai (chap. vii. 2); Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon (chap. x. 3); Gezer (chap. x. 33); and Debir (chap. x. 38). Those given in vers. 13*b* and 14 are not mentioned by name in chap. x. *Geder*, possibly the same as *Gedor* upon the mountains of Judah (chap. xv. 58), which has been preserved under the old name of *Jedur* (*Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 186, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 282). *Hormah* (*i.e.* banning) was in the south of Judah (chap. xv. 30), and was allotted to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 4). It was called *Zephath* by the Canaanites (*Judg.* i. 17; see at Num. xxi. 3), was on the southern slope of the mountains of the Amalekites or Amorites, the present ruins of *Sepâta*, on the western slope of the table-land of *Rakhma*, two hours and a half to the south-west of Khalasa (*Elusa*: see *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xiv. p. 1085). *Arad*, also in the Negeb, has been preserved in Tell *Arad* (see at Num. xxi. 1). *Libnah* (see at chap. x. 29). *Adullam*, which is mentioned in chap. xv. 35 among the towns of the plain between Jarmuth and Socoh, was in the neighbourhood of a large cave in which David took refuge when flying from Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7), and is mentioned in 2 Macc. xii. 38 as the city of Odollam. The *Onomast.* describes it as being ten Roman miles to the east of Eleutheropolis; but this is a mistake, though it has not yet been discovered. So far as the situation is concerned, *Deir Dubbân* would suit very well, a place about two hours to the north of Beit Jibrin, near to a large number of caves in the white limestone, which form a kind of labyrinth, as well as some vaulted grottos (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 353, and *Van de Velde*, *Reise.* pp. 162–3). *Makkedah*: possibly *Summeil*

(see at chap. x. 10). *Bethel*, i.e. *Beitin* (see chap. viii. 17). The situation of the towns which follow in vers. 17 and 18 cannot be determined with certainty, as the names *Tappuach*, *Aphek*, and *Hefer* are met with again in different parts of Canaan, and *Lassaron* does not occur again. But if we observe, that just as from ver. 10 onwards those kings'-towns are first of all enumerated, the capture of which has already been described in chap. x., and then in vers. 15 and 16 certain other towns are added which had been taken in the war with the Canaanites of the south, so likewise in vers. 19 and 20 the capitals of the allied kings of northern Canaan are given first, and after that the other towns that were taken in the northern war, but had not been mentioned by name in chap. xi.: there can be no doubt whatever that the four towns in vers. 17 and 18 are to be classed among the kings'-towns taken in the war with the king of Jerusalem and his allies, and therefore are to be sought for in the south of Canaan and not in the north. Consequently we cannot agree with *Van de Velde* and *Knobel* in identifying *Tappuach* with *En-Tappuach* (chap. xvii. 7), and looking for it in *Atûf*, a place to the north-east of Nablus and near the valley of the Jordan; we connect it rather with *Tappuach* in the lowlands of Judah (chap. xv. 34), though the place itself has not yet been discovered. *Hefer* again is neither to be identified with *Gath-hepher* in the tribe of Zebulun (chap. xix. 13), nor with *Chafaraim* in the tribe of Issachar (chap. xix. 19), but is most probably the capital of the land of *Hefer* (1 Kings iv. 10), and to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Socoh in the plain of Judah. *Aphek* is probably the town of that name not far from Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv. 1), where the ark was taken by the Philistines, and is most likely to be sought for in the plain of Judah, though not in the village of *Ahbek* (*Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 343); but it has not yet been traced. *Knobel* imagines that it was Aphek near to Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1), which was situated, according to the *Onom.*, in the neighbourhood of Endor (1 Sam. xxix. 1; 1 Kings xx. 26, 30); but this Aphek is too far north. *Lassaron* only occurs here, and hitherto it has been impossible to trace it. *Knobel* supposes it to be the place called *Saruneh*, to the west of the lake of Tiberias, and conjectures that the name has been contracted from *Lassaron* by aphæresis of the liquid. This is quite possible, if only we could look for *Lassaron* so far to the north. *Bachienne* and *Rosenmüller* imagine it to be the village of *Sharon* in the celebrated plain of that name, between Lydda and Arsuf.—Vers. 19, 20. *Madon*, *Hezor*,

Shimron-meron, and *Achshaph* (see at chap. xi. 1).—Ver. 21. *Taanach*, which was allotted to the Manassites in the territory of Issachar, and given up to the Levites (chap. xvii. 11, xxi. 25), but was not entirely wrested from the Canaanites (Judg. i. 27), is the present Tell *Taēnak*, an hour and a quarter to the south-east of Lejun, a flat hill sown with corn; whilst the old name has been preserved in the small village of *Taānak*, at the south-eastern foot of the Tell (see *Van de Velde*, i. p. 269, and *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 156).—*Megiddo*, which was also allotted to the Manassites in the territory of Issachar, though without the Canaanites having been entirely expelled (chap. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27), was fortified by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 15), and is also well known as the place where Ahaziah died (2 Kings ix. 27), and where Josiah was beaten and slain by Pharaoh Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 sqq.). *Robinson* has shown that it was preserved in the *Legio* of a later time, the present *Lejun* (*Pal.* iii. pp. 177 sqq.; see also *Bibl. Res.* p. 116).—Ver. 22. *Kedesh*, a Levitical city and city of refuge upon the mountains of Naphtali (chap. xix. 37, xx. 7, xxi. 32), the home of Barak (Judg. iv. 6), was conquered and depopulated by Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xv. 29), and was also a well-known place after the captivity (1 Macc. xi. 61 sqq.). It is now an insignificant village, still bearing the ancient name, to the north-west of the lake of Huleh, or, according to *Van de Velde* (*Reise.* ii. p. 355), nothing but a miserable farmstead upon a Tell at the south-west extremity of a well-cultivated table-land, with a large quantity of antiquities about, viz. hewn stones, relics of columns, sarcophagi, and two ruins of large buildings, with an open and extensive prospect on every side (see also *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 367 sqq.). *Jokneam*, near *Carmel*, was a Levitical town in the territory of Zebulun (chap. xix. 11, xxi. 34). *Van de Velde* and *Robinson* (*Bibl. Res.* p. 114) suppose that they have found it in Tell *Kaimôn*, on the eastern side of the Wady *el Millh*, at the north-west end of a chain of hills running towards the south-east; this Tell being 200 feet high, and occupying a very commanding situation, so that it governed the main pass on the western side of Esdraelon towards the southern plain. *Kaimôn* is the Arabic form of the ancient *Καμωνά*, *Cimana*, which *Eusebius* and *Jerome* describe in the *Onom.* as being six Roman miles to the north of *Legio*, on the road to Ptolemais.—Ver. 23. *Dor*: see chap. xi. 2. *Gilgal*: the seat of the king of the *Goyim* (a proper name, as in Gen. xiv. 1), in all probability the same place as the *villa nomine Gulgulis* mentioned in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Geljel*) as being six Roman

miles to the north of Antipatris, which still exists in the Moslem village of *Jiljule* (now almost a ruin; see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 136), although this village is only two miles E.S.E. of Kefr Sâba, the ancient Antipatris (see *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 568–9). *Thürza*, the capital of the kings of Israel down to the time of Omri (1 Kings xiv. 17, xv. 21, 33, xvi. 6 sqq.), is probably the present Talluza, an elevated and beautifully situated place, of a considerable size, surrounded by large olive groves, two hours to the north of Shechem (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 302, and *Van de Velde*, ii. p. 294).

II.—DIVISION OF THE LAND OF CANAAN AMONG THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

CHAP. XIII.—XXIV.

The distribution of the conquered land among the Israelites is introduced by the command of the Lord to Joshua to enter upon this work, now that he was old, although different portions of land were still unconquered (chap. xiii. 1–7); and to this there is appended a description of the land on the east of the Jordan which had already been conquered and divided among the two tribes and a half (chap. xiii. 8–33). The distribution of the land on this side among the nine tribes and a half is related in its historical order; so that not only are the territories assigned by lot to the different tribes described according to their respective boundaries and towns, but the historical circumstances connected with the division and allotting of the land are also introduced into the description. These historical accounts are so closely connected with the *geographical* descriptions of the territory belonging to the different tribes, that the latter alone will explain the course pursued in the distribution of the land, and the various ways in which the different territories are described (see the remarks on chap. xiv. 1). For example, in the account of the inheritance which fell to the lot of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, not only are the boundaries most carefully traced, but the towns are also enumerated one by one (chap. xv. and xviii. 11–28); whereas in the tribe of Joseph (Ephraim and half Manasseh) the list of the towns is altogether wanting (chap. xvi. and xvii.); and in the possessions of the other tribes, either towns alone are mentioned, as in the case of Simeon and Dan

(chap. xix. 1-9, 40-48), or the boundaries and towns are mixed up together, but both of them given incompletely, as in the case of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali (chap. xix. 10-16, 17-23, 24-31, 32-39). This incompleteness, particularly in the territories of the tribes mentioned last, may be explained from the fact, that in northern Canaan there were still very many tracts of land in the hands of the Canaanites, and the Israelites had not acquired a sufficiently exact or complete knowledge of the country, either through Joshua's campaign in the north, or through the men who were sent out to survey the northern land before it was divided (chap. xviii. 4-9), to enable them to prepare a complete account of the boundaries and towns at the very outset. In the same way, too, we may explain the absence of the list of towns in the case of the tribes of Ephraim and half Manasseh,—namely, from the fact that a large portion of the territory assigned to the tribe of Joseph was still in the possession of the Canaanites (*vid.* chap. xvii. 14-18); whilst the omission of any account of the boundaries in the case of Simeon and Dan is attributable to the circumstance that the former received its inheritance within the tribe of Judah, and the latter between Judah and Ephraim, whilst the space left for the Danites was so small, that Ephraim and Judah had to give up to them some of the towns in their own territory. Thus the very inequality and incompleteness of the geographical accounts of the possessions of the different tribes decidedly favour the conclusion, that they are the very lists which were drawn up at the time when Joshua divided the land. There is nothing to preclude this supposition in the fact that several towns occur with different names, *e.g.* *Beth-shemesh* and *Ir-shemesh* (chap. xv. 10, xix. 41, xxi. 16), *Madmannah* and *Beth-marcaboth*, *Sansanna* and *Hazar-susa* (chap. xv. 31, xix. 5), *Shilchim* and *Sharuchen* (chap. xv. 32, xix. 6), *Remeth* and *Jarmuth* (chap. xix. 21, xxi. 29), or in other smaller differences. For variations of this kind may be sufficiently explained from the fact that such places were known by two different names, which could be used promiscuously; whilst in other cases the difference in the name amounts to nothing more than a different mode of writing or pronouncing it: *e.g.* *Kattah* and *Kartah* (chap. xix. 15, xxi. 34), *Eshtemoh* and *Eshtemoa* (chap. xv. 50, xxi. 14), *Baalath* and *Balah* (chap. xv. 29, xix. 3); or simply in the contraction of a composite name, such as *Ramoth* in Gilead for *Ramoth-mizpeh* (chap. xxi. 36, xiii. 26); *Bealoth* and *Baalath-beer* (chap. xv. 24, xix. 8), *Lebaoth* and *Beth-lebaoth* (chap. xv. 32, xix. 6), *Hammath*

and *Hammoth-dor* (chap. xix. 35, xxi. 32). If the author, on the other hand, had drawn from later sources, or had simply given the results of later surveys, as *Knobel* supposes, there can be no doubt that much greater uniformity would be found in the different lists.¹

COMMAND OF GOD TO DIVIDE THE LAND OF CANAAN. DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE TWO TRIBES AND A HALF.
—CHAP. XIII.

Vers. 1-14. INTRODUCTION TO THE DIVISION OF THE LAND.
—Vers. 1-7. Command of the Lord to Joshua to distribute the land of Canaan by lot among the nine tribes and a half. Ver. 1 contains only the commencement of the divine command; the conclusion follows in ver. 7. Vers. 2-6 form a parenthesis of several clauses, defining the last clause of ver. 1 more fully. When Joshua had grown old, the Lord commanded him, as he was advanced in years, and there was still much land to be taken, to divide "*this land*," *i.e.* the whole of the land of Canaan, for an inheritance to

¹ The arguments employed by *Knobel* in support of his assertion, consist on the one hand of inconclusive and incorrect assertions, and are founded on the other hand upon arbitrary assumptions. In the first place, for example, he asserts that "a large number of towns are omitted from the lists, which were within the boundaries mentioned and were in existence in the very earliest times, viz. *in the south*, Tamar (Gen. xiv. 7), Arad (Num. xxi. 1), Atbach, Rachal, Aroer, and Siphamoth (1 Sam. xxx. 28 sqq.), Gerar (Gen. xx. 26); *in the Shephelah*, Gaza, Askalon, Gath, Ashdod, Jabne, and Joppa (see chap. xv. 45 sqq.); *in Benjamin*, Michmash and Nob (1 Sam. xiii. 2 sqq., xxii. 19); *in the north*, Aphek, Lassaron, Madon, Shimron-meron, and Merom (chap. xi. 5, xii. 18-20), as well as Meroz and Ajjalon (Judg. v. 23, xii. 12); and these with other places would assuredly not be wanting here, if Joshua and his associates had distributed the towns as well as the land, and furnished our author with the lists." But it would be difficult to bring forward the proofs of this, since *Knobel* himself acknowledges that there are gaps in the lists which have come down to us, some of which can be proved to be the fault of the copyists,—such, for example, as the want of a whole section after chap. xv. 19 and xxi. 35. Moreover, the Philistine towns of Ashdod and Gaza are really mentioned in chap. xv. 46, and the others at all events hinted at; whereas *Knobel* first of all arbitrarily rejects chap. xv. 45-47 from the text, in order that he may afterwards be able to speak of it as omitted. Again, with many of the places mentioned as omissions, such as Atbach, Rachal, Siphamoth, etc., it is very questionable whether they were towns at all in Joshua's time, or, at all events, such towns as we should expect to find mentioned. And lastly, not only are no catalogues of towns given at all in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh, but we have only imperfect catalogues in the case of Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali; and, as we

the nine tribes and a half, and promised him at the same time that He would drive out the Canaanites from those portions of the land that were not yet conquered (ver. 6). The words "*grown old and come into years*" (*vid.* Gen. xxiv. 1, xviii. 11, etc.) denote advanced age in its different stages up to the near approach of death (as, for example, in chap. xxiii. 1). Joshua might be ninety or a hundred years old at this time. The allusion to Joshua's great age serves simply to explain the reason for the command of God. As he was already old, and there still remained much land to be taken, he was to proceed to the division of Canaan, that he might accomplish this work to which he was also called before his death; whereas he might very possibly suppose that, under existing circumstances, the time for allotting the land had not yet arrived.—In vers. 2–6 the districts that were not yet conquered are enumerated separately.—Vers. 2, 3. All the *circles of the Philistines* (*geliloth*, circles of well-defined districts lying round the chief city). The reference is to the five towns of the Philistines, whose princes are mentioned in ver. 3. "*And all Geshuri:*" not the district of Geshur in Peræa

have already observed, this incompleteness and these gaps can be satisfactorily explained from the historical circumstances under which the allotment of the land took place. *Secondly*, *Knobel* also maintains, that "Joshua's conquests did not extend to the Lebanon (chap. xiii. 4, 5), and yet the author mentions towns of the Asherites there (chap. xix. 28, 30): Bethel was not taken till after the time of Joshua (Judg. i. 22 sqq.), and this was also the case with Jerusalem (Judg. i. 8), and in the earliest times of the judges they had no Hebrew inhabitants (Judg. xix. 12), yet the author speaks of both places as towns of the Benjamites (chap. xviii. 22, 28); Jericho and Ai were lying in ruins in Joshua's time (chap. vi. 24, viii. 28), yet they are spoken of here as towns of Benjamin that had been rebuilt (chap. xviii. 21, 23); it is just the same with Hazor in Naphtali (chap. xi. 13, xix. 36); and according to Judg. i. 1, 10 sqq., Hebron and Debir also were not conquered till after Joshua's time." But all this rests (1) upon the false assumption, that the only towns which Joshua distributed by lot among the tribes of Israel were those which he permanently conquered, whereas, according to the command of God, he divided the whole land among the Israelites, whether it was conquered or not; (2) upon the erroneous opinion, that the towns which had been destroyed, such as Jericho, Ai, and Hazor, were allotted to the Israelites as "rebuilt," whereas there is not a word about this in the text. It is just the same with the arguments used by *Knobel* in proof of the composition of chap. xiii.–xxi. from three different documents. The material discrepancies have been forced upon the text, as we shall see when we come to an explanation of the passages in question; and the verbal differences prove nothing more than that the geographical account of the boundaries and towns contains no allusion to the priesthood, to sacrifice, or to certain other things which no one would think of looking for here.

(vers. 11, 13, xii. 5; Deut. iii. 14), but the territory of the Geshurites, a small tribe in the south of Philistia, on the edge of the north-western portion of the Arabian desert which borders on Egypt; it is only mentioned again in 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. The land of the Philistines and Geshurites extended from the Sichor of Egypt (on the south) to the territory of Ekron (on the north). *Sichor* (*Sihor*), *lit.* the black river, is not the Nile, because this is always called הַיַּאֲרִ (the river) in simple prose (Gen. xli. 1, 3; Ex. i. 22), and was not "before Egypt," *i.e.* to the east of it, but flowed through the middle of the land. The "*Sichor before Egypt*" was the brook (*nachal*) of Egypt, the *Ῥινοκοροῦρα*, the modern Wady el Arish, which is mentioned in chap. xv. 4, 47, etc., as the southern border of Canaan towards Egypt (see at Num. xxxiv. 5). *Ekron* (*Ἀπακκόν*, LXX.), the most northerly of the five chief cities of the Philistines, was first of all allotted to the tribe of Judah (chap. xv. 11, 45), then on the further distribution it was given to Dan (chap. xix. 43); after Joshua's death it was conquered by Judah (Judg. i. 18), though it was not permanently occupied. It is the present Akîr, a considerable village in the plain, two hours to the south-west of Ramlah, and on the east of Jamnia, without ruins of any antiquity, with the exception of two old wells walled round, which probably belong to the times of the Crusaders (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 23). "*To the Canaanites is reckoned* (the territory of the) *five lords of the Philistines*," *i.e.* it was reckoned as belonging to the land of Canaan, and allotted to the Israelites like all the rest. This remark was necessary, because the Philistines were not descendants of Canaan (see at Gen. x. 14), but yet were to be driven out like the Canaanites themselves as being invaders of Canaanitish territory (cf. Deut. ii. 23). סַרְיִ, from סָרַן, the standing title of the princes of the Philistines (*vid.* Judg. iii. 3, xvi. 5 sqq.; 1 Sam. v. 8), does not mean kings, but princes, and is interchangeable with שָׂרִים (cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 6 with vers. 4, 9). At any rate, it was the native or Philistian title of the Philistine princes, though it is not derived from the same root as *Sar*, but is connected with *seren*, *axis rotæ*, in the tropical sense of *princeps*, for which the Arabic furnishes several analogies (see *Ges. Thes.* p. 972). The capitals of these five princes were the following. *Azzah* (*Gaza*, *i.e.* the strong): this was allotted to the tribe of Judah and taken by the Judæans (chap. xv. 47; Judg. i. 18), but was not held long. It is at the present time a considerable town of about 15,000 inhabitants, with the old name of *Ghazze*, about an hour from the sea, and with a

seaport called *Majuma*; it is the farthest town of Palestine towards the south-west (see *Rob. Pal.* ii. pp. 374 sqq.; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 35 sqq.; *Stark*, *Gaza*, etc., pp. 45 sqq.). *Ashdod* (*Αζωτος*, *Azotus*): this was also allotted to the tribe of Judah (chap. xv. 46, 47), the seat of Dagon-worship, to which the Philistines carried the ark (1 Sam. v. 1 sqq.). It was conquered by Uzziah (2 Chron.ⁱ xxvi. 6), was afterwards taken by Tartan, the general of Sargon (Isa. xx. 1), and was besieged by Psammetichus for twenty-nine years (Herod. ii. 157). It is the present *Esdud*, a Mahometan village with about a hundred or a hundred and fifty miserable huts, upon a low, round, wooded height on the road from Jamnia to Gaza, two miles to the south of Jamnia, about half an hour from the sea (*vid. Rob.* i. p. 368). *Ashkalon*: this was conquered by the Judæans after the death of Joshua (Judg. i. 8, 9); but shortly afterwards recovered its independence (*vid. Judg.* xiv. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 17). It is the present *Askulân* on the sea-shore between Gaza and Ashdod, five hours to the north of Gaza, with considerable and widespread ruins (see *v. Raum.* pp. 173-4; *Ritter*, xvi. pp. 69 sqq.). *Gath* (*Γέθ*): this was for a long time the seat of the Rephaites, and was the home of Goliath (chap. xi. 22; 1 Sam. xvii. 4, 23; 2 Sam. xxi. 19 sqq.; 1 Chron. xx. 5 sqq.); it was thither that the Philistines of Ashdod removed the ark, which was taken thence to Ekron (1 Sam. v. 7-10). David was the first to wrest it from the Philistines (1 Chron. xviii. 1). In the time of Solomon it was a royal city of the Philistines, though no doubt under Israelitish supremacy (1 Kings ii. 39, v. 1). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 8), was taken by the Syrians in the time of Joash (2 Kings xii. 18), and was conquered again by Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6; Amos vi. 2); but no further mention is made of it, and no traces have yet been discovered¹ (see *Rob.* ii. p. 420, and *v.*

¹ According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Geth*), it was a place five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis, whereas Jerome (on Micah i.) says: "*Gath* was near the border of Judæa, and on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza; it is still a very large village;" whilst in the commentary on Jer. xxv. he says: "*Gath* was near to and conterminous with Azotus," from which it is obvious enough that the situation of the Philistine city of Gath was altogether unknown to the Fathers. *Hitzig* and *Knobel* suppose the *Βαιτογάβρα* of *Ptolemy* (v. 16, 6), *Βετογάβρι* in *Tab. Peut.* ix. e. (the Eleutheropolis of the Fathers, and the present *Beit Jibrin*, a very considerable ruin), to be the ancient Gath, but this opinion is only founded upon very questionable etymological combinations; whereas *Thenius* looks for it on the site of the present *Deir Dubban*, though without any tenable ground.

Raumer, Pal. pp. 191-2). "*And the Avvites (Avvæans) towards the south.*" Judging from Deut. ii. 23, the *Avvim* appear to have belonged to those tribes of the land who were already found there by the Canaanites, and whom the Philistines subdued and destroyed when they entered the country. They are not mentioned in Gen. x. 15-19 among the Canaanitish tribes. At the same time, there is not sufficient ground for identifying them with the Geshurites as *Ewald* does, or with the Anakites, as *Bertheau* has done. Moreover, it cannot be decided whether they were descendants of Ham or Shem (see *Stark*. Gaza, pp. 32 sqq.). פְּתִימָן (*from, or on, the south*) at the commencement of ver. 4 should be attached to ver. 3, as it is in the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate, and joined to הַעֲוִיִּים (the Avvites). The Avvæans dwelt to the south of the Philistines, on the south-west of Gaza. It gives no sense to connect it with what follows, so as to read "*towards the south all the land of the Canaanites;*" for whatever land to the south of Gaza, or of the territory of the Philistines, was still inhabited by Canaanites, could not possibly be called "*all the land of the Canaanites.*" If, however, we were disposed to adopt the opinion held by *Masius* and *Rosenmüller*, and understand these words as relating to the southern boundaries of Canaan, "*the possessions of the king of Arad and the neighbouring petty kings who ruled in the southern extremity of Judæa down to the desert of Paran, Zin, Kadesh,*" etc., the fact that Arad and the adjoining districts are always reckoned as belonging to the Negeb would at once be decisive against it (compare chap. xv. 21 sqq. with chap. x. 40, xi. 16, also Num. xxi. 1). Moreover, according to chap. x. 40, 41, and xi. 16, 17, Joshua had smitten the whole of the south of Canaan from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza and taken it; so that nothing remained unconquered there, which could possibly have been mentioned in this passage as not yet taken by the Israelites. For the fact that the districts, which Joshua traversed so victoriously and took possession of, were not all permanently held by the Israelites, does not come into consideration here at all. If the author had thought of enumerating all these places, he would have had to include many other districts as well.

Beside the territory of the Philistines on the south-west, there still remained to be taken (vers. 4, 5) in the north, "*all the land of the Canaanites,*" i.e. of the Phœnicians dwelling on the coast, and "*the caves which belonged to the Sidonians unto Aphék.*" *Mearah* (the cave) is the present *Mugr Jezzín*, i.e. cave of Jezzín, on the east of

Sidon, in a steep rocky wall of Lebanon, a hiding-place of the Druses at the present time (see at Num. xxxiv. 8; also *F. v. Richter*, Wallfahrten in Morgenland, p. 133). *Aphek*, or *Aphik*, was allotted to the tribe of Asher (chap. xix. 30; Judg. i. 31); it was called "Αφακα by the Greeks; there was a temple of Venus there, which Constantine ordered to be destroyed, on account of the licentious nature of the worship (*Euseb.* Vita Const. iii. 55). It is the present *Afka*, a small village, but a place of rare beauty, upon a terrace of Lebanon, near the chief source of the river *Adonis* (*Nahr Ibrahim*), with ruins of an ancient temple in the neighbourhood, surrounded by groves of the most splendid walnut trees on the north-east of Beirut (see *O. F. v. Richter*, pp. 106–7; *Rob.* Bibl. Res. p. 663; and *V. de Velde*, Reise. ii. p. 398). "To the territory of the Amorites:" this is obscure. We cannot imagine the reference to be to the territory of Og of Bashan, which was formerly inhabited by Amorites, as that did not extend so far north; and the explanation given by *Knobel*, that farther north there were not Canaanites, but Amorites, who were of Semitic origin, rests upon hypotheses which cannot be historically sustained.—Ver. 5. There still remained to be taken (2) "the land of the Giblites," i.e. the territory of the population of *Gebal* (1 Kings v. 32; Ezek. xxvii. 9), the *Byblos* of the classics, on the Mediterranean Sea, to the north of Beirut, called *Jebail* by the Arabs, and according to *Edrisi* (ed. *Jaubert*, i. p. 356), "a pretty town on the sea-shore, enclosed in good walls, and surrounded by vineyards and extensive grounds planted with fruit trees" (see also *Abulfed.* Tab. Syr. p. 94). It is still a town with an old wall, some portions of which apparently belong to the time of the Crusades (see *Burckhardt*, Syr. p. 296, and *Ritter*, Erdk. xvii. pp. 60 sqq.).¹ "And all Lebanon toward the sunrising:" i.e. not Antilibanus (*Knobel*), but the Lebanon which is to the east of the territory of *Gebal*, "from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon," i.e. *Paneas Banjus* at the foot of Hermon (see at chap. xi. 17), "unto the entering in to Hamath," i.e. as far up as the territory of the kingdom of Hamath, with the capital of the same name on the Orontes (see at Num. xxxiv. 8). Lastly, there still remained (3) "all the inhabitants of the mountains, from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim," i.e. the promontory of *Nakura* (see at chap. xi. 8), namely "all the Sidonians," i.e. all the Phœnicians who dwelt from Lebanon southwards, from the boundary of the territory of Hamath down

¹ The evidence adduced by *Movers* (Phönizier, ii. 1, p. 103), that the Giblites did not belong to the Canaanites, has more plausibility than truth.

to the promontory of Nakura. According to ancient usage, the Sidonians stand for the Phœnicians generally, as in Homer, on account of Sidon being the oldest capital of Phœnicia (see *Ges.* on Is. i. pp. 724 sqq.). All these the Lord would root out before Israel, and therefore Joshua was to divide the whole of northern Canaan, which was inhabited by Phœnicians, among the Israelites. “*Only divide thou it by lot for an inheritance,*” etc. נָחֵל, only, *i.e.* although thou hast not yet taken it. יִפֹּל, to cause it to fall, here used with reference to the lot, *i.e.* to divide by lot. “Fulfil thy duty in the distribution of the land, not even excepting what is still in the firm grasp of the enemy; for I will take care to perform what I have promised. From this we may learn to rely so perfectly upon the word of God, when undertaking any duty, as not to be deterred by doubts or fears” (*Calvin*).

Vers. 8-14. To the command of God to divide the land on this side the Jordan among the nine tribes and a half (ver. 7), the historian appends the remark, that the other two tribes and a half had already received their inheritance from Moses on the other side (ver. 8). This he proceeds to describe in its full extent (vers. 9-13), and then observes that the tribe of Levi alone received no landed inheritance, according to the word of the Lord (ver. 14). After this he gives a description in vers. 15-33 of the land assigned by Moses to each of the two tribes and a half.¹ The remark in ver. 8 is so closely connected with what precedes by the expression “with whom” (*lit. with it*), that this expression must be taken as somewhat indefinite: “with whom,” viz. with half Manasseh, really signifying with the *other* half of Manasseh, with which the Reubenites and Gadites had received their inheritance (see Num. xxxii. and Deut. iii. 8-17). The last words of ver. 8, “*as Moses the servant of Jehovah gave them,*” are not a tautological repetition of the clause “which Moses gave them,” but simply affirm that these tribes received the land given them by Moses, in the manner commanded by Moses, without any alteration in his arrangements. The boundaries of the land given in vers. 9-13 really agree with those given in chap. xii. 2-5 and Deut. iii. 8, although the expression

¹ *Knobel's* remark, that vers. 8-14 anticipate the following section (vers. 15-33) in an unsuitable manner, rests upon a thorough misunderstanding of the whole; for the account of the division of the land to the east of the Jordan among the two tribes and a half (vers. 15-33) could not be introduced in a more appropriate manner than by a description of the circumference of the land and of its principal parts (vers. 9-13).

varies in some respects. The words of ver. 9, "*the city that is in the midst of the river*," *i.e.* the city in the valley, viz. *Ar*, are more distinct than those of chap. xii. 2, "and from the middle of the river." "*All the plain*" is the Amoritish table-land, a tract of land for the most part destitute of trees, stretching from the Arnon to Heshbon, and towards the north-east to Rabbath-Ammân (see at Deut. iii. 10), which is called in Num. xxi. 20 the field of Moab. *Medeba*, now called *Medaba* (see at Num. xxi. 30). *Dibon*, now a ruin called *Dibân*, to the north of Arnon (see at Num. xxi. 20).—Ver. 10, as in chap. xii. 2.—Ver. 11. *Gilead* is the whole country of that name on both sides of the Jabbok (see at chap. xii. 2 and Deut. iii. 10), the present Belka and Jebel Ajlun, for the description of which see the remarks at Num. xxxii. 1. "*The territory of the Geshurites and Maachathites*" is referred to in chap. xii. 5 as the boundary of the kingdom of Og, and in Deut. iii. 14 as the boundary of the land which was taken by Jair the Manassite; here it is included in the inheritance of the tribes on the other side of the Jordan, but it was never really taken possession of by the Israelites, and (according to ver. 13) it had probably never been really subject to king Og. The other notices in vers. 11 and 12 are the same as in chap. xii. 4, 5.—Ver. 14. The tribe of Levi was to receive no land, but the frings of Jehovah, *i.e.* the offerings, including the tithes and first-fruits (Lev. xxvii. 30–32, compared with Num. xviii. 21–32), were to be its inheritance; so that the God of Israel himself is called the inheritance of Levi in ver. 33 as in Num. xviii. 20, to which the words "as He said unto them" refer (see the commentary on Num. xviii. 20).

Vers. 15–33. THE POSSESSIONS OF THE TWO TRIBES AND A HALF.—Vers. 15–23. The tribe of *Reuben* received its inheritance in the south—namely, the territory from Aroër in the Arnon valley, and from Ar in that valley, onwards, and the plain (table-land) by Medeba (see ver. 9), with Heshbon the capital and her towns, *i.e.* the towns dependent upon it, in the plain. *Heshbon*, almost in the centre between the Arnon and the Jabbok, was situated upon the border of the inheritance of the Reubenites, and was ceded to the Gadites, who gave it up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vi. 66: see at Num. xxxii. 37). *Dibon*, called Dibon of Gad in Num. xxxiii. 45, because the Gadites had built, *i.e.* fortified it, was on the south of Heshbon, only an hour from Aroër, on the Arnon (ver. 9). *Bamoth-baul*, also called Bamoth simply (Num. xxi. 20; Isa. xv. 2),

is to be sought for on the Jebel Attarus (see at Num. xxi. 20). It was thence that Balaam saw the end of the Israelitish camp (Num. xxii. 41). *Bethbaal-meon*, the present ruin of *Myun*, three-quarters of an hour S.E. of Heshbon (see at Num. xxxii. 38). *Jahza*, where Sihon was defeated, was to the east of Medeba, according to the *Onom.*; and Dibon was on the border of the desert (see at Num. xxi. 23). *Kedemoth*, on the border of the desert, to the north-west of Kalaat Balua, is to be sought on the northern bank of the Balua, or upper Arnon (see at Num. xxi. 13). *Mephaath*, where there was a garrison stationed (according to the *Onom.*) as a defence against the inhabitants of the desert, is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Jahza, with which it is always associated (Jer. xlvi. 21). Kedemoth and Mephaath were given up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 37; 1 Chron. vi. 64).—Vers. 19, 20. *Kirjathaim*, where Chedorlaomer defeated the Emim, is probably to be found in the ruins of *et-Teym*, half an hour to the west of Medaba (see at Gen. xiv. 5). *Sibmah* (Num. xxxii. 38), according to *Jerome* (on Isa. xvi. 8), only 500 paces from Heshbon, appears to have hopelessly disappeared. *Zereth-hashachar*, *i.e.* *splendor auroræ*, which is only mentioned here, was situated “upon a mountain of the valley.” According to ver. 27, the valley was the Jordan valley, or rather (according to Gen. xiv. 3, 8) the vale of Siddim, a valley running down on the eastern side of the Dead Sea. *Seetzen* conjectures that the town referred to is the present ruin of *Sarâ*, on the south of Zerka Maein.—*Beth-peor*, opposite to Jericho, six Roman miles higher than (to the east of) *Libias*: see at Num. xxiii. 28. The “slopes of Pisgal” (chap. xii. 3; Deut. iii. 17): to the south of the former, on the north-eastern shore of the Dead Sea (see at Num. xxvii. 12). *Beth-jeshimoth* (chap. xii. 3), in the Ghor el Seisabân, on the north-east side of the Dead Sea (see at Num. xxii. 1). In ver. 21a, the places which Reuben received in addition to those mentioned by name are all summed up in the words, “and all the (other) towns of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon,” *sc.* so far as it extended over the plain. These limitations of the words are implied in the context: the first in the fact that towns in the plain are mentioned in ver. 17; the second in the fact that, according to ver. 27, “the rest of the kingdom of Sihon,” *i.e.* the northern portion of it, was given to the Gadites. The allusion to Sihon induced the author to mention his defeat again; see at Num. xxxi., where the five Midianitish vassals who were slain with Sihon are noticed in ver. 8, and the death of Balaam is also mentioned.

"*Dukes of Sihon*," properly vassals of Sihon; נְסִיכִים does not signify anointed, however, but means literally poured out, *i.e.* cast, moulded, enfeoffed. The word points to the "creation of a prince by the communication or pouring in of power" (*Gusset. s. v.*).—Ver. 23. "*And (this) was the boundary of the sons of Reuben, the Jordan and its territory*," *i.e.* the Jordan, or rather land adjoining it. The meaning is, that the territory of Reuben, viz. with the places mentioned last (ver. 20), reached to the territory of the Jordan; for so far as the principal part was concerned, it was on the east of the Dead Sea, as it only reached from the Arnon to Heshbon, *i.e.* up to the latitude of the northern extremity of the Dead Sea. "*The towns and their villages*." חֲצֵר, farm premises, used, as in Lev. xxv. 31, to denote places not enclosed by a wall.

Vers. 24–28. Inheritance of the tribe of *Gad*.—This tribe received *Jaëzer* (probably *es Szyr*: see at Num. xxi. 32) and "*all the towns of Gilead*," *i.e.* of the southern half of Gilead, which belonged to the kingdom of Sihon; for the northern half, which belonged to the kingdom of Og, was given to the Manassites (ver. 31), "*and the half of the land of the sons of Ammon, to Aroër before Rabbah*," *i.e.* that portion of the land of the Ammonites between the Arnon and the Jabbok, which the Amorites under Sihon had taken from the Ammonites, namely, the land on the east of Gilead, on the western side of the upper Jabbok (Nahr Ammân: Deut. ii. 37, iii. 16; cf. Judg. xi. 13); for the land of the Ammonites, *i.e.* the land which they still held in the time of Moses, on the eastern side of Nahr Ammân, the Israelites were not allowed to attack (Deut. ii. 19). *Aroër* before Rabbah, *i.e.* Ammân (see Deut. iii. 11), is *Aroër* of Gad, and must be distinguished from *Aroër* of Reuben on the Arnon (ver. 16). It is only mentioned again in Judg. xi. 33 and 2 Sam. xxiv. 5, and was situated, according to 2 Sam., in the valley of Gad, that is to say, in a wady or valley through which *Gesenius* supposes an arm of the Jabbok to have flowed, and *Thenius* the Jabbok itself, though neither of them has sufficient ground for his conjecture. It is also not to be identified with the ruin of *Ayra* to the south-west of Szalt, as this is not in a wady at all; but in all probability it is to be sought for to the north-east of Rabbah, in the Wady Nahr Ammân, on the side of the *Kalat Zerka Gadda*, the situation of which suits this verse and 2 Sam. xxiv. 5 very well, and may easily be reconciled with Judg. xi. 33.—In ver. 26 the extent of the territory of Gad is first of all described from north to south: viz. from Heshbon (see ver. 17)

to *Ramath-mizpeh*, or *Ramoth* in Gilead (chap. xx. 8), probably on the site of the present *Szalt* (see at Deut. iv. 43), "*and Betonim*," probably the ruin of *Batneh*, on the mountains which bound the Ghor towards the east between the Wady Shaib and Wady Ajlun, in the same latitude as *Szalt* (*V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 298); and then, *secondly*, the northern boundary is described from west to east, "*from Mahanaim to the territory of Lidbir*." *Mahanaim* (double-camp: Gen. xxxii. 2), which was given up by Gad to the Levites (chap. xxi. 30), in which Ishbosheth was proclaimed king (2 Sam. ii. 8, 9), and to which David fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 24, 27; 1 Kings ii. 8), is not to be sought for, as *Knobel* supposes, in the ruins of *Meysera*, to the south of Jabbok, four hours and a half from *Szalt*, but was on the north of the Jabbok, since Jacob did not cross the ford of the Jabbok till after the angel had appeared to him at Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii. 3, 23). It was in or by the valley of the Jordan (according to 2 Sam. xviii. 23, 24), and has probably been preserved in the ruins of *Mahneh*, the situation of which, however, has not yet been determined (see at Gen. xxxii. 3). *Lidbir* is quite unknown; the *lamed*, however, is not to be taken as a prefix, but forms part of the word. *J. D. Michaelis* and *Knobel* suppose it to be the same as *Lo-debar* in 2 Sam. ix. 4, 5, xvii. 27, a place from which provisions were brought to David at Mahanaim on his flight from Absalom, and which is to be sought for on the east of Mahanaim.—Ver. 27. On the north, the territory of Gad seems to have extended to the Jabbok, and only to have stretched beyond the Jabbok at Mahanaim, which formed the boundary of half-Manasseh, according to ver. 30. In the valley of the Jordan, on the other hand, the boundary reached to the Sea of Galilee. "*The valley*" is the valley of the Jordan, or the Arabah from Wady Hesbân above the Dead Sea up to the Sea of Galilee, along the east side of the Jordan, which belonged to the kingdom of Sihon (chap. xii. 3; Deut. iii. 17). The northern boundary of the tribe of Reuben must have touched the Jordan in the neighbourhood of the Wady Hesbân. In the Jordan valley were *Beth-haram*, the future *Lîbias*, and present *er Rameh* (see at Num. xxxii. 36); *Beth-nimra*, according to the *Onom.* five Roman miles to the north, the present ruin of *Nimrein* (see at Num. xxxii. 36); *Succoth*, according to the *Onom. trans Jordanem in parte Scythopoleos* (see at Gen. xxxiii. 17); *Zaphon* (*i.e.* north), probably not far from the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee. "*The rest of the kingdom of Sihon*," the other part having been given to the Reubenites (ver. 21).

Vers. 29-31. The territory of the *half tribe of Manasseh* extended from Mahanaim onwards, and embraced all Bashan, with the sixty Jair towns and the (northern) half of Gilead (see the comm. on Deut. iii. 13-15).—Ver. 32 is the concluding formula. (For the fact itself, see Num. xxxiv. 14, 15).—Ver. 33 is a repetition of ver. 14.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DIVISION OF THE LAND OF CANAAN.
INHERITANCE OF CALEB.—CHAP. XIV.

Vers. 1-5 form the heading and introduction to the account of the division of the land among the nine tribes and a half, which reaches to chap. xix., and is brought to a close by the concluding formula in chap. xix. 51. The division of the land of Canaan according to the boundaries laid down in Num. xxxiv. 2-12 was carried out, in accordance with the instructions in Num. xxxiv. 16-29, by the high priest Eleazar, Joshua, and ten heads of fathers' houses of the nine tribes and a half, whose names are given in Num. xxxiv. 18-28. "*By the lot of their inheritance*," i.e. by casting lots for it: this is dependent upon the previous clause, "*which they distributed for inheritance to them*." "*As the Lord commanded through Moses*" (Num. xxvi. 52-56, xxxiii. 54, and xxxiv. 13), "*to the nine tribes and a half*" (this is also dependent upon the clause "*which they distributed for inheritance*").—Vers. 3, 4. So many tribes were to receive their inheritance, for the two tribes and a half had already received theirs from Moses on the other side of the Jordan, and the tribe of Levi was not to receive any land for an inheritance. According to this, there seem to be only eight tribes and a half to be provided for ($2\frac{1}{2} + 1 + 8\frac{1}{2} = 12$); but there were really nine and a half, for the sons of Joseph formed two tribes in consequence of the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh by the patriarch Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 5). But although the Levites were to have no share in the land, they were to receive towns to dwell in, with pasture adjoining for their cattle; these the other tribes were to give up to them out of their inheritance, according to the instructions in Num. xxxv. 1-8 (see the notes upon this passage).

So far as the division of the land itself was concerned, it was to be distributed by lot, according to Num. xxvi. 52 sqq.; but, at the same time, the distribution was carried out with such special regard to the relative sizes of the different tribes, that the more numerous tribe received a larger share of the land than one that was not so

numerous. This could only be accomplished, however, by their restricting the lot to the discrimination of the relative situation of the different tribes, and then deciding the extent and boundaries of their respective possessions according to the number of families of which they were composed.¹ The casting of the lots was probably effected, as the Rabbins assumed, by means of two urns, one filled with slips having the names of the tribes upon them; the other, with an equal number, representing separate divisions of the land: so that when one slip, with a name upon it, was taken out of one urn, another slip, with a division of the land upon it, was taken from the other. The result of the lot was accepted as the direct decree of God; "for the lot was not controlled in any way by the opinion, or decision, or authority of men" (*Calvin*). See the fuller remarks at Num. xxvi. 56. In the account of the casting of the lots, the first fact which strikes us is, that after the tribes of Judah and Joseph had received their inheritance, an interruption took place, and the camp was moved from Gilgal to Shiloh, and the tabernacle erected there (chap. xviii. 1-9); after which the other tribes manifested so little desire to receive their inheritance, that Joshua reproved them for their indolence (chap. xviii. 3), and directed them to nominate a committee of twenty-one from their own number, whom he sent out to survey the land and divide it into seven parts; and it was not till after this had been done that the casting of the lots was proceeded with, and each of these seven tribes received its inheritance. The reason for this interruption is not given; and the commentators have differed in their opinions as to the cause (see *Keil's* former Comm. on Joshua, pp. 347 sqq.). The following appears to be the most probable supposition. When Joshua received the command from the Lord to divide the land among the tribes, they made an approximative division of the land into nine or ten parts, according to the general idea of its extent and principal features, which they had obtained in connection with the conquest

¹ "This was the force of the lot: there were ten lots cast in such a manner as to decide that some were to be next to the Egyptians, some to have the sea-coasts, some to occupy the higher ground, and some to settle in the valleys. When this was done, it remained for the heads of the nation to determine the boundaries of their different territories according to some equitable standard. It was their place, therefore, to ascertain how many thousand heads there were in each tribe, and then to adjudicate a larger or smaller space according to the size of the tribe" (*Calvin*). Or, as *Clericus* observes (Num. xxvi. 52), "the lot seems to have had respect to the situation alone, and not to the extent of territory at all."

of the country, and then commenced distributing it without any more minute survey or more accurate measurement, simply fixing the boundaries of those districts which came out first according to the size of the tribes upon whom the lots fell. As soon as that was done, these tribes began to move off into the territory allotted to them, and to take possession of it. The exact delineation of the boundaries, however, could not be effected at once, but required a longer time, and was probably not finally settled till the tribe had taken possession of its land. In this manner the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and half Manasseh had received their inheritance one after another. And whilst they were engaged in taking possession, *Shiloh* was chosen, no doubt in accordance with divine instructions, as the place where the tabernacle was to be permanently erected; and there the sanctuary was set up, the whole camp, of course, removing thither at the same time. But when the casting of the lots was about to be continued for the remainder of the tribes, they showed no great desire for fixed abodes, as they had become so accustomed to a nomad life, through having been brought up in the desert, that they were much more disposed to continue it, than to take possession of a circumscribed inheritance,—a task which would require more courage and exertion, on account of the remaining Canaanites, than a life in tents, in which they might wander up and down in the land by the side of the Canaanites, and supply their wants from its productions, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had formerly done, since the Canaanites who were left were so weakened by the war that the Israelites had no occasion for a moment's anxiety about them, provided they did not attempt to expel or to exterminate them. But Joshua could not rest contented with this, if he would remain faithful to the charge which he had received from the Lord. He therefore reprov'd these tribes for their tardiness, and commanded them to take steps for continuing the casting of lots for the land. But as the tribe of Joseph had expressed its dissatisfaction with the smallness of the inheritance allotted to it, and by so doing had manifested its cowardice, which prevented it from attacking the Canaanites who were still left in the territory that had fallen to their lot, Joshua may possibly have had his eyes opened in consequence to the fact that, if the casting of lots was continued in the manner begun, and with nothing more than an approximative definition of the different portions of the land, there was a possibility of still greater dissatisfaction arising among the other tribes, since some of them at any rate would be sure to receive

portions of the land in which the Canaanites were more numerous and still stronger than in the possessions of Ephraim. He therefore gave orders, that before the casting of lots was proceeded with any further, the rest of the land should be carefully surveyed and divided into seven districts, and that a statement of the result should be laid before him, that these seven districts might be divided by lot among the seven tribes. This survey of the land no doubt very clearly showed that what remained, after deducting the possessions of Judah and Joseph, was too small for the remaining seven tribes, in proportion to what had been already divided. Moreover, it had also been discovered that Judah's share was larger than this tribe required (chap. xix. 9). Consequently it was necessary that certain partial alterations should be made in the arrangements connected with the first division. The lot itself could not be pronounced invalid when it had once been cast, as its falling was regarded as the decision of God himself, and therefore it was impossible to make a fresh division of the *whole* land among all the tribes. The only thing that could be done was to leave the two tribes in those districts which had fallen to them by lot (chap. xviii. 5), but to take certain parts of their territory for the other tribes, which would leave the lot in all its integrity, as the lot itself had not determined either the size or the boundaries. This will serve to explain both the interruption to the casting of the lots, which had been commenced at Gilgal, and also the peculiar manner in which it was continued at Shiloh.

Vers. 6-15. CALEB'S INHERITANCE.—Vers. 6 sqq. Before the casting of the lots commenced, Caleb came to Joshua along with the sons of Judah, and asked for the mountains of Hebron for his possession, appealing at the same time to the fact, that forty-five years before Moses had promised it to him on oath, because he had not discouraged the people and stirred them up to rebellion, as the other spies that were sent from Kadesh to Canaan had done, but had faithfully followed the Lord.¹ This occurred at Gilgal, where

¹ The grounds upon which *Knobel* follows *Maurer* and others in affirming that this account does not belong to the so-called Elohists, but is merely a fragment taken from the first document of the Jehovist, are formed partly from misinterpretations of particular verses and partly from baseless assumptions. To the former belongs the assertion, that, according to vers. 8, 12, Joshua was not one of the spies (see the remarks on ver. 8); to the latter the assertion, that the Elohists does not represent Joshua as dividing the land, or Caleb as receiving so large a territory (see on the contrary, however, the

the casting of the lots was to take place. *Caleb* was not "the head of the Judahites," as *Knobel* maintains, but simply the head of a father's house of Judah, and, as we may infer from his surname, "the Kenizzite" or descendant of *Kenaz* ("the Kenizzite" here and Num. xxxii. 12 is equivalent to "son of *Kenaz*," ch. xv. 17, and Judg. i. 13), head of the father's house which sprang from *Kenaz*, i.e. of a subdivision of the Judahite family of *Hezron*; for *Caleb*, the brother of *Jerahmeel* and father of *Achzah*, according to 1 Chron. ii. 42 (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 49), was the same person as *Caleb* the descendant of *Hezron* mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 18. From the surname "the Kenizzite" we are of course not to understand that *Caleb* or his father *Jephunneh* is described as a descendant of the Canaanitish tribe of *Kenizzites* (Gen. xv. 19); but *Kenaz* was a descendant of *Hezron*, the son of *Perez* and grandson of *Judah* (1 Chron. ii. 5, 18, 25), of whom nothing further is known. Consequently it was not the name of a tribe, but of a person, and, as we may see from 1 Chron. iv. 15, where one of the sons of *Caleb* is called *Kenaz*, the name was repeated in the family. The sons of *Judah* who came to *Joshua* along with *Caleb* were not the *Judahites* generally, therefore, or representatives of all the families of *Judah*, but simply members or representatives of the father's house of *Judah* which took its name from *Kenaz*, and of which *Caleb* was the head at that time. *Caleb* reminded *Joshua* of the word which the Lord had spoken concerning them in *Kadesh-barnea*, i.e. of the promise of God that they should both of them enter the land of *Canaan* (Num. xiv. 24, 30), and then proceeded to observe (ver. 7): "*When I was forty years old, and was sent by Moses as a spy to Canaan, I brought back an answer as it was in my mind,*" i.e. according to the best of my convictions, without fear of man or regard to the favour of the people.—Ver. 8. Whereas the other spies discouraged the people by exaggerated reports concerning the inhabitants of *Canaan*, he had followed the Lord with perfect fidelity (Num. xiii. 31–33). He had not been made to waver in his faithfulness to the Lord and His promises either by the evil reports which the other spies had brought of the land, or by the murmuring and threats of the excited crowd (see Num. xiv. 6–10). "*My brethren*" (ver. 8) are the rest of the spies, of course with the exception of *Joshua*, to whom *Caleb* was speaking.¹ הַקָּהֲלִי, exposition of ver. 13), as well as the enumeration of all kinds of words which are said to be foreign to the Elohistic document.

¹ That *Joshua* was not included was evident from this circumstance alone,

for הַמָּסִי (see *Ges.* § 75, anm. 17, and *Ewald*, § 142, a.), from מָסָה = מָסַם (see chap. ii. 11).—Ver. 9. Jehovah swore at that time, that the land upon which his (Caleb's) foot had trodden should be an inheritance for him and his sons for ever. This oath is not mentioned in Num. xiv. 20 sqq., nor yet in Deut. i. 35, 36, where Moses repeats the account of the whole occurrence to the people. For the oath of Jehovah mentioned in Num. xiv. 21, 24, viz. that none of the murmuring people should see the land of Canaan, but that Caleb alone should come thither and his seed should possess it, cannot be the one referred to, as the promise given to Caleb in this oath does not relate to the possession of Hebron in particular, but to the land of Canaan generally, "*the land which Jehovah had sworn to their fathers.*" We must assume, therefore, that in addition to what is mentioned in Num. xiv. 24, God gave a special promise to Caleb, which is passed over there, with reference to the possession of Hebron itself, and that Joshua, who heard it at the time, is here reminded of that promise by Caleb. This particular promise from God was closely related to the words with which Caleb endeavoured to calm the minds of the people when they rose up against Moses (Num. xiii. 30), viz. by saying to them, "We are well able to overcome it," notwithstanding the Anakites who dwelt in Hebron and had filled the other spies with such great alarm on account of their gigantic size. With reference to this the Lord had promised that very land to Caleb for his inheritance. Upon this promise Caleb founded his request (vers. 10-12) that Joshua would give him these mountains, of which Joshua had heard at that time that there were Anakites and large fortified cities there, inasmuch as, although forty-five years had elapsed since God had spoken these words, and he was now eighty-five years old, he was quite as strong as he had been then. From the words, "The Lord hath kept me alive these forty-five years," *Theodoret* justly infers, that the conquest of Canaan by Joshua was completed in seven years, since God spake these words towards the end of the second year after the exodus from Egypt, and therefore thirty-eight years before the entrance into Canaan. The clause אֲנִי עָלֵךְ גִּי' (ver. 10)

and consequently it is a complete perversion on the part of *Knobel* to argue, that because the expression is a general one, *i.e.* because Joshua is not expressly excepted by name, therefore he cannot have been one of the spies, not to mention the fact that the words "concerning me and thee," in ver. 6, are sufficient to show to any one acquainted with the account in Num. xiii., xiv., that Joshua was really one of them.

is also dependent upon *זֶה אַרְבָּעִים וָאֶחָד*: viz. "*these forty-five years that Israel has wandered in the desert*" (on this use of *אֶשֶׁר*, see *Ewald*, § 331, c.). The expression is a general one, and the years occupied in the conquest of Canaan, during which Israel had not yet entered into peaceful possession of the promised land, are reckoned as forming part of the years of wandering in the desert. As another reason for his request, Caleb adds in ver. 11: "*I am still as strong to-day as at that time; as my strength was then, so is it now for war, and to go out and in*" (see Num. xxvii. 17).—Ver. 12. "*The mountain,*" according to the context, is the mountainous region of Hebron, where the spies had seen the Anakites (Num. xiii. 22, 28). The two clauses, in ver. 12, beginning with *וְ* are not to be construed as subordinate to one another, but are co-ordinate clauses, and contain two distinct motives in support of his petition: viz. "*for thou heardest in that day,*" sc. what Jehovah said to me then, and also "*for (because) the Anakites are there;*" . . . "*perhaps Jehovah is with me* (*אִתִּי* for *אִתִּי*, see *Ges.* § 103, 1, anm. 1, and *Ewald*, § 264, b.), and *I root them out*" (*vid.* chap. xv. 14). The word "perhaps" does not express a doubt, but a hope or desire, or else, as *Masius* says, "hope mixed with difficulty; and whilst the difficulty detracts from the value, the hope stimulates the desire for the gift."—Ver. 13. Then Joshua blessed Caleb, *i.e.* implored the blessing of God upon his undertaking, and gave him Hebron for an inheritance. Hebron is mentioned as the chief city, to which the surrounding country belonged; for Caleb had asked for the mountains (ver. 9), *i.e.* the mountainous country with and around Hebron, which included, for example, the fortified town of Debir also (chap. xv. 15).—Ver. 14. This inheritance, the historian adds, was awarded to Caleb because he had followed the God of Israel with such fidelity.—In ver. 15 there follows another notice of the earlier name of Hebron (see at Gen. xxiii. 2). The expression *לְפָנַי* (before), like the words "to this day," applies to the time when the book was composed, at which time the name *Kirjath-arba* had long since fallen into disuse; so that it by no means follows that the name Hebron was not so old as the name *Kirjath-arba*, which was given to Hebron for the first time when it was taken by Arba, "the great man among the Anakites," *i.e.* the strongest and most renowned of the Anakites (*vid.* chap. xv. 13). The remark, "*and the land had rest from war,*" is repeated again at the close of this account from chap. xi. 23, to show that although there were Anakites still dwelling in Hebron whom Caleb

hoped to exterminate, the work of distributing the land by lot was not delayed in consequence, but was carried out in perfect peace.

INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.—CHAP. XV.

Under the superintending providence of God, the inheritance which fell to the tribe of Judah by lot was in the southern part of Canaan, where Caleb had already received his inheritance, so that he was not separated from his tribe. The inheritance of Judah is first of all described according to its boundaries (vers. 1-12); then for the sake of completeness it is stated once more with regard to Caleb, that he received Kirjath-arba for his inheritance, and took possession of it by expelling the Anakites and conquering Debir (vers. 13-20); and after this a list is given of the towns in the different parts (vers. 21-63).

Vers. 1-12.—*Boundaries of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah.*—Ver. 1. Its situation in the land. “*And there was (i.e. fell, or came out; cf. chap. xvi. 1, xix. 1) the lot to the tribe of Judah according to its families to the frontier of Edom (see at Num. xxxiv. 3), to the desert of Zin southward, against the extreme south*” (lit. from the end or extremity of the south), i.e. its inheritance fell to it, so that it reached to the territory of Edom and the desert of Zin, in which Kadesh was situated (see at Num. xiii. 21), on the extreme south of Canaan.—Vers. 2-4. *The southern boundary.* This was also the southern boundary of the land of Israel generally, and coincided with the southern boundary of Canaan as described in Num. xxxiv. 3-5. It went out “*from the end of the salt sea, namely, from the tongue which turneth to the south,*” i.e. from the southern point of the Dead Sea, which is now a salt marsh.—Vers. 3, 4. Thence it proceeded “*to the southern boundary of the ascent of Akkrabbim,*” i.e. the row of lofty whitish cliffs which intersects the Arabah about eight miles below the Dead Sea (see at Num. xxxiv. 4), “*and passed across to Zin,*” i.e. the Wady Murreh (see at Num. xiii. 21), “*and went up to the south of Kadesh-barnea,*” i.e. by Ain Kudes (see at Num. xx. 16), “*and passed over to Hezron, and went up to Adar, and turned to Karkaa, and went over to Azmon, and went out into the brook of Egypt,*” i.e. the Wady el Arish. On the probable situation of Hezron, Adar, Karkaa, and Azmon, see at Num. xxxiv. 4, 5. “*And the outgoings of the boundary were to the sea*” (the Mediterranean). The Wady el Arish, a marked boundary, takes first of all a northerly and then a north-

westerly course, and opens into the Mediterranean Sea (see Pent. vol. ii. p. 58). יָדִיָּה in the singular before the subject in the plural must not be interfered with (see *Ewald*, § 316, a.).—The words “*this shall be your south coast*” point back to the southern boundary of Canaan as laid down in Num. xxxiv. 2 sqq., and show that the southern boundary of the tribe-territory of Judah was also the southern boundary of the land to be taken by Israel.—Ver. 5a. “*The eastern boundary was the salt sea to the end of the Jordan,*” i.e. the Dead Sea, in all its length up to the point where the Jordan entered it.

In vers. 5b–11 we have a description of the *northern* boundary, which is repeated in chap. xviii. 15–19 as the southern boundary of Benjamin, though in the opposite direction, namely, from west to east. It started “*from the tongue of the (salt) sea, the end (i.e. the mouth) of the Jordan, and went up to Beth-hagla,*”—a border town between Judah and Benjamin, which was afterwards allotted to the latter (chap. xviii. 19, 21), the present *Ain Hajla*, an hour and a quarter to the south-east of *Riha* (Jericho), and three-quarters of an hour from the Jordan (see at Gen. i. 11, note),—“*and went over to the north side of Beth-arabah,*” a town in the desert of Judah (ver. 61), afterwards assigned to Benjamin (chap. xviii. 22), and called *Ila-arabah* in chap. xviii. 18, about twenty or thirty minutes to the south-west of *Ain Hajla*, in a “level and barren steppe” (*Seetzen*, R. ii. p. 302), with which the name very well agrees (see also *Rob. Pal.* ii. pp. 268 sqq.). “*And the border went up to the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben.*” The expression “went up” shows that the stone of *Bohan* must have been on higher ground, i.e. near the western mountains, though the opposite expression “went down” in chap. xviii. 17 shows that it must have been by the side of the mountain, and not upon the top. According to chap. xviii. 18, 19, the border went over from the stone of *Bohan* in an easterly direction “*to the shoulder over against (Beth) Arabah northwards, and went down to (Beth) Arabah, and then went over to the shoulder of Beth-hagla northwards,*” i.e. on the north side of the mountain ridge of *Beth-arabah* and *Beth-hagla*. This ridge is “the chain of hills or downs which runs from *Kasr Hajla* towards the south to the north side of the Dead Sea, and is called *Katar Ihadije*, i.e. a row of camels harnessed together.”—Ver. 7. The boundary ascended still farther to *Debir* from the valley of *Achor*. *Debir* is no doubt to be sought for by the *Wady Daber*, which runs down from the mountains to the Dead Sea

to the south of *Kasr Hajla*, possibly not far from the rocky grotto called *Choret ed Daber*, between the *Wady es Sidr* and the *Khan Chadrur* on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, about half-way between the two. On the valley of *Achor* see at chap. vii. 24. Then “it turned northwards to *Gilgal*, opposite to the ascent of *Adummim* south of the brook.” *Gilgal*, which must not be confounded, as it is by *Knobel*, with the first encampment of the Israelites in Canaan, viz. the *Gilgal* between Jericho and the Jordan, is called *Geliloth* in chap. xviii. 17. The situation of this place, which is only mentioned again in *Judg.* iii. 19, and was certainly not a town, probably only a village or farm, is defined more precisely by the clause “opposite to the ascent of *Adummim*.” *Maaleh Adummim*, which is correctly explained in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Adommim*) as ἀνάβασις πύργων, *ascensus rufforum*, “was formerly a small villa, but is now a heap of ruins, which is called even to the present day *Maledomim*—on the road from *Ælia* to Jericho” (*Tobler*). It is mentioned by ancient travellers as an inn called a *terra ruffa*, i.e. “the red earth;” *terra russo*, or “the red house.” By later travellers it is described as a small place named *Adomim*, being still called “the red field, because this is the colour of the ground; with a large square building like a monastery still standing there, which was in fact at one time a fortified monastery, though it is deserted now” (*Arvieux*, *Merk. Nachr.* ii. p. 154). It is the present ruin of *Kalaat el Dem*, to the north of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, or *Kalaat el Domm*, near the *Khan Chadrur*. *Gilgal*, or *Geliloth* (circle), was probably the “small round valley” or “field of *Adommim*,” of which *Pococke* speaks as being at the foot of the hill on which the deserted inn was standing (viz. *ed Domm*; see *Pococke*, *Reise ins Morgenland*, ii. p. 46). The valley (*nachal*, rendered *river*) to the south of which *Gilgal* or the ascent of *Adummim* lay, and which was therefore to the north of these places, may possibly be the *Wady Kelt*, or the brook of Jericho in the upper part of its course, as we have only to go a quarter or half an hour to the east of *Khan Chadrur*, when a wide and splendid prospect opens towards the south across the *Wady Kelt* as far as *Taiyibeh*; and according to *Van de Velde’s* map, a brook-valley runs in a northerly direction to the *Wady Kelt* on the north-east of *Kalaat ed Dem*. It is probable, however, that the reference is to some other valley, of which there are a great many in the neighbourhood. The boundary then passed over to the water of *En Shemesh* (sun-fountain), i.e. the present *Apostle’s Well*, *Ain el Hodh*

or *Bir el Khôt*, below Bethany, and on the road to Jericho (*Tobler*, Topogr. v. Jerus. ii. pp. 398, 400; *Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 310), and then ran out at the fountain of *Rogel* (the spies), the present deep and copious fountain of *Job* or *Nehemiah* at the south-east corner of Jerusalem, below the junction of the valley of *Hinnom* and the valley of *Jehoshaphat* or *Kedron* valley (see *Rob.* Pal. i. p. 491, and *Tobler*, Topogr. v. Jerus. ii. pp. 50 sqq.).—Ver. 8. It then went up into the more elevated valley of *Ben-hinnom*, on the south side of the Jebusite town, *i.e.* Jerusalem (see at chap. x. 1), and still farther up to the top of the mountain which rises on the west of the valley of *Ben-hinnom*, and at the farthest extremity of the plain of *Rephaim* towards the north. The valley of *Ben-hinnom*, or *Bne-hinnom* (the son or sons of Hinnom), on the south side of Mount Zion, a place which was notorious from the time of Ahaz as the seat of the worship of Moloch (2 Kings xxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Jer. vii. 31, etc.), is supposed to have derived its name from a man who had possessions there, but of whom nothing further is known (see *Robinson*, Pal. i. pp. 402 sqq.). The plain of *Rephaim* (LXX. γῆ Ῥαφαέλιν, in 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13 κοιλὰς τῶν Τιτάνων), probably named after the gigantic race of *Rephaim*, and mentioned several times in 2 Sam. as a battle-field, is on the west of Jerusalem, and is separated from the edge of the valley of *Ben-hinnom* by a small ridge of rock. It runs southwards to *Mar Elias*, is an hour long, half an hour broad, and was very fertile (Isa. xvii. 5); in fact, even to the present day it is carefully cultivated (see *Rob.* Pal. i. p. 323; *Tobler*, Topogr. v. Jerus. ii. pp. 401 sqq.). It is bounded on the north by the mountain ridge already mentioned, which curves westwards on the left side of the road to *Jaffa*. This mountain ridge, or one of the peaks, is “the mountain on the west of the valley of Hinnom,” at the northern end of the plain referred to.—Ver. 9. From this mountain height the boundary turned to the fountain of the waters of *Nephtoah*, *i.e.*, according to *Van de Velde’s* Mem. p. 336, the present village of *Liftah* (*nun* and *lamed* being interchanged, according to a well-known law), an hour to the north-west of Jerusalem, where there is a copious spring, called by the name of Samuel, which not only supplies large basins, but waters a succession of blooming gardens (*Tobler*, Topogr. v. Jerus. ii. pp. 758 sqq.; *Dieterici*, Reisebilder, ii. pp. 221–2). It then “went out to the towns of Mount Ephraim,” which is not mentioned again, but was probably the steep and lofty mountain ridge on the west side of the Wady *Beit Hanina* (Tere-

binth valley), upon which *Kulonia*, a place which the road to Joppa passes, *Kastal* on a lofty peak of the mountain, the fortress of *Milane*, *Soba*, and other places stand (*Seetzen*, R. ii. pp. 64, 65; *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 158). The boundary then ran to *Baala*, i.e. *Kirjath-jearim*, the modern *Kureyet el Enab*, three hours to the north-west of Jerusalem (see at chap. ix. 17).—Ver. 10. From this point “the boundary (which had hitherto gone in a north-westerly direction) turned westwards to Mount *Seir*, and went out to the shoulder northwards (i.e. to the northern side) of *Iar-jearim*, that is *Chesalon*, and went down to *Beth-shemesh*, and passed over to *Tinnah*.” Mount *Seir* is the ridge of rock to the south-west of *Kureyet el Enab*, a lofty ridge composed of rugged peaks, with a wild and desolate appearance, upon which *Saris* and *Mishir* are situated (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 155). *Chesalon* is the present *Kesla* on the summit of a mountain, an elevated point of the lofty ridge between Wady *Ghurâb* and *Ismail*, south-west of *Kureyet el Enab* (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 154). *Beth-shemesh* (i.e. sun-house), a priests’ city in the territory of Judah (chap. xxi. 16; 1 Chron. vi. 44), is the same as *Ir-shemesh* (chap. xix. 41), a place on the border of Dan, where the ark was deposited by the Philistines (1 Sam. vi. 9 sqq.), and where Amaziah was slain by Joash (2 Kings xiv. 11, 12; 2 Chron. xxv. 21). It was conquered by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 18). According to the *Onom.* it was ten Roman miles, i.e. four hours, from Eleutheropolis towards Nicopolis. It is the present *Ain Shems*, upon a plateau in a splendid situation, two hours and a half to the south-west of *Kesla* (*Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 17; *Bibl. Res.* p. 153). *Tinnah*, or *Tinnatah*, belonged to Dan (chap. xix. 43); and it was thence that Samson fetched his wife (Judg. xiv. 1 sqq.). It is the present *Tibneh*, three-quarters of an hour to the west of *Ain Shems* (*Rob. Pal.* i. p. 344).—Ver. 11. Thence “the border went out towards the north-west to the shoulder of *Ekron* (*Akir*: see at chap. xiii. 3), then bent to *Shichron*, passed over to Mount *Baalath*, and went out to *Jabneel*.” *Shichron* is possibly *Sugheir*, an hour to the south-west of *Jebna* (*Knobel*). But if this is correct, the mountain of *Baalath* cannot be the short range of hills to the west of *Akir* which runs almost parallel with the coast (*Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 21), as *Knobel* supposes; but must be a mountain on the south side of the Wady *Surar*, since the boundary had already crossed this wady between *Ekron* and *Shichron*. *Jabneel* is the Philistine town of *Jabneh*, the walls of which were demolished by Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6), a place frequently men-

tioned in the books of Maccabees as well as by *Josephus* under the name of *Jamnia*. It still exists as a good-sized village, under the name of *Jebnah*, upon a small eminence on the western side of Nahr Rubin, four hours to the south of Joppa, and an hour and a half from the sea (*Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 22). From Jabneh the boundary went out to the (Mediterranean) Sea, probably along the course of the great valley, *i.e.* the *Nuhr Rubin*, as *Robinson* supposes (*Pal.* ii. p. 343). The *western boundary* was the Great Sea, *i.e.* the Mediterranean.

Vers. 13-19. The account of the conquest of the inheritance, which Caleb asked for and received before the lots were cast for the land (chap. xiv. 6-15), by the extermination of the Anakites from Hebron, and the capture of the fortified town of Debir, is repeated with very slight differences in *Judg.* i. 10-15, in the enumeration of the different conflicts in which the separate tribes engaged after the death of Joshua, in order to secure actual possession of the inheritance which had fallen to them by lot, and is neither copied from our book by the author of the book of Judges, nor taken from Judges by the author of Joshua; but both of them have drawn it from one common source, upon which the accounts of the conquest of Canaan contained in the book of Joshua are generally founded.—Ver. 13. As an introduction to the account of the conquest of Hebron and Debir, the fact that they gave Caleb his portion among the sons of Judah, namely Hebron, is first of all repeated from chap. xiv. 13. *וַיִּתְּנוּ* *impers.*, they gave, *i.e.* Joshua (chap. xiv. 13). The words “*according to the command of Jehovah to Joshua*” are to be explained from chap. xiv. 9-12, according to which Jehovah had promised, in the hearing of Joshua, to give Caleb possession of the mountains of Hebron, even when they were at Kadesh (chap. xiv. 12). The “father of Anak” is the tribe father of the family of Anakites in Hebron, from whom this town received the name of *Kirjath-arba*; see at *Num.* xiii. 22 and *Gen.* xxiii. 2.—Ver. 14. Thence, *i.e.* out of Hebron, Caleb drove (*וַיִּצְרֹץ*, *i.e.* rooted out: cf. *וַיִּצֹרֵץ*, *Judg.* i. 10) the three sons of Anak, *i.e.* families of the Anakites, whom the spies that were sent out from Kadesh had already found there (*Num.* xiii. 22). Instead of Caleb, we find the sons of Judah (Judæans) generally mentioned in *Judg.* i. 10 as the persons who drove out the Anakites, according to the plan of the history in that book, to describe the conflicts in which the several tribes engaged with the Canaanites. But the one does not preclude the other. Caleb did not take Hebron as an

individual, but as the head of a family of Judæans, and with their assistance. Nor is there any discrepancy between this account and the fact stated in chap. xi. 21, 22, that Joshua had already conquered Hebron, Debir, and all the towns of that neighbourhood, and had driven out the Anakites from the mountains of Judah, and forced them back into the towns of the Philistines, as *Knobel* fancies. For that expulsion did not preclude the possibility of the Anakites and Canaanites returning to their former abodes, and taking possession of the towns again, when the Israelitish army had withdrawn and was engaged in the war with the Canaanites of the north; so that when the different tribes were about to settle in the towns and districts allotted to them, they were obliged to proceed once more to drive out or exterminate the Anakites and Canaanites who had forced their way in again (see the remarks on chap. x. 38, 39, p. 117, note).—Vers. 15, 16. From Hebron Caleb went against the inhabitants of *Debir*, to the south of Hebron. This town, which has not yet been discovered (see at chap. x. 38), must have been very strong and hard to conquer; for Caleb offered a prize to the conqueror, promising to give his daughter Achzah for a wife to any one that should take it, just as Saul afterwards promised to give his daughter to the conqueror of Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 25, xviii. 17).—Ver. 17. Othniel took the town and received the promised prize. *Othniel*, according to Judg. iii. 9 the first judge of the Israelites after Joshua's death, is called *בֶּן קְנָז אֶחִי קָלֵב*, i.e. either "the son of Kenaz (and) brother of Caleb," or "the son of Kenaz the brother of Caleb." The second rendering is quite admissible (comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 3, 32, with 1 Chron. ii. 13), but the former is the more usual; and for this the Masorites have decided, since they have separated *achi Caleb* from *ben-Kenaz* by a *tiphchah*. And this is the correct one, as "the son of Kenaz" is equivalent to "the Kenizzite" (chap. xiv. 6). According to Judg. i. 13 and iii. 9, Othniel was Caleb's younger brother. Caleb gave him his daughter for a wife, as marriage with a brother's daughter was not forbidden in the law (see my Bibl. Archäol. ii. § 107, note 14).—Vers. 18, 19. When Achzah had become his wife ("as she came," i.e. on her coming to Othniel, to live with him as wife), she urged him to ask her father for a field. "*A field*:" in Judg. i. 14 we find "the field," as the writer had the particular field in his mind. This was not "the field belonging to the town of Debir" (*Knobel*), for Othniel had no need to ask for this, as it naturally went with the town, but a piece of land that could be cultivated, or, as is shown

in what follows, one that was not deficient in springs of water. What Othniel did is not stated, but only what Achzah did to attain her end, possibly because her husband could not make up his mind to present the request to her father. She sprang from the ass upon which she had ridden when her father brought her to Othniel. אָנָה, which only occurs again in Judg. iv. 21, and in the parallel passage, Judg. i. 14, is hardly connected with נָנָה, to be lowly or humble (*Ges.*); the primary meaning is rather that suggested by *Fürst*, to force one's self, to press away, or further; and hence in this case the meaning is, to spring down quickly from the animal she had ridden, like נָפַל in Gen. xxiv. 64. Alighting from an animal was a special sign of reverence, from which Caleb inferred that his daughter had some particular request to make of him, and therefore asked her what she wanted: "*What is to thee?*" or, "*What wilt thou?*" She then asked him for a blessing (as in 2 Kings v. 15); "*for,*" she added, "*thou hast given me into barren land.*" אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב (rendered a south land) is *accus. loci*; so that *negeb* is not to be taken as a *proper name*, signifying the southernmost district of Canaan (as in ver. 21, etc.), but as an appellative, "the dry or arid land," as in Ps. cxxvi. 4. "*Give me springs of water,*" *i.e.* a piece of land with springs of water in it. Caleb then gave her the "*upper springs and lower springs:*" this was the name given to a tract of land in which there were springs on both the higher and lower ground. It must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Debir, though, like the town itself, it has not yet been found.—Ver. 20 contains the closing formula to vers. 1–19, *i.e.* to the description of the territory of Judah by its boundaries (*vid.* chap. xviii. 20).

In vers. 21–63 there follows a *list of the towns* of the tribe of Judah, arranged in the four districts into which the land was divided, according to the nature of the soil, *viz.* the south-land (*negeb*), the lowland (*shephelah*) on the Mediterranean Sea, the mountains, and the desert of Judah.

Vers. 21–32. The towns in the *south land*.—*Negeb* (south-land) was the name given to the southernmost district of Canaan in its full extent, from the Arabah, at the southern end of the Dead Sea, right across to the coast of the Mediterranean, and from the southern border of Canaan, as described in vers. 2–4, as far north as Wady *Sheriah*, below Gaza, on the western side, and up to the mountains and desert of Judah on the east, stretching across the wadys of *es Seba*, *Mill*, and *Ehdeib*, above which that part of

Palestine commences where rain is more abundant, and to which, as we have already observed at Num. xiii. 17, the *Negeb* formed a kind of intermediate link between the fertile land and the desert. It was a line of steppe-land, with certain patches here and there that admitted of cultivation, but in which tracts of heath prevailed, for the most part covered with grass and bushes, where only grazing could be carried on with any success. The term which *Eusebius* and *Jerome* employ for *Negeb* in the *Onom.* is *Daromas*, but they carry it farther northwards than the *Negeb* of the Old Testament (see *Reland*, Pal. Ill. pp. 185 sqq.). The numerous towns mentioned in vers. 21–32 as standing in the *Negeb*, may none of them have been large or of any importance. In the list before us we find that, as a rule, several names are closely connected together by the copula *vav*, and in this way the whole may be divided into four separate groups of towns.

Vers. 21–23. *First* group of nine places.—Ver. 21. The towns “from,” i.e. at “the end of the tribe-territory of Judah, towards the territory of Edom.” *Kabzeel*: the home of the hero Benaiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 20), probably identical with *Jekabzeel*, which is mentioned in Neh. xi. 25 in connection with *Dibon*, but has not been discovered. This also applies to *Eder* and *Jagur*.—Ver. 22. *Kinah*: also unknown. *Knobel* connects it with the town of the *Kenites*, who settled in the domain of Arad, but this is hardly correct; for with the exception of Judg. i. 16, where the *Kenites* are said to have settled in the south of Arad, though not till after the division of the land, the *Kenites* are always found in the western portion of the *Negeb* (1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29), whereas *Kinah* is unquestionably to be looked for in the east. *Dimonah*, probably the same as *Dibon* (Neh. xi. 25); possibly the ruins of *el Dheib*, on the south side of the wady of the same name, to the north-east of Arad (*V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 252), although *Robinson* (Pal. ii. p. 473) writes the name *Ehdeib*. *Adadah* is quite unknown.—Ver. 23. *Kedesh*, possibly *Kadesh-barnea* (ver. 3). *Hazor* might then be *Hezron*, in the neighbourhood of *Kadesh-barnea* (ver. 3). *Ithnan* is unknown.

Vers. 24, 25. *Second* group of five or six places.—Of these, *Ziph* and *Telem* are not met with again, unless *Telem* is the same as *Telaïm*, where Saul mustered his army to go against the *Amalekites* (1 Sam. xv. 4). Their situation is unknown. There was another *Ziph* upon the mountains (see ver. 55). *Knobel* supposes the one mentioned here to be the ruins of *Kuseifeh*, to the

south-west of Arad (*Rob. Pal. ii. p. 620*). *Ziph* would then be contracted from *Ceziph*; but the contraction of *Achzib* (chap. xix. 29) into *Zib* does not present a corresponding analogy, as in that case the abbreviated form is the later one, whereas in the case of *Ziph* a lengthening of the name must have taken place by the addition of a *K*. *Bealoth*, probably the same as the Simeonitish *Baaloth-beer* (chap. xix. 8), which is called *Baal* simply in 1 Chron. iv. 33, and which was also called *Ramath-negeb* (chap. xix. 8) and *Rumoth-negeb* (1 Sam. xxx. 27). It is not to be identified with *Baalath*, however (chap. xix. 45; 1 Kings ix. 18), as *V. de Velde* supposes (*Reise, ii. pp. 151-2*). *Knobel* fancies it may be the ridge and place called *Kubbet el Baul*, between *Milh* and *Kurnub* (*Rob. ii. p. 617*); but *Baul* and *Baal* are very different. *Hazor Hadatta* (*Chazor Chadathah*), *i.e.* new *Hazor*, might be the ruins of *el Hudhaira* on the south of *Jebel Khulil* (*Rob. Appendix*). *Kenoth* was supposed by *Robinson* (*Pal. ii. p. 472*, and *Appendix*) to be the ruins of *el Kuryetein*, on the north-east of *Arad* and at the foot of the mountains, and with this *V. de Velde* agrees. *Reland* (*Pal. p. 708*) connects the following word *Hezron* with *Kenoth*, so as to read *Kenoth-hezron*, *i.e.* *Hezron's towns*, also called *Hazor*. This is favoured by the *Sept.* and *Syriac*, in which the two words are linked together to form one name, and probably by the Chaldee as well, also by the absence of the copula *vav* (*and*) before *Hezron*, which is not omitted anywhere else throughout this section, except at the beginning of the different groups of towns, as, for example, before *Ziph* in ver. 24, and *Amam* in ver. 26, and therefore ought to stand before *Hezron* if it is an independent town. The Masoretic pointing cannot be regarded as a decisive proof of the contrary.

Vers. 26-28. *Third group of nine towns.*—Ver. 26. *Amam* is not mentioned again, and is quite unknown. *Shema*, which is called *Sheba* in chap. xix. 2, and is mentioned among the towns of the Simeonites between *Beersheba* and *Moladah*, is supposed by *Knobel* to be the ruins of *Saûwe* (*Sâweh*) between *Milh* and *Beersheba* (see *V. de Velde, ii. p. 148*). *Molada*, which was given to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 2; 1 Chron. iv. 28) and was still inhabited by Jews after the captivity (*Neh. xi. 26*), was the later *Μάλαδα*, an Idumæan fortress (*Josephus, Ant. xviii. 6, 2*), which *Eusebius* and *Jerome* describe as being twenty Roman miles, *i.e.* eight hours, to the south of *Hebron* on the road to *Aila* (*Elath*). It has been identified by *Robinson* (*Pal. ii. p. 621*) in the ruins of *el Milh*, by

the Wady *Malath* or *Malahh*.—Ver. 27. *Hazar-gaddah*, *Heshmon*, and *Beth-palet* have not yet been identified. The last of the three is mentioned again in Neh. xi. 26, by the side of *Molada*, as still inhabited by Judæans.—Ver. 28. *Hazar-shual*, *i.e.* fox-court, which was assigned to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 3) and still inhabited after the captivity (Neh. xi. 27), answers, so far as the name is concerned, to the ruins of *Thály* (*Rob. Pal. iii. App.*). *Beersheba*, which was a well-known place in connection with the history of the patriarchs (Gen. xxi. 14 sqq., xxii. 19, etc.), and is frequently mentioned afterwards as the southern boundary of the land of Israel (Judg. xx. 1; 2 Sam. xvii. 11, etc.), was also given up to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 2), and still inhabited after the captivity (Neh. xi. 27). It is the present *Bir es Seba* on the Wady *es Seba* (see at Gen. xxi. 31). *Bizjothjah* is unknown.

Vers. 29–32. The *four groups* of thirteen towns in the western portion of the Negeb.—Ver. 29. *Baalah*, which was assigned to the Simeonites, is called *Balah* in chap. xix. 3, and *Billah* in 1 Chron. iv. 29. *Knobel* identifies it with the present *Deir Belah*, some hours to the south-west of Gaza (*Rob. iii. App.*; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 41, 42); but it cannot have been so far to the west, or so near the coast as this. *Iim* (or *Ivim*, according to the *Ἀνείμ* of the LXX.) is probably the ruins of *Beit-auwa* (*Rob. iii. App.*). *Azem*, which was also given up to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 3; 1 Chron. iv. 29), is supposed by *Knobel* to be *Eboda*, the present *Abdeh*, eight hours to the south of *Elusa*, a considerable mass of ruins on a ridge of rock (*Rob. i. p. 287*), because the name signifies firmness or strength, which is also the meaning of the Arabic name—a very precarious reason.—Ver. 30. *Eltolad*, which was given to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 4), and is called *Tolad* (without the Arabic article) in 1 Chron. iv. 29, has not been discovered. *Chesil*, for which the LXX. have *Βαιθήλ*, is probably, as *Reland* supposes, simply another name, or as *Knobel* suggests a corrupt reading, for *Bethul* or *Bethuel*, which is mentioned in chap. xix. 4 and 1 Chron. iv. 30, between *Eltolad* and *Hormah*, as a town of the Simeonites, and the same place as *Beth-el* in 1 Sam. xxx. 27. As this name points to the seat of some ancient sanctuary, and there was an idol called *Khalasa* worshipped by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, and also because *Jerome* observes (*vita Hilar. c. 25*) that there was a temple of Venus at *Elusa*, in which the Saracens worshipped Lucifer (see *Tuch*, *Deutsch. Morgenl. Ztschr.* iii. pp. 194 sqq.), *Knobel* supposes *Bethul* (*Chesil*) to be *Elusa*, a

considerable collection of ruins five hours and a half to the south of Beersheba (see *Rob.* i. p. 296): assuming first of all that the name *el Khulasa*, as the Arabs called this place, was derived from the Mahometan idol already referred to; and secondly, that the Saracen Lucifer mentioned by *Jerome* was the very same idol whose image and temple *Janhari* and *Kamus* call *el Khalasa*. *Hormah*: i.e. *Zeploth*, the present *Sepata* (see at chap. xii. 14). *Ziklag*, which was assigned to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 5; 1 Chron. iv. 30), burnt down by the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 1 sqq.), and still inhabited after the captivity (Neh. xi. 28), is supposed by *Rowland* to be the ancient place called *Asluj* or *Kasluj*, a few hours to the east of *Zepata*, with which *Knobel*, however, in a most remarkable manner, identifies the *Asluj* to the south-west of *Milli* on the road to *Abdeh*, which is more than thirty-five miles distant (see *Rob.* Pal. ii. p. 621). Both places are too far to the south and east to suit *Ziklag*, which is to be sought for much farther west. So far as the situation is concerned, the ruins of *Tell Sheriah* or *Tell Mellala*, one of which is supposed by *V. de Velde* to contain the relics of *Ziklag*, would suit much better; or even, as *Ritter* supposes (*Erdk.* xvi. pp. 132-3), *Tell el Hasy*, which is half an hour to the south-west of *Ajlan*, and in which *Felix Fabri* found the ruins of a castle and of an ancient town, in fact of the ancient *Ziklag*, though *Robinson* (i. pp. 389 sqq.) could discover nothing that indicated in any way the existence of a town or building of any kind. *Madmannah* and *Sansannah* cannot be traced with any certainty. *Madmannah*, which is confounded in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Medemena*) with *Madmena*, a place to the north of Jerusalem mentioned in Isa. x. 31, though elsewhere it is correctly described as *Menois oppidum juxta civitatem Gazam*, has probably been preserved in the present *Miniay* or *Minieh*, to the south of Gaza. *Sansannah*, *Knobel* compares with the *Wady Suni*, mentioned by *Robinson* (i. p. 299), to the south of Gaza, which possibly received its name from some town in the neighbourhood. But in the place of them we find *Beth-marcaboth* (i.e. carriage-house) and *Hazar-susa* (i.e. horse-court) mentioned in chap. xix. 5 and 1 Chron. iv. 31 among the towns of the Simeonites, which *Reland* very properly regards as the same as *Madmannah* and *Sansannah*, since it is very evident from the meaning of the former names that they were simply secondary names, which were given to them as stations for carriages and horses.—Ver. 32. *Lebaoth*, one of the Simeonite towns, called *Beth-lebaoth* (i.e. lion-house) in chap. xix. 6, and *Beth-birci* in 1 Chron. iv. 31, has

not been discovered yet. *Shilchim*, called *Sharuchen* in chap. xix. 6, and *Shaaraim* in 1 Chron. iv. 31, may possibly have been preserved in Tell *Sheriah*, almost half-way between Gaza and Beersheba (*V. de Velde*, ii. p. 154). *Ain* and *Rimmon* are given as Simeonite towns, and being written without the copula, are treated as one name in chap. xix. 7 and 1 Chron. iv. 32, although they are reckoned as two separate towns in chap. xix. 7. But as they were also called *En Rimmon* after the captivity, and are given as one single place in Neh. xi. 29, they were probably so close together that in the course of time they grew into one. *Rimmon*, which is mentioned in Zech. xiv. 10 as the southern boundary of Judah, probably the *Eremmon* of the *Onom.* ("a very large village of the Judæans, sixteen miles to the south of Eleutheropolis in Daroma"), was probably the present ruin called *Um er Rummanim*, four hours to the north of Beersheba (*Rob.* iii. p. 8). Not more than thirty or thirty-five minutes distant from this, between Tell *Khuweilifeh* (*Rob.* iii. p. 8) or *Chewelfeh* (*V. de Velde*) and Tell *Hhora*, you find a large old but half-destroyed well, the large stones of which seem to belong to a very early period of the Israelitish history (*V. de Velde*, ii. p. 153). This was mentioned as a very important drinking-place even in the lifetime of Saladin, whilst to the present day the Tiyâlah Arabs water their flocks there (see *Rob.* iii. p. 8). To all appearance this was *Ain* (see *V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 344). "*All the cities were twenty and nine, and their villages.*" This does not agree with the number of towns mentioned by name, which is not twenty-nine, but thirty-six; so that the number twenty-nine is probably an error of the text of old standing, which has arisen from a copyist confounding together different numeral letters that resembled one another.¹

¹ Some commentators and critics explain this difference on the supposition that originally the list contained a smaller number of names (only twenty-nine), but that it was afterwards enlarged by the addition of several other places by a different hand, whilst the number of the whole was left just as it was before. But such a conjecture presupposes greater thoughtlessness on the part of the editor than we have any right to attribute to the author of our book. If the author himself made these additions to his original sources, as *Hävernick* supposes, or the Jehovist completed the author's list from his second document, as *Knobel* imagines, either the one or the other would certainly have altered the sum of the whole, as he has not proceeded in so thoughtless a manner in any other case. The only way in which this conjecture could be defended, would be by supposing, as *J. D. Michaelis* and others have done, that the names added were originally placed in the margin, and that these marginal glosses were afterwards interpolated by some thoughtless copyist into the

Vers. 33-47. Towns in the *lowland* or *shephelah*.—The lowland (*shephelah*), which is generally rendered ἡ πεδινή in the *Sept.*, rarely τὸ πεδιόν (Deut. i. 7), but which is transferred as a proper name ἡ Σεφφλά in Obad. 19, Jer. xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 13, as well as in 1 Macc. xii. 38, where even *Luther* has *Sephela*, is the name given to the land between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean Sea,—a broad plain of undulating appearance, intersected by heights and low ranges of hills, with fertile soil, in which corn fields alternate with meadows, gardens, and extensive olive groves. It is still tolerably well cultivated, and is covered with villages, which are situated for the most part upon the different hills. Towards the south, the *shephelah* was bounded by the Negeb (ver. 21); on the north, it reached to Ramleh and Lydda, or Diospolis, where the plain of Sharon began,—a plain which extended as far as Carmel, and was renowned for the beauty of its flowers. Towards the east the hills multiply and shape themselves into a hilly landscape, which forms the intermediate link between the mountains and the plain, and which is distinguished from the *shephelah* itself, in chap. x. 40 and xii. 8, under the name of *Ashedoth*, or *slopes*, whereas here it is reckoned as forming part of the *shephelah*. This hilly tract is more thickly studded with villages than even the actual plain. (See *Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 363, and iii. p. 29.) The towns in the *shephelah* are divided into four groups.

Vers. 33-36. The *first* group contains the towns in the northern part of the hilly region or slopes, which are reckoned as forming part of the lowland: in all, fourteen towns. The most northerly part of this district was given up to the tribe of Dan on the second division (chap. xix. 41 sqq.). *Eshtaol* and *Zoreah*, which were assigned to the tribe of Dan (chap. xix. 41), and were partly in-text. But this conjecture is also rendered improbable by the circumstance that, in the lists of towns contained in our book, not only do other differences of the same kind occur, as in ver. 36, where we find only fourteen instead of fifteen, and in chap. xix. 6, where only thirteen are given instead of fourteen, but also differences of the very opposite kind,—namely, where the gross sum given is larger than the number of names, as, for example, in chap. xix. 15, where only five names are given instead of twelve, and in chap. xix. 38, where only sixteen are given instead of nineteen, and where it can be shown that there are gaps in the text, as towns are omitted which the tribes actually received and ceded to the Levites. If we add to this the fact that there are two large gaps in our Masoretic text in chap. xv. 59, 60, and xxi. 35, which proceed from copyists, and also that many errors occur in the numbers given in other historical books of the Old Testament, we are not warranted in tracing the differences in question to any other cause than errors in the text.

habited by Danites (Judg. xiii. 25, xviii. 2, 8, 11) and partly by families of Judah, who had gone out from Kirjath-jearim (1 Chron. ii. 53, iv. 2), probably after the removal of the 600 Danites to Laish-Dan (chap. xix. 47; Judg. xviii.), were situated, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Esthaul* and *Saara*), ten Roman miles to the north of Eleutheropolis, on the road to Nicopolis. *Zoreah*, the home of Samson, who was buried between Zoreah and Eshtaol (Judg. xiii. 2, xvi. 31), was fortified by Rehoboam, and still inhabited by Judæans after the captivity (2 Chron. xi. 10; Neh. xi. 29); it has been preserved in the ruins of *Surá*, at the south-western end of the mountain range which bounds the Wady es Surar on the north (*Rob.* ii. p. 341, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 153). *Eshtaol* has probably been preserved in *Um Eshteiye*, to the south-west (*Rob.* ii. p. 342). *Ashnah* is possibly to be read *Ashvah*, according to the LXX., Cod. Vat. (*Ἀσσα*). In that case it might resemble a town on the east of Zorea (*Tobler*, p. 180), as *Knobel* supposes.—Ver. 34. *Zanoah* was still inhabited by Judæans after the captivity (Neh. xi. 30, iii. 13), and is the present *Zanua*, not far from Zoreah, towards the east (see *Rob.* ii. p. 343). *Engannim* and *Tappuah* are still unknown. *Enam*, the same as *Enaim* (Gen. xxxviii. 14: rendered “an open place”), on the road from Adullam to Timnah on the mountains (ver. 57), has not yet been discovered.—Ver. 35. *Jarmuth*, i.e. *Jarmûk*; see chap. x. 3. *Adullam* has not yet been discovered with certainty (see at chap. xii. 15). *Socoh*, which was fortified by Rehoboam, and taken by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chron. xi. 7, xxviii. 18), is the present *Shuweikeh* by the Wady Sumt, half an hour to the south-west of *Jarmûk*, three hours and a half to the south-west of Jerusalem (see *Rob.* ii. pp. 343, 349). The *Onom.* (s. v. *Socoh*) mentions two *viculi* named *Sochoth*, one upon the mountain, the other in the plain, nine Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem. On *Azekah*, see at chap. x. 10.—Ver. 36. *Sharaim*, which was on the west of Socoh and Azekah, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 52, and is called *Σακαρίμ* or *Σαρραπέμ* in the *Sept.*, is probably to be sought for in the present Tell *Zakariya* and the village of *Kefr Zakariya* opposite, between which there is the broad deep valley called Wady Sumt, which is only twenty minutes in breadth (*Rob.* ii. p. 350). This is the more probable as the Hebrew name is a dual. *Adithaim* is unknown. *Gederah* is possibly the same as the *Gederoth* which was taken by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), and the *Gedrus* of the *Onom.* (s. v. *Gædur*, or *Gahedur*), ten Roman miles

to the south of Diospolis, on the road to Eleutheropolis, as the *Gederoth* in ver. 41 was in the actual plain, and therefore did not stand between Diospolis and Eleutheropolis. *Gederothaim* is supposed by *Winer*, *Knobel*, and others, to be an ancient gloss. This is possible no doubt, but it is not certain, as neither the omission of the name from the *Sept.*, nor the circumstance that the full number of towns is given as fourteen, and that this is not the number obtained if we reckon *Gederothaim*, can be adduced as a decisive proof, since this difference may have arisen in the same manner as the similar discrepancy in ver. 32.

Vers. 37–41. The *second* group, containing the towns of the actual plain in its full extent from north to south, between the hilly region and the line of coast held by the Philistines: *sixteen* towns in all.—Ver. 37. *Zenan*, probably the same as *Zaanán* (Micah i. 11), is supposed by *Knobel* to be the ruins of *Chirbet-es-Senat*, a short distance to the north of Beit-jibrin (*Tobler*, Dritte Wand. p. 124). *Hadashah*, according to the *Mishnah Erub.* v. vi. the smallest place in Judah, containing only fifty houses, is unknown, and a different place from the *Adasa* of 1 Macc. vii. 40, 45, and *Joseph. Ant.* xii. 10, 5, as this was to the north of Jerusalem (*Onom.*).—*Migdal-gad* is unknown. *Knobel* supposes it to be the small hill called *Jedeideh*, with ruins upon it, towards the north of Beit-jibrin (*V. de Velde*, R. ii. pp. 162, 188).—Ver. 38. *Dilean* is unknown; for *Bet Dula*, three full hours to the east of Beit-jibrin, with some relics of antiquity (*Tobler*, pp. 150–1), with which *Knobel* identifies it, is upon the mountains and not in the plain. *Mizpeh*, *i.e. specula*, a different place from the *Mizpeh* of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 26), was on the north of Eleutheropolis, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Maspha*), and therefore may possibly be the castle *Alba Specula*, or *Alba Custodia* of the middle ages, the present Tell *es Saphieh*, in the middle of the plain and upon the top of a lofty hill, from which there is an extensive prospect in all directions (see *Rob.* ii. p. 363). *Joktheel* has possibly been preserved in the ruins of *Keitulanah* (*Rob. Pal.* iii. App.), which are said to lie in that neighbourhood.—Ver. 39. *Lachish*, *i.e. Um Lakis* (see at chap. x. 3). *Bozkath* is unknown: according to *Knobel*, it may possibly be the ruins of *Tubakah*, on the south of Um Lakis and Ajlan (*Rob.* ii. pp. 388, 648). *Eglon*, *i.e. Ajlan*; see at chap. x. 3.—Ver. 40. *Cabbon*, probably the heap of ruins called *Kubeibeh* or *Kebeibeh*, “which must at some time or other have been a strong fortification, and have formed the key to the central mountains of Judah” (*V. de*

Velde, R. ii. p. 156), and which lie to the south of Beit-jibrin, and two hours and a half to the east of Ajlan (*Rob. Pal. ii. p. 394*). *Lachmas*: according to *Knobel* a corruption of Lachmam, which is the reading given in many MSS. and editions, whilst the *Vulgate* has *Leheman*, and *Luther* (and the *Eng. Ver.*) *Lahmam*. *Knobel* connects it with the ruins of *el Lahem* to the south of Beit-jibrin (*Tobler*). *Kithlish* (*Chitlis*) is unknown, unless it is to be found in Tell *Chilchis*, to the s.s.e. of Beit-jibrin (*V. de Velde*, R. ii. p. 157).—Ver. 41. *Gederoth*, *Beth-dagon*, and *Naamah* have not yet been traced. The village mentioned in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Beth-dagon*) as *grandis vicus Capher-dagon*, and said to lie between Diospolis and *Jamnia*, the present *Beit-dejan* (*Rob. iii. p. 30*), was far beyond the northern boundary of the tribe of Judah. *Mak-kedah*: see at chap. x. 10.

Vers. 42-44. The *third* group, consisting of the towns in the southern half of the hilly region: nine towns.—Ver. 42. *Libnah*: see at chap. x. 29. *Ether* and *Ashan*, which were afterwards given to the Simeonites (chap. xix. 7), and are probably to be sought for on the border of the Negeb, have not yet been discovered. The conjecture that *Ether* is connected with the ruins of *Attârah* (*Rob. iii. App.*) in the province of Gaza, is a very uncertain one. *Ashan*, probably the same as *Kor-ashan* (1 Sam. xxx. 30), became a priests' city afterwards (1 Chron. vi. 44; see at chap. xxi. 16).—Ver. 43. *Jiphtah*, *Ashnah*, and *Nezib* have not yet been traced. *Beit-nesib*, to the east of Beit-jibrin on the Wady Sur (*Rob. ii. p. 344*, and iii. p. 13), the *Neesib* of the *Onom.*, seven Roman miles to the east of Eleutheropolis, does not suit this group so far as its situation is concerned, as it lies within the limits of the first group.—Ver. 44. *Keilah*, which is mentioned in the history of David (1 Sam. xxiii.), and then again after the captivity (Neh. iii. 17), is neither the *Κεελά*, *Ceila* of the *Onom.*, on the east of Eleutheropolis, the present *Kila* (*Tobler*, Dritte Wand. p. 151), which lies upon the mountains of Judah; nor is it to be found, as *Knobel* supposes, in the ruins of *Jugaleh* (*Rob. iii. App.*), as they lie to the south of the mountains of Hebron, whereas *Keilah* is to be sought for in the *shephelah*, or at all events to the west or south-west of the mountains of Hebron. *Achzib* (Micah i. 14), the same as *Chesib* (Gen. xxxviii. 5), has been preserved in the ruins at *Kussâbeh*, a place with a fountain (*Rob. ii. p. 391*), i.e. the fountain of *Kesâba*, about five hours south by west from Beit-jibrin. *Mareshah*, which was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 8; cf. Micah i. 15), and was the place where

Asa defeated Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Chron. xiv. 9), the home of Eliezer (2 Chron. xx. 37), and afterwards the important town of *Marissa* (see *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 211–12), was between Hebron and Ashdod, since Judas Maccabæus is represented in 1 Macc. v. 65–68 (where the reading should be *Μαρίσσαν* instead of *Σαμάρειαν*, according to *Joseph. Ant.* xii. 8, 6) as going from Hebron through *Marissa* into the land of the Philistines, and turning to *Ashdod*. According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Maresah*), it was lying in ruins in the time of *Eusebius*, and was about two Roman miles from Eleutheropolis,—a description which applies exactly to the ruins of *Maresah*, twenty-four minutes to the south of Beit-jibrin, which *Robinson* supposes for this reason to be *Maresa* (*Rob.* ii. p. 422), whereas *Knobel* finds it in *Beit-mirsin*, a place four hours to the south of Beit-jibrin.¹

Vers. 45–47. The *fourth* group, consisting of the towns of the Philistine line of coast, the northern part of which was afterwards given up to the tribe of Dan (chap. xix. 43), but which remained almost entirely in the hands of the Philistines (see at chap. xiii. 3).²—Ver. 45. *Ekron*, i.e. *Akir* (see chap. xiii. 3). “*Her daughters*” are the other towns of the principality of Ekron that were dependent upon the capital, and הָצִירִים the villages and farms.—Ver. 46. Judah was also to receive “*from Ekron westwards all that lay on the side of Ashdod and their* (i.e. Ekron’s and Ashdod’s) *villages.*” The different places in this district are not given, because Judah never actually obtained possession of them.—Ver. 47. *Ashdod*, now *Esdūd*, and *Gaza*, now *Ghuzzeh*: see at chap. xiii. 3. Also “*the daughter towns*

¹ *Knobel* founds his opinion partly upon 2 Chron. xiv. 9, according to which *Maresah* was in the valley of Zephatah, which is the basin-like plain at *Mirsin*, and partly upon the fact that the *Onom.* also places *Moraste* on the east (south-east) of Eleutheropolis; and *Jerome* (ad Mich. i. 1) describes *Morasthi* as *haud grandem viculum juxta Eleutheropolin*, and as *sepulcrum quondam Michæ prophetæ nunc ecclesiam* (ep. 108 ad *Eustoch.* § 14); and this *ecclesia* is in all probability the ruins of a church called *Santa Hannah*, twenty minutes to the south-east of Beit-jibrin, and only ten minutes to the east of *Marash*, which makes the assumption a very natural one, that the *Maresa* and *Morasthi* of the fathers are only different parts of the same place, viz. of *Moreseth-gath*, the home of Micah (Micah i. 1, 14; Jer. xxvi. 18). But neither of these is decisive. The valley of *Zephatah* might be the large open plain which *Robinson* mentions (ii. p. 355) near Beit-jibrin; and the conjecture that *Morasthi*, which *Euseb.* and *Jer.* place πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς, contra orientem Eleutheropoleos, is preserved in the ruins which lie in a straight line towards the south from Beit-jibrin, and are called *Marash*, has not much probability in it.

² There is no force in the reasons adduced by *Ewald*, *Bertheau*, and *Knobel*,

and villages, unto the brook of Egypt (*Wady el Arish*: see ver. 4), and the great sea with its territory," i.e. the tract of land lying between Gaza and the coast of the Mediterranean. Gath and Askalon are not mentioned, because they are both of them included in the boundaries named. Askalon was between Ashdod and Gaza, by the sea-coast (see at chap. xiii. 3), and Gath on the east of Ekron and Ashdod (see chap. xiii. 3), so that, as a matter of course, it was assigned to Judah.

Vers. 48-60. The towns on the *mountains* are divided into five, or more correctly, into six groups. The mountains of Judah, which rise precipitously from the Negeb, between the hilly district on the west, which is reckoned as part of the *shephelah*, and the desert of Judah, extending to the Dead Sea on the east (ver. 61), attain the height of 3000 feet above the level of the sea, in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and run northwards to the broad wady of Beit-hanina, above Jerusalem. They are a large rugged range of limestone mountains, with many barren and naked peaks, whilst the sides are for the most part covered with grass, shrubs, bushes, and trees, and the whole range is intersected by many very fruitful valleys. *Josephus* describes it as abounding in corn, fruit, and wine; and to the present day it contains many orchards, olive grounds, and vineyards, rising in terraces up the sides of the mountains, whilst the valleys and lower grounds yield plentiful harvests of wheat, millet, and other kinds of corn. In ancient times, therefore, the whole of this district was thickly covered with towns (see *Rob.* ii. pp. 185, 191-2, and *C. v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 45 sqq.).

for regarding these verses as spurious, or as a later interpolation from a different source. For the statement, that the "Elohists" merely mentions those towns of which the Hebrews had taken possession, and which they held either partially or wholly in his own day, and also that his list of the places belonging to Judah in the *shephelah* never goes near the sea, are assertions without the least foundation, which are proved to be erroneous by the simple fact, that according to the express statement in ver. 12, the Mediterranean Sea formed the western boundary of the tribe of Judah; and according to chap. xiii. 6, Joshua was to distribute by lot even those parts of Canaan which had not yet been conquered. The difference, however, which actually exists between the verses before us and the other groups of towns, namely, that in this case the "towns" (or daughters) are mentioned as well as the villages, and that the towns are not summed up at the end, may be sufficiently explained from the facts themselves, namely, from the circumstance that the Philistine cities mentioned were capitals of small principalities, which embraced not only villages, but also small towns, and for that very reason did not form connected groups, like the towns of the other districts.

Vers. 48–51. The first *group* consists of eleven towns on the south-west of the mountains.—Ver. 48. *Shamir* has probably been preserved in the ruins of *Um Shaumerah*, mentioned by *Robinson* (iii. App.), though the situation of these ruins has not yet been precisely determined. *Jattir*, which was given up to the priests (chap. xxi. 14), and is mentioned again in 1 Sam. xxx. 27, is described in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Jether*) as a large place inhabited by Christians, twenty miles from Eleutheropolis, *in interiori Daroma juxta Malathan*,—a description which suits the ruins of *Attir*, in the southern portion of the mountains (see *Rob.* ii. p. 194; called *Ater* by *Seetzen*, R. iii. p. 6). *Socoh*, two hours N.W. of this, the present *Shuweikeh* (*Rob.* ii. p. 194), called *Suêche* by *Seetzen* (R. iii. p. 29), a village about four hours from Hebron.—Ver. 49. *Dannah* (*Sept.*, *Syr.*, *Renna*) is unknown. *Knobel* imagines that *Dannah* should be *Danah*, for *Deanah*, plur. *Deanoth*, which would then be suggestive of *Zanute*, the last inhabited place upon the mountains, five hours from Hebron, between Shuweikeh and Attir (see *Rob.* ii. p. 626; *Seetzen*, iii. pp. 27, 29). *Kirjath-sannah*, or *Debir*, has not been traced (see at chap. x. 38).—Ver. 50. *Anab*, on the north-east of Socoh (see at chap. xi. 21). *Eshtemo*, or *Eshtemoa*, which was ceded to the priests (chap. xxi. 14; 1 Chron. vi. 42), and is mentioned again in 1 Sam. xxx. 28, 1 Chron. iv. 17, 19, is the present *Semua*, an inhabited village, with remains of walls, and a castle of ancient date, on the east of Socoh (*Rob.* ii. pp. 194, 626; *Seetzen*, iii. 28; and v. *Schubert*, R. ii. p. 458). *Anim*, contracted, according to the probable conjecture of *Wilson*, from *Ayanim* (fountains), a place still preserved in the ruins of the village of *el Ghuwein*, on the south of *Semua*, though *Robinson* erroneously connects it with *Ain* (ver. 32: see *Rob.* Pal. ii. p. 626).—Ver. 51. *Goshen*, *Holon*, and *Giloh*, are still unknown. On *Goshen*, see at chap. x. 41. *Holon* was given up to the priests (chap. xxi. 15; 1 Chron. vi. 43); and *Giloh* is mentioned in 2 Sam. xv. 12 as the birth-place of Ahithophel.

Vers. 52–54. The second group of nine towns, to the north of the former, in the country round Hebron.—Ver. 52. *Arab* is still unknown; for we cannot connect it, as *Knobel* does, with the ruins of *Husn el Ghurab* in the neighbourhood of *Semua* (*Rob.* i. p. 312), as these ruins lie within the former group of towns. *Duma*, according to *Eusebius* the largest place in the Daromas in his time, and seventeen miles from Eleutheropolis, is probably the ruined village of *Dammeh*, by the Wady Dilbeh (*Rob.* i. p. 314), which is fourteen miles in a straight line to the south-east of Eleutheropolis according

to the map. *Es'an* (Eshean) can hardly be identified with *Asan* (1 Chron. iv. 32), as *Van de Velde* supposes, but is more likely *Korasan* (1 Sam. xxx. 30). In that case we might connect it with the ruins of *Khursah*, on the north-west of Daumeh, two hours and a half to the south-west of Hebron (*Rob.* iii. p. 5). As the Septuagint reading is *Σομά*, *Knobel* conjectures that Eshean is a corrupt reading for *Shema* (1 Chron. ii. 43), and connects it with the ruins of *Simia*, on the south of Daumeh (*Seetzen*, iii. 28, and *Rob.* iii. App.).—Ver. 53. *Janum* is still unknown. *Beth-tappuah* has been preserved in the village of *Teffuh*, about two hours to the west of Hebron (*Rob.* ii. p. 428). *Apheka* has not been discovered.—Ver. 54. *Humtah* is also unknown. *Kirjath-arba*, or *Hebron*: see at chap. x. 3. *Zior* has also not been traced; though, “so far as the name is concerned, it might have been preserved in the heights of *Tugra*, near to Hebron” (*Knobel*).

Vers. 55-57. The *third* group of ten towns, to the east of both the former groups, towards the desert.—Ver. 55. *Maon*, the home of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 2), on the border of the desert of Judah, which is here called the desert of Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 25), has been preserved in Tell *Maîn*, on a conical mountain commanding an extensive prospect, east by north of Semua, three hours and three-quarters to the s.s.e. of Hebron (*Rob.* ii. p. 193). *Carmel*, a town and mountain mentioned in the history of David, and again in the time of Uzziah (1 Sam. xv. 12, xxv. 2 sqq.; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10). In the time of the Romans it was a large place, with a Roman garrison (*Onom.*), and is the present *Kurmûl*, on the north-west of Maon, where there are considerable ruins of a very ancient date (*Rob.* ii. pp. 196 sqq.). *Ziph*, in the desert of that name, to which David fled from Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 14 sqq., xxvi. 2, 3), was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 8), and has been preserved in the ruins upon the hill *Ziph*, an hour and three-quarters to the south-east of Hebron (*Rob.* ii. p. 191). *Juttah*, which was assigned to the priests (chap. xxi. 16), and was a *vicus prægrandis Judæorum* in the time of the fathers (*Onom. s. v. Jethan*), was eighteen Roman miles to the south (south-east) of Eleutheropolis, and is the present *Jutta* or *Jitta*, a large Mahometan place with ruins, an hour and three-quarters to the south of Hebron (*Seetzen*, iii. p. 8; *Rob.* ii. pp. 191, 628).—Ver. 56. *Jezreel*, the home of Ahinoam (1 Sam. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3, etc.), a different place from the Jezreel in the plain of Esdraelon, has not yet been discovered. This also applies to *Jokdeam* and *Zanoah*, which are only met with here.—Ver. 57. *Cain*

(*Hakkain*) is possibly the same as *Jukin*, on the south-east of Hebron (*Rob.* ii. p. 449). *Gibeah* cannot be the *Gabatha* near Bethlehem, mentioned in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Gabathon*), or the *Gibea* mentioned by *Robinson* (ii. p. 327), i.e. the village of *Jeba*, on a hill in the Wady el Musurr, as this does not come within the limits of the present group; it must rather be one of the two places (*Gebaa* and *Gebatha*) described as *viculi contra orientalem plagam Daromæ*, though their situation has not yet been discovered. *Tinnah*, probably the place already mentioned in Gen. xxxviii. 12 sqq., has not been discovered.

Vers. 58, 59. The *fourth* group of six towns, on the north of Hebron or of the last two groups.—*Halhul*, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Elul*) a place near Hebron named *Alula*, has been preserved in the ruins of *Halhûl*, an hour and a half to the north of Hebron (*Rob.* i. p. 319, ii. p. 186, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 281). *Beth-zur*, which was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7), and is frequently mentioned in the time of the Maccabees as a border defence against the Idumæans (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61, etc.), was twenty (? fifteen) Roman miles from Jerusalem, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Beth-zur*), on the road to Hebron. It is the present heap of ruins called *Beit-zur* on the north-west of Halhûl (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 276-7; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 236, 267-8). *Gedor*, the ruins of *Jedûr*, an hour and a half to the north-west (*Rob.* ii. p. 338; *Bibl. Res.* pp. 282-3).—Ver. 59. *Maurath* and *Eltekon* have not yet been discovered. *Beth-anoth* (probably a contraction of *Beth-ayanoth*) has been discovered by *Wolcott* in the ruins of *Beit-anum*, on the east of Halhûl (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 279; cf. *Pal.* ii. p. 186).

Between vers. 59 and 60, the *fifth* group of towns given in the Septuagint is wanting in the Masoretic text. This group lay to the north of the fourth, and reached as far as Jerusalem. It comprised a district in which even now there are at least fifteen places and ruins, so that we have not an arbitrary interpolation made by the LXX., as *Jerome* assumed, but rather a gap in the Hebrew text, arising from the fact that an ancient copyist passed by mistake from the word וְיִצְרְיֵן in ver. 59 to the same word at the close of the missing section. In the Alexandrian version the section reads as follows in *Cod. Al.* and *Vat.*: Θεκὼ καὶ Ἐφραθά, αὕτη ἐστὶ Βαιθλεέμ, καὶ Φωγὼρ καὶ Αἰτὰν καὶ Κουλὸν καὶ Τατὰμ καὶ Θωβὴς (*Cod. Al.* Σωρὴς) καὶ Καρὲμ καὶ Γαλὲμ καὶ Θεθῆρ (*Cod. Al.* Βαιθῆρ) καὶ Μανοχώ, πόλεις ἑνδεκα καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν.—*Tleko*, the well-known Tekoah, the home of the wise woman and of the

prophet Amos (2 Sam. xiv. 2; Amos i. 1), was fortified by Rehoboam, and still inhabited after the captivity (2 Chron. xi. 6; Neh. iii. 5, 27). It is the present *Tekua*, on the top of a mountain covered with ancient ruins, two hours to the south of Bethlehem (*Rob.* ii. pp. 181–184; *Tobler*, Denksbl. aus Jerus. pp. 682 sqq.). *Ephratah*, i.e. *Bethlehem*, the family seat of the house of David (Ruth i. 1, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xvi. 4, xvii. 12 sqq.; Micah v. 2), was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 6), and is a place frequently mentioned. It was the birth-place of Christ (Matt. ii. 1 sqq.; Luke ii. 4), and still exists under the ancient name of *Beit-lahm*, two hours to the south of Jerusalem (*Seetzen*, ii. pp. 37 sqq.; *Rob.* ii. pp. 159 sqq.; *Tobler*, Topogr. v. Jerus. ii. pp. 464 sqq.). *Bethlehem* did not receive the name of *Ephratah* for the first time from the Calebite family of Ephrathites (1 Chron. ii. 19, 50, iv. 4), but was known by that name even in Jacob's time (Gen. xxxv. 19, xlviii. 7). *Phagor*, which was near to Bethlehem according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Fogor*), and is also called *Phaora*, is the present *Faghur*, a heap of ruins to the south-west of Bethlehem (*Rob.* Bibl. Res. p. 275). *Aetan* was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 6), and has been preserved in the *Wady* and *Ain Attan* between Bethlehem and Faghur (*Tobler*, dritte Wand. pp. 88, 89). *Kulon*, the present village of *Kulomeh*, an hour and a half west by north from Jerusalem on the road to Ramleh (see *Rob.* ii. p. 146; Bibl. Res. p. 158: it is called *Kolony* by *Seetzen*, ii. p. 64). *Tatam* cannot be traced. *Sores* (for *Thobes* appears to be only a copyist's error) is probably *Suris*, a small village four hours to the east of Jerusalem, upon a ridge on the south of Wady Aly (*Rob.* Bibl. Res. pp. 154–5). *Kurem*, now *Ain Karim*, a large flourishing village two hours to the west of Jerusalem, with a Franciscan convent dedicated to John the Baptist in the middle, and a fountain (*Rob.* ii. p. 141; Bibl. Res. p. 271). *Galem*, a different place from the *Gallim* on the north of Jerusalem (Isa. x. 30), has not yet been discovered. *Baither*, now a small dirty village called *Bettir* or *Bittir*, with a beautiful spring, and with gardens arranged in terraces on the western slope of the Wady Bitir, to the south-west of Jerusalem (*Rob.* Bibl. Res. p. 266). *Manocho*, possibly the same place as *Manachat* (1 Chron. viii. 6), has not been found.

Ver. 60. The *sixth* group of only two towns, to the west of Jerusalem, on the northern border of the tribe of Judah.—*Kirjath-baal*, or *Kirjath-jearim*, the present *Kureyet el Enab*; see at ver. 9, and chap. ix. 17. *Rabbah* (*Ha-rabbah*, the great) is quite unknown.

Vers. 61, 62. The *towns in the desert of Judah*, which ran along the Dead Sea from the northern border of Judah (vers. 6, 7) to Wady Fikreh on the south, and reached to the districts of Maon, Ziph, Tekoah, and Bethlehem towards the west. This tract of land is for the most part a terrible desert, with a soil composed of chalk, marl, and limestone, and with bald mountains covered with flint and hornstone, and without the slightest trace of vegetation on the side bordering on the Dead Sea (see *v. Schubert*, *Reise*, iii. pp. 94, 96; *Rob.* ii. pp. 202, 475, 477). Yet wherever there are springs even this desert is covered with a luxuriant vegetation, as far as the influence of the water extends (*Seetzen*, ii. pp. 249, 258); and even in those parts which are now completely desolate, there are traces of the work of man of a very ancient date in all directions (*Rob.* ii. p. 187). Six towns are mentioned in the verses before us. *Beth-arabah*: see at ver. 6. *Middin* and *Secaca* are unknown. According to *Knobel*, *Middin* is probably the ruins of *Mird* or *Mardeh*, to the west of the northern end of the Dead Sea (*Rob.* ii. p. 270).—Ver. 62. *Nibsan*, also unknown. The city of salt (salt town), in which the Edomites sustained repeated defeats (2 Sam. viii. 13; Ps. lx. 2; 2 Kings xiv. 7; 1 Chron. xviii. 12; 2 Chron. xxv. 11), was no doubt at the southern end of the Dead Sea, in the Salt Valley (*Rob.* ii. p. 483). *Engedi*, on the Dead Sea (*Ezek.* xlvii. 10), to which David also fled to escape from Saul (1 Sam. xxiv. 1 sqq.), according to the *Onom.* (*s. v. Engaddi*) a *vicus prægrandis*, the present *Ain-Jidi*, a spring upon a shelf of the high rocky coast on the west of the Dead Sea, with ruins of different ancient buildings (see *Seetzen*, ii. pp. 227–8; *Rob.* ii. pp. 214 sqq.; *Lynch*, pp. 178–9, 199, 200).—In ver. 63 there follows a notice to the effect that the Judeans were unable to expel the Jebusites from Jerusalem, which points back to the time immediately after Joshua, when the Judæans had taken Jerusalem and burned it (*Judg.* i. 8), but were still unable to maintain possession. This notice is not at variance with either chap. xviii. 28 or *Judg.* i. 21, since it neither affirms that Jerusalem belonged to the tribe of Judah, nor that Judah alone laid claim to the possession of the town to the exclusion of the Benjamites (see the explanation of *Judg.* i. 8).

INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBE OF JOSEPH.—CHAP. XVI. XVII.

The descendants of Joseph drew one lot, that the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh might not be separated from that of the tribe of Ephraim. But the territory was immediately divided between the two separate tribes of the children of Joseph, Ephraim receiving the southern portion of the land that had fallen to it by lot, and half Manasseh the northern. Accordingly we find the southern boundary of the whole territory described first of all in chap. xvi. 1-4, both the boundary which separated it from the tribe of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 11 sqq.), and that which divided it from Dan (chap. xix. 40 sqq.); then the territory of Ephraim is given, with a minute description of the northern boundary (chap. xvi. 5-10); and finally the territory assigned to the families of Manasseh (chap. xvii. 1-13), without any precise delineation of its northern boundaries, all that is stated being that the Manassites touched Asher and Issachar towards the north, and also received some scattered towns with their villages in the territory of both those tribes (chap. xvii. 10, 11). To this there is appended in vers. 14-18 the complaint of the children of Joseph concerning the inheritance that had fallen to them.

Chap. xvi. 1-4. *Territory of the Tribe of Joseph.*—Ver. 1. “*And there came out the lot of the children of Joseph from Jordan by Jericho.*” “The lot came out,” viz. from the urn (cf. chap. xix. 1, 17, 24). The expression “came up” is used in the same sense in chap. xviii. 11. The connection of these two words with the rest of the sentence, “*from Jordan by Jericho,*” may be explained on the supposition that the lot which came out of the urn determined the inheritance that fell to the tribe, so that we might paraphrase the verse in this manner: “There came out the lot to the children of Joseph, namely, the inheritance, which goes out from, or whose boundary commences at, the Jordan by Jericho,” i.e. from that part of the Jordan which is opposite to Jericho, and which is still more precisely defined by the additional clause, “by the water of Jericho eastward.” The water of Jericho is the present fountain of *es Sultan*, half an hour to the north-west of *Riha*, the only large fountain in the neighbourhood of Jericho, whose waters spread over the plain, and form a small brook, which no doubt flows in the rainy season through the Wady Kelt into the Jordan (see *Rob.* ii. pp. 283-4; *Tobler*, *Topogr.* v. *Jerus.* ii. pp. 558-9). “*The wilderness*” is in opposition to “the lot,” so that the sense is, “*namely, the desert*

going up from Jericho to the mountains to Bethel." According to chap. xviii. 12, the reference is to the desert of Beth-aven, which was on the east of Bethel, between the Wady Suwar (*Tuwar*) and Mutyah (see at chap. vii. 2). Towards the east this desert terminates with the Jebel Kuruntul (Quarantana) on the north-west of Jericho, where it descends precipitously into the valley of the Jordan, or *v. v.*, where it rises out of the Jordan valley. According to chap. xviii. 12, the same boundary went up by the shoulder of Jericho towards the north, *i.e.* along the northern range of mountains by Jericho, which cannot be any other than the "conspicuous double height, or rather group of heights," in front of the mountain of Quarantana, at the eastern foot of which lies the fountain of Ain es Sultan (*Rob.* ii. p. 284). In all probability, therefore, the boundary ran up towards the north-west, from the Sultan fountain to Ain Duk, and thence in a westerly direction across to Abu Seba (along which road *Robinson* had a frightful desert on his right hand: *Pal.* ii. p. 310), and then again towards the north-west to Beitin (Bethel), according to chap. xviii. 13, along the southern shoulder (or side) of Luz, *i.e.* Bethel.—Ver. 2. "*And it went out from Bethel to Luz.*" Bethel is distinguished from Luz in this passage, because the reference is not to the town of Bethel, which was called Luz by the Canaanites (*vi.* Gen. xxviii. 19), but to the southern range of mountains belonging to Bethel, from which the boundary ran out to the town of Luz, so that this town, which stood upon the border, was allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 22). From this point the boundary went over "*to the territory of the Arkite to Ataroth.*" We know nothing further about the Arkite than that David's friend Hushai belonged to that family (2 Sam. xv. 32, xvi. 16; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33). Ataroth, called Ataroth-Adar in chap. xviii. 13, was not the present village of Atâra, an hour and a half to the south of Jiljilia (*Rob.* iii. p. 80), as I once supposed, but the ruins of Atâra, three-quarters of an hour to the south of Bireh (Beeroth, *Rob.* ii. p. 314), with which the expression "*descended*" in chap. xviii. 13 perfectly harmonizes. Consequently the boundary was first of all drawn in a south-westerly direction from Beitin to Bireh (chap. xviii. 25), and then southwards to Atârah.—Ver. 3. From this point "*it went down westward to the territory of the Japhletites to the territory of lower Beth-horon,*" or, according to chap. xviii. 13, "*to the mountain (or range) which is on the south by lower Beth-horon.*" The *Japhletite* is altogether unknown, as the Asherite of this name cannot possibly be thought of (1 Chron.

vii. 32, 33). *Lower Beth-horon* is the present *Beit-Ur Tachta*, a village upon a low ridge. It is separated from Upper Beth-horon, which lies farther east, by a deep wady (see at chap. x. 10, and *Rob.* iii. p. 59). “*And to Gezer,*” which was probably situated near the village of *el Kubab* (see at chap. x. 33). “*And the goings out thereof are at the sea*” (the Mediterranean), probably running towards the north-west, and following the Wady Muzeireh to the north of Japho, which was assigned to the Danites, according to chap. xix. 46.—Ver. 4. The territory commencing at the boundary lines mentioned was allotted to Ephraim and Manasseh as their inheritance.

Vers. 5-10. *Territory of the tribe of Ephraim*, according to its families.—Ver. 5. “*The border of their inheritance was from the east Atroth-addar and (along the line) to Upper Beth-horon,*”—a brief description of the southern boundary, which is more minutely described in vers. 1-3. Upper Beth-horon is mentioned here instead of Lower Beth-horon (ver. 3). This makes no difference, however, as the two places stood quite close to one another (see at chap. x. 10). In vers. 6-8 the northern boundary of Ephraim is given, namely, from the middle, or from “a central point near the watershed” (*Knobel*), first towards the east (vers. 6 and 7), and then towards the west (ver. 8). The eastern half of the northern boundary went מִן־הַיַּמִּינִי , *i.e.* when regarded from the west, or looked at towards the west, to the north side of *Michmethah*. According to chap. xvii. 7, this place was before Shechem, and therefore in any case it was not far from it, though it has not been discovered yet. *Knobel* supposes it to have been on the site of the present *Kabate* (*Seetzen*, ii. p. 166), *Kubatiyeh*, an hour and a half to the south of *Jenin* (*Rob.* iii. 154), assuming that *Michmethah* might also have been pronounced *Che-mathah*, and that *b* may have been substituted for *m*. But *Kabate* is six hours to the north of Shechem, and therefore was certainly not “before Shechem” (chap. xvii. 7). It then turned “eastward to Tuanath-shiloh” (Τηνὰθ Σηλώ , LXX.), according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Thenath*) ten Roman miles from Neapolis (Sichem), on the way to the Jordan, most probably the *Thena* of *Ptol.* (v. 16, 5), the present *Tana*, *Ain Tana*, a heap of ruins on the south-east of Nabulus, where there are large cisterns to be found (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 295; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xv. p. 471). And “then went by on the east to Janoah” (*i.e.* *Jano* in *Acrabittena regione*, twelve Roman miles from Neapolis: *Onom.*), the present ruins of *Janân*, a miserable village, with extensive ruins of great antiquity, about three

hours to the south-east of Nabulus, three-quarters of an hour to the north-east of Akraheh (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 297; *Van de Velde*, R. ii. p. 268).—Ver. 7. From Janoah the boundary went down “to *Ataroth and Naarath*.” *Ataroth*, a different place from the *Ataroth* or *Atroth-addar* mentioned in vers. 3 and 5, is apparently to be sought for on the eastern slope of the mountains by the side of the Ghor, judging from the expression “went down;” but it has not yet been discovered. *Naarath*, probably the same as *Naaran*, in eastern Ephraim (1 Chron. vii. 28), is described in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Naaratha*) as *viculus Judæorum Naorath*, five Roman miles (*i.e.* two hours) from Jericho, probably on the north-east. The boundary line then touched Jericho, *i.e.* the district of Jericho, namely on the north side of the district, as Jericho was allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 21). At this point it also coincided with the southern boundary of the tribe of Joseph (ver. 1) and the northern boundary of Benjamin (chap. xviii. 12).—Ver. 8. The western half of the northern boundary went from *Tappuah* westwards to the Cane-brook, and terminated at the sea. *Tappuah*, called *En-tappuah* in chap. xvii. 7, as the southern boundary of Manasseh, which is there described, and which ran from Michmethah to En-tappuah, coincides with the northern boundary of Ephraim, must not be identified with the royal town of that name mentioned in chap. xii. 17, and therefore was not *Kefr Kud* (*Caperkota*), on the west of Jenin (Ginäa). This place was so far to the north, viz. seven hours to the north of Nabulus, that the boundary from Michmethah, in the neighbourhood of Shechem (Nabulus) onwards, would have run from south to north instead of in a westerly direction. Still less can *En-tappuah* be found, as *Van de Velde* supposes, in the old well of the deserted village of *Atüf*, five hours to the east of Nabulus. It must have been to the west of Shechem; but it has not yet been discovered, as the country to the west of Nabulus and Sebastieh has “not been examined” (*Van de Velde*). The *Cane-brook* is no doubt the brook of that name mentioned by *Bohud.* (*vita Salad.* pp. 191, 193); only it is not quite clear “whether the *Abu Zabura* is intended, or a brook somewhat farther south, where there is still a *Nahr el Kassab*.”—Ver. 9. The tribe of Ephraim also received some scattered towns in the territory of the tribe of Manasseh, in fact all those towns to which *Tappuah* belonged, according to chap. xvii. 8, with the dependent villages.¹—

¹ The reason why the Ephraimites received scattered towns and villages in the tribe-territory of Manasseh, is supposed by *Calvin*, *Masius*, and others, to

Ver. 10. From Gezer, however (see ver. 3), they could not drive out the Canaanites, so that they still dwelt among the Ephraimites, but were reduced to a state of serfdom. This notice resembles the one in chap. xv. 63, and is to be interpreted in the same way.

Chap. xvii. 1-13. *The inheritance of Manasseh on this side of the Jordan* was on the north of Ephraim.—Vers. 1b-6. Before proceeding to the more detailed description of the inheritance, the historian thinks it necessary to observe that the Manassites received a double inheritance. This remark is introduced with the words “*for he was the first-born of Joseph.*” On this account, in addition to the territory already given to him in Gilead and Bashan, he received a second allotment of territory in Canaan proper. With the word לְמַכִּיר (for Machir) the more minute account of the division of the Manassites commences. לְמַכִּיר וְנֹ is first of all written absolutely at the beginning of the sentence, and then resumed in לוֹ : וַיְהִי לוֹ : “*to Machir, the first-born of Manasseh . . . to him were Gilead and Bashan assigned, because he was a man of war,*” i.e. a warlike man, and had earned for himself a claim to the inheritance of Gilead and Bashan through the peculiar bravery which he had displayed in the conquest of those lands. By *Machir*, however, we are not to understand the actual son of Manasseh, but his family; and אֲבִי הַגִּלְעָד does not mean “*father of Gilead,*” but *lord* (possessor) of *Gilead*, for Machir’s son Gilead is always called גִּלְעָד without the article (*vid.* chap. xvii. 3; Num. xxvi. 29, 30, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 1; 1 Chron. vii. 17), whereas the country of that name is just as constantly called הַגִּלְעָד (see ver. 1, the last clause, ver. 5, chap. xiii. 11, 31; Num. xxxii. 40; Deut. iii. 10 sq.). “*And there came, i.e. the lot fell (the lot is to be repeated from ver. 1), to the other descendants of Manasseh according to their families,*” which are then enumerated as in Num. xxvi. 30-32. “*These are the male descendants of Manasseh.*” הַזְּכָרִים must not be altered, notwithstanding the fact that it is preceded and followed by הַנְּתָרִים; it is evidently used deliberately as an antithesis to the female descendants of Manasseh mentioned in ver. 3.—Vers. 3 sqq. Among the six families of Manasseh (ver. 2), *Zelophehad*, a descendant of *Hepher*, left no son; but he had five daughters, whose names are given in ver. 3

have been, that after the boundaries had been arranged, on comparing the territory allotted to each with the relative numbers of the two tribes, it was found that Ephraim had received too small a possession. This is quite possible; at the same time there may have been other reasons which we cannot discover now, as precisely the same thing occurs in the case of Manasseh (chap. xvii. 11).

(as in Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 10). These daughters had petitioned Moses for a separate portion in the promised land, and their request had been granted (Num. xxvii. 2 sqq., compared with chap. xxxvi.). They therefore came before the committee appointed for dividing the land and repeated this promise, which was at once fulfilled. Consequently there were ten families of Manasseh who had received portions by the side of Ephraim, five male and five female. “*And (ver. 5) there fell the measurements of Manasseh (as) ten,*” *i.e.* ten portions were assigned to the Manassites (on the west of the Jordan), beside the land of Gilead, because (as is again observed in ver. 6) the daughters of Manasseh, *i.e.* of Zelophehad the Manassite, received an inheritance among his sons (*i.e.* the rest of the Manassites).

Vers. 7–13. *Boundaries and extent of the inheritance of the ten families of Manasseh.*—Vers. 7–10a, the southern boundary, which coincides with the northern boundary of Ephraim described in chap. xvi. 6–8, and is merely given here with greater precision in certain points. It went “*from Asher to Michmethah, before Shechem.*” *Asher* is not the territory of the tribe of Asher, but a distinct locality; according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Asher*) a place on the high road from Neapolis to Scythopolis, fifteen Roman miles from the former. It is not to be found, however, in the ruins of Tell Um el Aschera (*V. de Velde*) or Tell Um Ajra (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 310, 327), an hour to the south of Beisan, as *Knobel* supposes, but in the village of *Yasir*, where there are magnificent ruins, about five hours and ten minutes from Nabulus on the road to Beisan (*V. de Velde*, *Mem.* pp. 237, 289; *R. ii.* p. 295). *Michmethah*, before *Shechem*, is still unknown (see chap. xvi. 6). *Shechem* was founded by the Hivite prince *Shechem* (*Gen.* xxxiii. 18), and is frequently mentioned in the book of *Genesis*. It stood between *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, was given up by Ephraim to the Levites, and declared a free city (city of refuge: chap. xxi. 21, xx. 7). It was there that the ten tribes effected their separation from Judah (1 Kings xii. 1 sqq.), and *Jeroboam* resided there (1 Kings xii. 25). In later times it was the chief city of the country of *Samaria*, and the capital of the *Samaritans* (*John* iv. 5); and the name of *Neapolis*, or *Flavia Neapolis*, from which the present *Nabulus* or *Nablus* has come, was given to it in honour of *Vespasian* (see *v. Raumer*, *Pal.* pp. 161 sqq.). From this point the boundary went יָמִין אֶל-הַיְמָן (*i.e.* either “*to the right side,*” the south side, or *to Yamin*), “*to the inhabitants of En-tappuah.*” Whether *Yamin* is an appella-

tive or a proper name is doubtful. But even if it be the name of a place, it is quite certain that it cannot be the village of *Yamôn*, an hour to the south-east of *Taanuk* (*Rob.* iii. pp. 161, 167, etc.), as this is much too far north, and, judging from ver. 11, belonged to the territory of Asher. In the case of *En-tappuah*, the inhabitants are mentioned instead of the district, because the district belonged to Manasseh, whilst the town on the border of Manasseh was given to the Ephraimites. The situation of the town has not yet been discovered: see at chap. xvi. 8. From this point the boundary ran down to the Cane-brook (see chap. xvi. 8), namely to the south side of the brook. "*These towns were assigned to Ephraim in the midst of the towns of Manasseh, and (but) the territory of Manasseh was on the north of the brook.*" The only possible meaning of these words is the following: From Tappuah, the boundary went down to the Cane-brook and crossed it, so that the south side of the brook really belonged to the territory of Manasseh; nevertheless the towns on this south side were allotted to Ephraim, whilst only the territory to the north of the brook fell to the lot of the Manassites. This is expressed more plainly in ver. 10a: "*To the south (of the brook the land came) to Ephraim, and to the north to Manasseh.*" In ver. 10b the northern and eastern boundaries are only briefly indicated: "*And they (the Manassites) touched Asher towards the north, and Issachar towards the east.*" The reason why this boundary was not described more minutely, was probably because it had not yet been fixed. For (ver. 11) Manasseh also received towns and districts in (within the territory of) Issachar and Asher, viz. Beth-shean, etc. *Beth-shean*, to the wall of which Saul's body was fastened (1 Sam. xxxi. 10 sqq.; 2 Sam. xxi. 12), was afterwards called *Scythopolis*. It was in the valley of the Jordan, where the plain of Jezreel slopes off into the valley; its present name is *Beisan*, a place where there are considerable ruins of great antiquity, about two hours from the Jordan (*vid. Seetzen*, ii. pp. 162 sqq.; *Rob.* iii. p. 174; *Bibl. Res.* p. 325; *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 150-1). This city, with its daughter towns, was in the territory of Issachar, which was on the east of Manasseh, and may have extended a considerable distance towards the south along the valley of the Jordan, as the territory of Manasseh and Ephraim did not run into the valley of the Jordan; but Asher (*Yasir*) is mentioned in ver. 7 as the most easterly place in Manasseh, and, according to chap. xvi. 6, 7, the eastern boundary of Ephraim ran down along the eastern edge of the mountains as far as Jericho, without including the Jordan valley. At the same

time, the Ghor on the western side of the Jordan below Beisan, as far as the plain of Jericho, was of no great value to any tribe, as this district, according to *Josephus* (de Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 2, and iii. 10, 7), was uninhabited because of its barrenness. The other towns, *Ibleam*, etc., with the exception of Endor perhaps, were in the territory of Asher, and almost all on the south-west border of the plain of Esdraelon. *Ibleam*, called *Bileam* in 1 Chron. vi. 55 (70), a Levitical town (see at chap. xxi. 25), was not very far from Megiddo (2 Kings ix. 27), and has probably been preserved in the ruins of *Khirbet-Belameh*, half an hour to the south of Jenin; according to *Schultz*, it is the same place as *Belamon*, *Belmen*, or *Belthem* (Judith iv. 4, vii. 3, viii. 3). With וְאֶת־יִשְׁבֵּי דָאֵר the construction changes, so that there is an anacolouthon, which can be explained, however, on the ground that הָיָה לְ may not only mean to be assigned to, but also to receive or to have. In this last sense וְאֶת is attached. The inhabitants are mentioned instead of the towns, because the historian had already the thought present in his mind, that the Manassites were unable to exterminate the Canaanites from the towns allotted to them. *Dor* is the present *Tortura* (see at chap. xi. 2). *Endor*, the home of the witch (1 Sam. xxviii. 7), four Roman miles to the south of Tabor (*Onom.*), at present a village called *Endôr*, on the northern shoulder of the Duhy or Little Hermon (see *Rob.* iii. p. 225; *Bibl. Res.* p. 340). *Taanach* and *Megiddo*, the present *Taanuk* and *Lejun* (see at chap. xii. 21). The three last towns, with the places dependent upon them, are connected more closely together by שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנֶּפֶת, the three-hill-country, probably because they formed a common league.—Vers. 12, 13. The Manassites were unable to exterminate the Canaanites from these six towns, and the districts round; but when they grew stronger, they made them tributary slaves (cf. chap. xvi. 10).

Vers. 14–18. *Complaint of the Descendants of Joseph respecting the inheritance allotted to them.*—Ver. 14. As the descendants of Joseph formed two tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh), they gave utterance to their dissatisfaction that Joshua had given them (“me,” the house of Joseph, ver. 17) but one lot, but one portion (חֶבֶל, a measure, then the land measured off), for an inheritance, although they were a strong and numerous people. “So far hath Jehovah blessed me hitherto.” עַד־אֲשֶׁר, to this (*sc.* numerous people), is to be understood *de gradu*; עַד־כֹּה, hitherto, *de tempore*. There was no real ground for this complaint. As Ephraim numbered only 32,500 and Manasseh 52,700 at the second census in the time

of Moses (Num. xxvi.), and therefore Ephraim and half Manasseh together did not amount to more than 58,000 or 59,000, this tribe and a half were not so strong as Judah with its 76,500, and were even weaker than Dan with its 64,400, or Issachar with its 64,300 men, and therefore could not justly lay claim to more than the territory of a single tribe. Moreover, the land allotted to them was in one of the most fertile parts of Palestine. For although as a whole the mountains of Ephraim have much the same character as those of Judah, yet the separate mountains are neither so rugged nor so lofty, there being only a few of them that reach the height of 2500 feet above the level of the sea (see *Ritter*, Erdk. xv. pp. 475 sqq.; *V. de Velde*, Mem. pp. 177 sqq.); moreover, they are intersected by many broad valleys and fertile plateaux, which are covered with fruitful fields and splendid plantations of olives, vines, and fig trees (see *Rob.* iii. p. 78, *Bibl. Res.* pp. 290 sqq.; *Seetzen*, ii. pp. 165 sqq., 190 sqq.). On the west the mountains slope off into the hill country, which joins the plain of Sharon, with its invariable fertility. "The soil here is a black clay soil of unfathomable depth, which is nearly all ploughed, and is of such unusual fertility that a cultivated plain here might furnish an almost unparalleled granary for the whole land. Interminable fields full of wheat and barley with their waving ears, which were very nearly ripe, with here and there a field of millet, that was already being diligently reaped by the peasants, presented a glorious sight" (*Ritter*, Erdk. xvi. pp. 567-8).—Ver. 15. Joshua therefore sent them back with their petition, and said, "*If thou art a strong people, go up into the wood and cut it away,*" i.e. make room for houses, fields, and meadows, by clearing the forests, "*in the land of the Perizzites and Rephaim, if the mountain of Ephraim is too narrow for thee.*" The name "mountain of Ephraim" is used here in a certain sense proleptically, to signify the mountain which received its name from the tribe of Ephraim, to which it had only just been allotted. This mountain, which is also called the mountain of Israel (chap. xi. 16, 21), was a limestone range running from Kirjath-jearim, where the mountains of Judah terminate (see at chap. xi. 21), to the plain of Jezreel, and therefore embracing the greater part of the tribe-territory of Benjamin. The wood, which is distinguished from the mountain of Ephraim, and is also described in ver. 18 as a mountainous land, is either the mountainous region extending to the north of Yasir as far as the mountains of Gilboa, and lying to the west of Beisan, a region which has not

yet been thoroughly explored, or else, as *Knobel* supposes, "the broad range of woody heights or low woody hills, by which the mountains of Samaria are connected with Carmel on the north-west (*Rob.* iii. p. 189), between Taanath and Megiddo on the east, and Cæsarea and Dor on the west." Possibly both may be intended, as the children of Joseph were afraid of the Canaanites in Beisan and in the plain of Jezreel (ver. 16). The Rephaim were dwelling there, a tribe of gigantic stature (see at Gen. xiv. 5), also the Perizzites (see at Gen. xiii. 7).—Ver. 16. The children of Joseph replied that the mountain (allotted to them) would not be enough for them (אֲרָצָה, as in Num. xi. 22; Zech. x. 10); and that all the Canaanites who dwelt in the land of the plain had iron chariots, both those in Beth-shean and its daughter towns, and those in the valley of Jezreel. אֲרָצַת הַיַּמִּין, the land of the plain or valley land, includes both the valley of the Jordan near Beisan, and also the plain of Jezreel, which opens into the Jordan valley in the neighbourhood of Beisan (*Rob.* iii. p. 173). The plain of Jezreel, so called after the town of that name, is called the "great field of Esdrelom" in Judith i. 4, and τὸ μέγα πεδῖον by *Josephus*. It is the present *Merj* (i.e. pasture-land) *Ibn Aamer*, which runs in a south-westerly direction from the Mediterranean Sea above Carmel, and reaches almost to the Jordan. It is bounded on the south by the mountains of Carmel, the mountain-land of Ephraim and the range of hills connecting the two, on the north by the mountains of Galilee, on the west by the southern spurs of the Galilean highland, and on the east by the mountains of Gilboa and the Little Hermon (Jebel Duhy). Within these boundaries it is eight hours in length from east to west, and five hours broad; it is fertile throughout, though very desolate now (see *v. Raumer*, *Pal.* iii. pp. 39 sqq.). "Iron chariots" are not scythe chariots, for these were introduced by Cyrus, and were unknown to the Medes, Persians, and Arabians, i.e. to the early Asiatics before his time (*Xen. Cyr.* vi. 1, 27, 30), as well as to the ancient Egyptians (see *Wilkinson*, *Manners and Customs*, i. p. 350); they were simply chariots tipped with iron, just as the Egyptian war-chariots were made of wood and strengthened with metal nails and tips (*Wilkinson*, pp. 342, 348).—Vers. 17, 18. As the answer of the children of Joseph indicated cowardice and want of confidence in the help of God, Joshua contented himself with repeating his first reply, though more fully and with the reasons assigned. "Thou art a strong people, and hast great power; there will not be one lot to thee:" i.e.

because thou art a numerous people and endowed with strength, there shall not remain one lot to thee, thou canst and wilt extend thine inheritance. "*For the mountain will be thine, for it is forest, and thou wilt hew it out, and its goings out will become thine.*" By the mountain we are not to understand the mountains of Ephraim which were assigned to the Ephraimites by the lot, but the wooded mountains mentioned in ver. 15, which the children of Joseph were to hew out, so as to make outlets for themselves. "*The outgoings of it*" are the fields and plains bordering upon the forest. For the Canaanites who dwelt there (ver. 15) would be driven out by the house of Joseph, just because they had iron chariots and were strong, and therefore only a strong tribe like Joseph was equal to the task. "Not one of the tribes of Israel is able to fight against them (the Canaanites) because they are strong, but you have strength enough to be able to expel them" (*Rashi*).

THE TABERNACLE SET UP AT SHILOH. SURVEY OF THE LAND THAT HAD STILL TO BE DIVIDED. INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN.—CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. THE TABERNACLE SET UP AT SHILOH.—As soon as the tribe of Ephraim had received its inheritance, Joshua commanded the whole congregation to assemble in Shiloh, and there set up the tabernacle, in order that, as the land was conquered, the worship of Jehovah might henceforth be regularly observed in accordance with the law. The selection of Shiloh as the site for the sanctuary was hardly occasioned by the fitness of the place for this purpose, on account of its being situated upon a mountain in the centre of the land, for there were many other places that would have been quite as suitable in this respect; the reason is rather to be found in the name of the place, viz. *Shiloh*, i.e. rest, which called to mind the promised Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10), and therefore appeared to be pre-eminently suitable to be the resting-place of the sanctuary of the Lord, where His name was to dwell in Israel, until He should come who was to give true rest to His people as the Prince of Peace. In any case, however, Joshua did not follow his own judgment in selecting Shiloh for this purpose, but acted in simple accordance with the instructions of God, as the Lord had expressly reserved to himself the choice of the place where His name should dwell (Deut. xii. 11). *Shiloh*, according to the *Onom.*,

was twelve Roman miles or five hours to the south of Neapolis (Nablus), and about eight hours to the north of Jerusalem; at present it is a heap of ruins, bearing the name of *Seilun* (see *Rob.* iii. p. 85). The tabernacle continued standing at Shiloh during the time of the judges, until the ark of the covenant fell into the hands of the Philistines, in the lifetime of Eli, when the holy tent was robbed of its soul, and reduced to the mere shadow of a sanctuary. After this it was removed to Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 2); but in consequence of the massacre inflicted by Saul upon the inhabitants of this place (1 Sam. xxii. 19), it was taken to Gibeon (1 Kings iii. 4: see *Keil*, *Bibl. Arch.* i. § 22). From this time forward Shiloh continued to decline, because the Lord had rejected it (Ps. lxxviii. 60; Jer. vii. 12, xxvi. 6). That it was destroyed by the Assyrians, as *Knobel* affirms, is not stated in the history.

Vers. 2-10. SURVEY OF THE LAND THAT HAD YET TO BE DIVIDED.—Ver. 2. After the tabernacle had been set up, the casting of the lots and division of the land among the other seven tribes were to be continued; namely at Shiloh, to which the congregation had removed with the sanctuary.—Vers. 3, 4. But, for the reasons explained in chap. xiv. 1, these tribes showed themselves “*slack to go to possess the land which the Lord had given them*,” i.e. not merely to conquer it, but to have it divided by lot, and to enter in and take possession. Joshua charged them with this, and directed them to appoint three men for each of the seven tribes, that they might be sent out to go through the land, and describe it according to the measure of their inheritance. “*According to their inheritance*,” i.e. with special reference to the fact that seven tribes were to receive it for their inheritance. The description was not a formal measurement, although the art of surveying was well known in Egypt in ancient times, and was regularly carried out after the annual inundations of the Nile (*Herod.* ii. 109; *Strabo*, xvii. 787; *Diod. Sic.* i. 69); so that the Israelites might have learned it there. But *פָּתַח* does not mean to measure; and it was not a formal measurement that was required, for the purpose of dividing the land that yet remained into seven districts, since the tribes differed in numerical strength, and therefore the boundaries of the territory assigned them could not be settled till after the lots had been cast. The meaning of the word is to describe; and according to ver. 9, it was chiefly to the towns that reference was made: so that the description required by Joshua in all probability consisted simply in the preparation of

lists of the towns in the different parts of the land, with an account of their size and character; also with "notices of the quality and condition of the soil; what lands were fertile, and what they produced; where the country was mountainous, and where it was level; which lands were well watered, and which were dry; and any other things that would indicate the character of the soil, and facilitate a comparison between the different parts of the land" (*Rosenmüller*). The reasons which induced Joshua to take steps for the first time now for securing a survey of the land, are given in chap. xiv. 1. The men chosen for the purpose were able to carry out their task without receiving any hindrance from the Canaanites. For whilst the latter were crushed, if not exterminated, by the victories which the Israelites had gained, it was not necessary for the twenty-one Israelitish men to penetrate into every corner of the land, and every town that was still inhabited by the Canaanites, in order to accomplish their end.—Vers. 5, 6. "*And divide it into seven parts,*" viz. for the purpose of casting lots. Judah, however, was still to remain in its land to the south, and Ephraim in its territory to the north. The seven portions thus obtained they were to bring to Joshua, that he might then cast the lot for the seven tribes "before the Lord," i.e. before the tabernacle (chap. xix. 51).—Ver. 7. There were only seven tribes that had still to receive their portions; for the tribe of Levi was to receive no portion in the land (*vid.* chap. xiii. xiv.), and Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh had received their inheritance already on the other side of the Jordan.—Vers. 8, 9. Execution of this command.—Ver. 10. Joshua finishes the casting of the lots at Shiloh.

Vers. 11-28. INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN.—Vers. 11-20. *Boundaries* of the inheritance.—Ver. 11. The territory of their lot (i.e. the territory assigned to the Benjaminites by lot) came out (through the falling out of the lot) between the sons of Judah and the sons of Joseph.—Vers. 12, 13. The *northern boundary* ("the boundary towards the north side") therefore coincided with the southern boundary of Ephraim as far as Lower Beth-horon, and has already been commented upon in the exposition of chap. xvi. 1-3. The *western boundary* follows in ver. 14. At Beth-horon the boundary curved round and turned southwards on the western side, namely from the mountain before (in front of) Beth-horon southwards; and "*the goings out thereof were at Kirjath-baal, which is Kirjath-jearim,*" the town of the Judæans mentioned

in chap. xv. 60, the present *Kureyet el Enab* (see at chap. ix. 17).—Vers. 15–19. “*As for the southern boundary from the end of Kirjath-jearim onwards, the (southern) boundary went out on the west (i.e. it started from the west), and went out (terminated) at the fountain of the water of Nephtoah.*” Consequently it coincided with the northern boundary of Judah, as described in chap. xv. 5–9, except that it is given there from east to west, and here from west to east (see at chap. xv. 5–9). In the construction הַיְצִאוֹתַי הַנְּבוֹל, the noun הַנְּבוֹל is in apposition to the suffix: the outgoings of it, namely of the border (see *Ewald*, § 291, b.).—Ver. 20. The eastern boundary was the Jordan.

Vers. 21–28. The towns of Benjamin are divided into two groups. The first group (vers. 21–24) contains twelve towns in the eastern portion of the territory. *Jericho*: the present *Riha* (see at chap. ii. 1). *Beth-hoglah*, now *Ain Hajla* (see chap. xv. 6). *Emek-Keziz*: the name has been preserved in the *Wady el Kaziz*, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, on the south-east of the Apostle’s Well (see *Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 328).—Ver. 22. *Beth-arabah*: see at chap. xv. 6. *Zemaraim*, probably the ruins of *es Sumrah*, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, to the east of Khan Hadhur, on *Van de Velde’s* map. *Bethel*: now *Beitin* (see chap. vii. 2).—Ver. 23. *Avvim* (i.e. ruins) is unknown. *Phara* has been preserved in the ruins of *Fara*, on *Wady Fara*, three hours to the north-east of Jerusalem, and the same distance to the west of Jericho. *Ophrah* is mentioned again in 1 Sam. xiii. 17, but it is a different place from the *Ophrah* of Gideon in Manasseh (Judg. vi. 11, 24, viii. 27). According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Aphra*), it was a κώμη Ἀφρήλ in the time of *Eusebius* (*Jer. vicus Effrem*), five Roman miles to the east of Bethel; and according to *Van de Velde*, v. *Raumer*, and others, it is probably the same place as *Ephron* or *Ephrain*, which Abijah took from Jeroboam along with *Jeshanah* and *Bethel* (2 Chron. xiii. 19), also the same as *Ephrain*, the city to which Christ went when He withdrew into the desert (John xi. 54), as the *Onom.* (s. v. *Ephron*) speaks of a villa prægrandis Ephraea nomine (Ἐφφαῖα in *Euseb.*), although the distance given there, viz. twenty Roman miles to the north of Jerusalem, reaches far beyond the limits of Benjamin.—Ver. 24. *Chephar-haammonai* and *Ophni* are only mentioned here, and are still unknown. *Gaba*, or *Geba* of Benjamin (1 Sam. xiii. 16; 1 Kings xv. 22), which was given up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 17; 1 Chron. vi. 45), was in the neighbourhood of Ramah (1 Kings xv. 22, 2 Chron. xvi. 6). It is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 8, Zech.

xiv. 10, as the northern boundary of the kingdom of Judah, and was still inhabited after the captivity (Neh. vii. 30). It is a different place from *Gibea*, and is not to be found, as I formerly supposed, in the Moslem village of *Jibia*, by the Wady el Jib, between Beitin and Sinjil (*Rob.* iii. p. 80), but in the small village of *Jeba*, which is lying half in ruins, and where there are relics of antiquity, three-quarters of an hour to the north-east of er-Râm (Ramah), and about three hours to the north of Jerusalem, upon a height from which there is an extensive prospect (*vid. Rob.* ii. pp. 113 sqq.). This eastern group also included the two other towns *Anathoth* and *Almon* (chap. xxi. 18), which were given up by Benjamin to the Levites. *Anathoth*, the home of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. i. 1, xi. 21 sqq.), which was still inhabited by Benjaminites after the captivity (Neh. xi. 32), is the present village of Anâta, where there are ruins of great antiquity, an hour and a quarter to the north of Jerusalem (*Rob.* ii. pp. 109 sqq.). *Almon*, called *Allemeth* in 1 Chron. vi. 45, has been preserved in the ruins of Almît (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 287 sqq.), or *el-Mid* (*Tobler*, Denkbl. p. 631), on the south-east of Anâta.—Vers. 25-28. The *second* group of fourteen towns in the western portion of Benjamin.—Ver. 25. *Gibeon*, the present *Jib*: see at chap. ix. 3. *Ramah*, in the neighbourhood of Gibeah and Geba (Judg. xix. 13; Isa. x. 29; 1 Kings xv. 17; Ezra ii. 26), most probably the *Ramah* of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 19, ii. 11, xxv. 1, xxviii. 3), is the present village of er-Râm, upon a mountain with ruins between Gibeon and Geba, half an hour to the west of the latter, two hours to the north of Jerusalem (see *Rob.* ii. p. 315). *Beeroth*, the present *Bireh*: see at chap. ix. 17.—Ver. 26. *Mizpeh*, commonly called *Mizpah*, where the war with Benjamin was decided upon (Judg. xx. xxi.), and where Samuel judged the people, and chose Saul as king (1 Sam. vii. 5 sqq., x. 17), was afterwards the seat of the Babylonian governor Gedaliah (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 6 sqq.). According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Mussepha*), it was near Kirjath-jearim, and *Robinson* (ii. p. 139) is no doubt correct in supposing it to be the present *Neby Samvil* (i.e. prophet Samuel), an hour and a quarter to the east of Kureyet Enab (Kirjath-jearim), two hours to the north-west of Jerusalem, half an hour to the south of Gibeon, a place which stands like a watch-tower upon the highest point in the whole region, and with a mosque, once a Latin church, which is believed alike by Jews, Christians, and Mahometans to cover the tomb of the prophet Samuel (see *Rob.* ii. pp. 135 sqq.). *Chephirah*, i.e. *Kefir*: see

at chap. ix. 17. *Mozah* is only mentioned here, and is still unknown. Ver. 27. This also applies to *Rekem*, *Irpeel*, and *Taralah*.—Ver. 28. *Zelah*, the burial-place of Saul and his family (2 Sam. xxi. 14), is otherwise unknown. *Gibeath* or *Gibeah*, *i.e.* Gibeah of Benjamin, which was destroyed by the other tribes of Israel in the time of the judges, on account of the flagrant crime which had been committed there (Judg. xix. xx.), is also called *Gibeah of Saul*, as being the home and capital of Saul (1 Sam. x. 26, xi. 4, etc.), and was situated, according to Judg. xix. 13 and Isa. x. 29, between Jerusalem and Ramah, according to *Josephus* (Bell. Jud. v. 2, 1, 8) about twenty or thirty stadia from Jerusalem. These statements point to the *Tell* or *Tuleil el Phul*, *i.e.* bean-mountain, a conical peak about an hour from Jerusalem, on the road to er-Râm, with a large heap of stones upon the top, probably the ruins of a town that was built of unhewn stones, from which there is a very extensive prospect in all directions (*Rob.* ii. p. 317). Consequently modern writers have very naturally agreed in the conclusion, that the ancient Gibeah of Benjamin or Saul was situated either by the side of or upon this Tell (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 286; *Strauss*, Sinai, etc., p. 331, ed. 6; *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 196). *Kirjath* has not yet been discovered, and must not be confounded with *Kirjath-jearim*, which belonged to the tribe of Judah (ver. 14; cf. chap. xv. 60).

INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBES OF SIMEON, ZEBULUN, ISSACHAR,
ASHER, NAPHTALI, AND DAN.—CHAP. XIX.

Vers. 1-9. The INHERITANCE OF SIMEON fell within the inheritance of the children of Judah, because the land allotted to them at Gilgal was larger than they required (ver. 9). Thus the curse pronounced upon Simeon by Jacob of dispersion in Israel (Gen. xlix. 7) was fulfilled upon this tribe in a very peculiar manner, and in a different manner from that pronounced upon Levi. The towns allotted to the tribe of Simeon are divided into two groups, the first (vers. 2-6) consisting of thirteen or fourteen towns, all situated in the Negeb (or south country); the second (ver. 7) of four towns, two of which were in the *Negeb* and two in the *shephelah*. All these eighteen towns have already been enumerated among the towns of Judah (chap. xv. 26-32, 42), and are mentioned again in 1 Chron. iv. 28-32, in just the same order, and with only slight differences in the spelling of some of the names. If the classification of the names in two groups might

seem to indicate that Simeon received a connected portion of land in Judah, this idea is overthrown at once by the circumstance that two of the four towns in the second group were in the south land and two in the lowland, and, judging from chap. xv. 32, 42, at a great distance from one another. At the same time, we cannot decide this point with any certainty, as the situation of several of the towns is still unknown.—Ver. 2. *Beersheba*: see at chap. xv. 28. *Sheba* is wanting in the Chronicles, but has no doubt been omitted through a copyist's error, as *Shema* answers to it in chap. xv. 26, where it stands before *Moladah* just as *Sheba* does here.—On the names in vers. 3-6*a*, see the exposition of chap. xv. 28-32.—The sum total given in ver. 6*b*, viz. thirteen towns, does not tally, as there are fourteen names. On these differences, see the remarks on chap. xv. 32 (p. 163, the note).—Ver. 7. *Ain* and *Rimmon* were in the south land (chap. xv. 32), *Ether* and *Ashan* in the lowlands (chap. xv. 42).—Vers. 8, 9. In addition to the towns mentioned, the Simeonites received all the villages round about the towns to *Baalath-beer*, the *Ramah of the south*. This place, up to which the territory of the Simeonites extended, though without its being actually assigned to the Simeonites, is simply called Baal in 1 Chron. iv. 33, and is probably the same as *Bealoth* in chap. xv. 24, though its situation has not yet been determined (see at chap. xv. 24). It cannot be identified, however, with *Ramet el Khulil*, an hour to the north of Hebron, which *Roediger* supposes to be the *Ramah of the south*, since the territory of Simeon, which was situated in the Negeb, and had only two towns in the *shephelah*, cannot possibly have extended into the mountains to a point on the north of Hebron. So far as the situation is concerned, *V. de Velde* would be more likely to be correct, when he identifies *Rama of the south* with Tell *Lekiyeh* on the north of Beersheba, if this conjecture only rested upon a better foundation than the untenable assumption, that *Baalath-beer* is the same as the *Baalath of Dan* in ver. 44.

Vers. 10-16. The INHERITANCE OF ZEBULUN fell above the plain of Jezreel, between this plain and the mountains of Naphtali, so that it was bounded by Asher on the west and north-west (ver. 27), by Naphtali on the north and north-east (ver. 34), and by Issachar on the south-east and south, and touched neither the Mediterranean Sea nor the Jordan. It embraced a very fertile country, however, with the fine broad plain of *el Buttauf*, the μέγα

πεδίων above Nazareth called *Asochis* in *Joseph. vita*, § 41, 45 (see *Rob. iii. p. 189*, *Bibl. Res. pp. 105 sqq.*; *Ritter, Erdk. xvi. pp. 742, 758-9*).—Ver. 10. “*And the boundary (the territory) of their inheritance was (went) to Sarid.*” This is no doubt the centre of the southern boundary, from which it is traced in a westerly direction in ver. 11, and in an easterly direction in ver. 12, in the same manner as in chap. xvi. 6. Unfortunately, *Sarid* cannot be determined with certainty. *Knobel’s* opinion is, that the name, which signifies “hole” or “incision,” after the analogy of פֶּרֶץ, *perforavit*, and חֲרָץ, *incidit*, does not refer to a town, but to some other locality, probably the southern opening of the deep and narrow wady which comes down from the basin of Nazareth, and is about an hour to the south-east of Nazareth, between two steep mountains (*Seetzen, ii. pp. 151-2*; *Rob. iii. p. 183*). This locality appears suitable enough. But it is also possible that *Sarid* may be found in one of the two heaps of ruins on the south side of the *Mons præcipitii* upon *V. de Velde’s* map (so called from *Luke iv. 29*).—Ver. 11. From this point “*the border went up westwards, namely to Mar’ala, and touched Dabbasheth, and still farther to the brook of Jokneam.*” If *Jokneam* of Carmel has been preserved in the *Tell Kaimûn* (see at chap. xii. 22), the brook before *Jokneam* is probably the *Wady el Milh*, on the eastern side of which, near the point where it opens into the plain, stands *Kaimûn*, and through which the road runs from *Acca* to *Ramleh*, as this wady separates Carmel from the small round hills which run to the south-east (see *Rob. Bibl. Res. p. 114*, and *V. de Velde, i. p. 249*). Here the boundaries of *Zebulun* and *Asher* met (ver. 27). *Mar’ala* and *Dabbasheth* are to be sought for between *Kaimûn* and *Sarid*. The *Cod. Vat.* has Μαγελδά instead of Μαριλά. Now, however little importance we can attach to the readings of the LXX. on account of the senseless way in which its renderings are made,—as, for example, in this very passage, where עַד-טָרִיד: וְעָלָה is rendered Ἐσεδεκγῶλα,—the name *Magelda* might suggest a Hebrew reading *Magedlah* or *Mageldah*, and thus lead one to connect the place with the village of *Mejeidil* (*Rob. Bibl. Res. p. 114*), or *Mshedil* (*Seetzen, ii. p. 143*), on the west of *Mons præcipitii*, though neither of these travellers visited the place, or has given us any minute description of it. Its situation upon a mountain would suit *Mar’ala*, to which the boundary went up from *Sarid*. In the case of *Dabbasheth*, the name, which signifies “lump” (see *Isa. xxx. 6*), points to a mountain. Upon this *Knobel* has founded the conjecture that *Gibeah*

or *Gibeath* took the place of this uncommon word, and that this is connected with the *Gabathon* of the *Onom.* (*juxta campum Legionis*), the present *Jebâta* between Mejeidil and Kaimûn, upon an isolated height on the edge of the mountains which skirt the plain of Jezreel, where there are signs of a remote antiquity (*Rob.* iii. p. 201, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 113; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. p. 700); although Tell *Thureh* (*i.e.* mountain) might be intended, a village upon a low and isolated hill a little farther south (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 116, and *Ritter*, *ut sup.*).—Ver. 12. “*And from Sarid the boundary turned eastwards toward the sun-rising to the territory of Chisloth-tabor, and went out to Dabrath, and went up to Japhia.*” *Chisloth-tabor*, *i.e.* according to *Kimchi’s* explanation *lumbi Taboris* (French, *les flancs*), was at any rate a place on the side of Tabor, possibly the same as *Kesulloth* in ver. 18, as *Masius* and others suppose, and probably the same place as the *Xaloth* of *Josephus* (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 1), which was situated in the “great plain,” and the *vicus Chasalus* of the *Onom.* (*juxta montem Thabor in campetribus*), *i.e.* the present village of *Iksâl* or *Ksâl*, upon a rocky height on the west of Thabor, with many tombs in the rocks (*Rob.* iii. p. 182). *Dabrath*, a place in the tribe of Issachar that was given up to the Levites (*chap.* xxi. 28; 1 *Chron.* vi. 57), called *Dabaritta* in *Josephus* (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 21, 3) and *Dabira* in the *Onom.* (*villula in monte Thabor*), the present *Deburieh*, an insignificant village which stands in a very picturesque manner upon a stratum of rock at the western foot of Tabor (*Rob.* iii. p. 210; *V. de Velde*, *R.* ii. p. 324). *Japhia* certainly cannot be the present *Hepha* or *Haifa* (*Khaifa*) on the Mediterranean, and near to Carmel (*Rel. Pal.* p. 826, and *Ges. Thes. s. v.*); but it is just as certain that it cannot be the present *Jafa*, a place half an hour to the south-west of Nazareth, as *Robinson* (*Pal.* iii. p. 200) and *Knobel* suppose, since the boundary was running eastwards, and cannot possibly have turned back again towards the west, and run from *Deburieh* beyond *Sarid*. If the positions assigned to *Chisloth-tabor* and *Dabrath* are correct, *Japhia* must be sought for on the east of *Deburieh*.—Ver. 13. “*From thence it went over towards the east to the sun-rising to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin, and went out to Rimmon, which is marked off to Neah.*” *Gath-hepher*, the home of the prophet *Jonah* (2 *Kings* xiv. 25), was “*haud grandis viculus Geth*” in the time of *Jerome* (see *prol. ad Jon.*). It was about two miles from *Sephoris* on the road to *Tiberias*, and the tomb of the prophet was shown there. It is the present village of *Meshed*, a place

about an hour and a quarter to the north of Nazareth (*Rob.* iii. p. 209; *V. de Velde*, *Mem.* p. 312). *Eth-kazin* is unknown. *Rimmon*, a Levitical town (*chap.* xxi. 35; 1 *Chron.* vi. 62), has probably been preserved in the village of *Rummaneh*, about two hours and a half to the north of Nazareth (*Rob.* iii. p. 195). *Ham-methoar* is not a proper name, but the participle of מָצַר, with the article in the place of the relative pronoun, “bounded off,” or pricked off. *Neah* is unknown; it is possibly the same place as *Neiel* in the tribe of Asher (*ver.* 27), as *Knobel* supposes.—*Ver.* 14. “And the boundary turned round it (round *Rimmon*), on the north to *Channathon*, and the outgoings thereof were the valley of *Jiphtah-el*.” Judging from the words נָסַב and מְצַפֵּן, this verse apparently gives the north-west boundary, since the last definition in *ver.* 13, “to Gath-hepher,” etc., points to the eastern boundary. *Jiphtah-el* answers no doubt to the present *Jefât*, two hours and a half to the north of Sefurieh, and is the *Jotapata* which was obstinately defended by *Josephus* (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 7, 9: see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 104 sq.). Consequently the valley of *Jiphtah-el*, at which *Zebulun* touched *Asher* (*ver.* 27), is probably “no other than the large *Wady Abilîn*, which takes its rise in the hills in the neighbourhood of *Jefât*” (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 107). And if this be correct, *Channathon* (LXX. Ἐνναθώθ) is probably *Cana* of Galilee, the home of *Nathanael* (*John* ii. 1, 11, iv. 46, xxi. 2), the present *Kana el Jelil*, between *Rummaneh* and *Yefât*, on the northern edge of the plain of *Buttauf*, upon a *Tell*, from which you overlook the plain, fully two hours and a half in a straight line from Nazareth, and directly north of that place, where there are many ruins found (see *Rob.* iii. p. 204; *Bibl. Res.* p. 108).—*Ver.* 15. The towns of *Zebulun* were the following. *Kattath*, probably the same as *Kitron*, which is mentioned in *Judg.* i. 30 in connection with *Nahalol*, but which is still unknown. *Nehalal*, or *Nahalol* (*Judg.* i. 30), is supposed by *V. de Velde* (*Mem.* p. 335), who follows *Rabbi Schwartz*, to be the present village of *Maalul*, a place with ruins on the south-west of Nazareth (see *Seetzen*, ii. p. 143; *Rob.* iii. *App.*; and *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. p. 700). *Simron* is supposed by *Knobel* to be the village of *Semunieh* (see at *chap.* xi. 1). But neither of these is very probable. *Idalah* is supposed by *V. de Velde* to be the village of *Jeda* or *Jeida*, on the west of *Semunieh*, where are a few relics of antiquity, though *Robinson* (*Bibl. Res.* p. 113) states the very opposite. *Bethlehem* (of *Zebulun*), which many regard as the home of the judge *Ibzan* (*Judg.* xii. 8), has been preserved under the old name in a miser-

able village on the north of Jeida and Semunieh (see *Seetzen*, ii. p. 139; *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 113). The number of the towns is given as *twelve*, though only five are mentioned by name. It is true that some commentators have found the missing names in the border places mentioned in vers. 11-14, as, after deducting Chisloth-tabor and Dabrath, which belonged to Issachar, the names Sarid, Maralah, Dabbasheth, Japhia, Gittah-hepther, Eth-kazin, and Channathon give just seven towns. Nevertheless there is very little probability in this conjecture. For, in the first place, not only would it be a surprising thing to find the places mentioned as boundaries included among the towns of the territory belonging to the tribe, especially as some of the places so mentioned did not belong to Zebulun at all; but the copula *vav*, with which the enumeration of the towns commences, is equally surprising, since this is introduced in other cases with וְהָיוּ הָעָרִים (וְהָיוּ), e.g. chap. xviii. 21, xv. 21. And, in the second place, it is not a probable thing in itself, that, with the exception of the five towns mentioned in ver. 15, the other towns of Zebulun should all be situated upon the border. And lastly, the towns of *Kartah* and *Dimnah*, which Zebulun gave up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 34), are actually wanting. Under these circumstances, it is a natural conclusion that there is a gap in the text here, just as in chap. xv. 59 and xxi. 36.

Vers. 17-23. THE INHERITANCE OF ISSACHAR.—In this instance only towns are given, and the boundaries are not delineated, with the exception of the eastern portion of the northern boundary and the boundary line; at the same time, they may easily be traced from the boundaries of the surrounding tribes. Issachar received for the most part the large and very fertile plain of Jezreel (see at chap. xvii. 16, and *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 689 sqq.), and was bounded on the south by Manasseh, on the west by Manasseh and Asher, on the north by Zebulun, and farther east by Naphtali also, and on the east by the Jordan.—Ver. 18. “*And their boundary was towards Jezreel*,” i.e. their territory extended beyond Jezreel. *Jezreel*, the summer residence of Ahab and his house (1 Kings xviii. 45, 46, etc.), was situated upon a mountain, with an extensive and splendid prospect over the large plain that was called by its name. It was afterwards called *Esdraela*, a place described in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Jezreel*) as standing between Scythopolis and Legio; it is the present Zerîn, on the north-west of the mountains of Gilboa (see *Seetzen*, ii. pp. 155-6; *Rob.* iii. pp. 161 sqq.; *Van de Velde*, R. ii.

pp. 320 sqq.). *Chesulloth*, possibly the same as *Chisloth-tabor* (see at ver. 12). *Sunem*, the home of Abishag (1 Kings i. 3-15, etc.), also mentioned in 1 Sam. xxviii. 4 and 2 Kings iv. 8, was situated, according to the *Onom.*, five Roman miles (two hours) to the south of Tabor; it is the present *Solam* or *Sulem*, at the south-western foot of the Duhy or Little Hermon, an hour and a half to the north of Jezreel (see *Rob.* iii. pp. 170 sqq.; *Van de Velde*, R. ii. p. 323).—Ver. 19. *Haphraim*, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Aphraim*) *villa Affaræa*, six Roman miles to the north of Legio, is identified by *Knobel* with the village of *Afuleh*, on the west of Sulem, and more than two hours to the north-east of Lejun (*Rob.* iii. pp. 163, 181). *Sion*, according to the *Onom.* *villa juxta montem Thabor*, has not yet been discovered. *Anaharath* is supposed by *Knobel* to be *Na'urah*, on the eastern side of the Little Hermon (*Bibl. Res.* p. 337); but he regards the text as corrupt, and following the *Cod. Al.* of the LXX., which has *Πενάθ* and *Ἀρράνέθ*, maintains that the reading should be *Archanath*, to which *Arâneh* on the north of Jenin in the plain corresponds (*Seetzen*, ii. p. 156; *Rob.* iii. p. 157). But the circumstance that the *Cod. Al.* has two names instead of one makes its reading very suspicious.—Ver. 20. *Harabbith* is supposed by *Knobel* to be *Araboneh*, on the north-east of Arâneh, at the southern foot of Gilboa (*Rob.* iii. p. 157). *Kishion*, which was given up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 28) and is erroneously written *Kedesh* in 1 Chron. vi. 57, is unknown. This also applies to *Abez* or *Ebez*, which is never mentioned again.—Ver. 21. *Remeth*, for which *Jarmuth* stands in the list of Levitical towns in chap. xxi. 29, and *Ramoth* in 1 Chron. vi. 58, is also unknown.¹ *En-gannim*, which was also allotted to the Levites (chap. xxi. 29; also 1 Chron. v. 58, where it is called *Anem*), has been associated by *Robinson* (iii. p. 155) with the *Favaia* of *Josephus*, the present *Jenin*. The name *En-gannim* signifies fountain of gardens, and *Jenin* stands at the southern side of the plain of Jezreel in the midst of gardens

¹ *Knobel* imagines *Remeth*, whose name signifies height, to be the village of *Wezar*, on one of the western peaks of Gilboa (*Seetzen*, ii. p. 156; *Rob.* iii. p. 166, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 339), as the name also signifies "a lofty, inaccessible mountain, or a castle situated upon a mountain." This is certainly not impossible, but it is improbable. For this Mahometan village evidently derived its name from the fact that it has the appearance of a fortification when seen from a distance (see *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xv. p. 122). The name has nothing in common therefore with the Hebrew *Remeth*, and the travellers quoted by him say nothing at all about the ruins which he mentions in connection with *Wezar* (*Wusar*).

and orchards, which are watered by a copious spring (see *Seetzen*, ii. pp. 156 sqq.); “unless perhaps the place referred to is the heap of ruins called *Um el Ghanim*, on the south-east of Tabor, mentioned by *Berggren*, ii. p. 240, and *Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 142” (*Knobel*). *En-chadda* and *Beth-pazzez* are only mentioned here, and have not yet been discovered. According to *Knobel*, the former of the two may possibly be either the place by Gilboa called *Judeideh*, with a fountain named *Ain Judeideh* (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 337), or else *Beit-kad* or *Kadd* near Gilboa, mentioned by *Seetzen* (ii. p. 159) and *Robinson* (iii. p. 157).—Ver. 22. “*And the boundary touched Tabor, Sahazim, and Beth-shemesh.*” Tabor is not the mountain of that name, but a town upon the mountain, which was given to the Levites, though not by Issachar but by Zebulun (1 Chron. vi. 62), and was fortified afresh in the Jewish wars (*Josephus*, Bell. Jud. iv. 1, 8). In this passage, however, it appears to be reckoned as belonging to Issachar, since otherwise there are not sixteen cities named. At the same time, as there are several discrepancies between the numbers given and the names actually mentioned, it is quite possible that in this instance also the number sixteen is incorrect. In any case, Tabor was upon the border of Zebulun (ver. 12), so that it might have been allotted to this tribe. There are still the remains of old walls and ruins of arches, houses, and other buildings to be seen upon Mount *Tabor*; and round the summit there are the foundations of a thick wall built of large and to a great extent fluted stones (see *Rob.* iii. pp. 453 sqq.; *Seetzen*, ii. p. 148; *Buckingham*, Syr. i. pp. 83 sqq.). The places which follow are to be sought for on the east of Tabor towards the Jordan, as the boundary terminated at the Jordan. *Sachazim* (*Shahazimah*) *Knobel* connects with *el Hazethel*, as the name, which signifies heights, points to a town situated upon hills; and *el Hazethel* stands upon the range of hills, bounding the low-lying land of *Ard el Hamma*, which belonged to Naphtali. The reason is a weak one, though the situation would suit. There is more probability in the conjecture that *Beth-shemesh*, which remained in the hands of the Canaanites (*Judg.* i. 33), has been preserved in the ruined village of *Bessum* (*Rob.* iii. p. 237), and that this new name is only a corruption of the old one, like *Beth-shean* and *Beisan*. It is probable that the eastern portion of the northern boundary of Issachar, towards Naphtali, ran in a north-easterly direction from Tabor through the plain to Kefr Sabt, and thence to the Jordan along the Wady Bessum. It is not stated how far the territory of Issachar

ran down the valley of the Jordan (see the remarks on chap. xvii. 11, p. 182).

Vers. 24–31. THE INHERITANCE OF ASHER.—Asher received its territory along the Mediterranean Sea from Carmel to the northern boundary of Canaan itself. The description commences with the central portion, viz. the neighbourhood of *Acco* (ver. 25), going first of all towards the south (vers. 26, 27), and then to the north (vers. 28, 30).—Ver. 25. The territory of the Asherites was as follows. *Helkath*, which was given up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 31, and 1 Chron. vi. 75, where *Hukok* is an old copyist's error), is the present *Jelka*, three hours to the east of *Acco* (*Akka*: *Scholz*, *Reise*, p. 257), or *Jerka*, a Druse village situated upon an eminence, and judging from the remains, an ancient place (*Van de Velde*, R. i. p. 214; *Rob.* iii. App.). *Hali*, according to *Knobel* possibly *Julis*, between *Jerka* and *Akka*, in which case the present name arose from the form *Halit*, and *t* was changed into *s*. *Beten*, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Βατναί*: *Bathne*) a vicus *Bethbeten*, eight Roman miles to the east of *Ptolemais*, has not yet been found. *Achshaph* is also unknown (see at chap. xi. 1). The *Onom.* (s. v. *Achsaph*) says nothing more about its situation than that it was in tribu *Aser*, whilst the statement made s. v. *Acsaph* (*Ἀκσάφ*), that it was *villula Chasalus* (*κώμη Ἐξάδους*), eight Roman miles from *Diocæsarea ad radicem montis Thabor*, leads into the territory of *Zebulun*.—Ver. 26. *Alammalech* has been preserved, so far as the name is concerned, in the *Wady Malek* or *Malik* (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 110), which runs into the *Kishon*, since in all probability the wady was named after a place either near it or within it. *Amad* is supposed by *Knobel* to be the present *Haifa*, about three hours to the south of *Acre*, on the sea, and this he identifies with the sycamore city mentioned by *Strabo* (xvi. 758), *Ptolemy* (v. 15, 5), and *Pliny* (h. n. v. 17), which was called *Epha* in the time of the Fathers (see *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 722 sqq.). In support of this he adduces the fact that the Hebrew name resembles the Arabic noun for sycamore,—an argument the weakness of which does not need to be pointed out. *Misheal* was assigned to the Levites (chap. xxi. 30, and 1 Chron. vi. 74, where it is called *Mashal*). According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Masan*) it was on the sea-coast near to *Carmel*, which is in harmony with the next clause, “and reacheth to *Carmel* westwards, and to *Shihor-libnath*.” *Carmel* (i.e. fruit-field), which has acquired celebrity from the history of *Elijah* (1 Kings

xviii. 17 sqq.), is a wooded mountain ridge which stretches in a north-westerly direction on the southern side of the Kishon, and projects as a promontory into the sea. Its name, "fruit-field," is well chosen; for whilst the lower part is covered with laurels and olive trees, the upper abounds in figs and oaks, and the whole mountain is full of the most beautiful flowers. There are also many caves about it (*vid. v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 43 sqq.; and *Ritter*, Erdk. xvi. pp. 705-6). The *Shihor-libnath* is not the *Belus*, or glass-river, in the neighbourhood of Acre, but is to be sought for on the south of Carmel, where Asher was bounded by Manasseh (chap. xvii. 10), *i.e.* to the south of Dor, which the Manassites received in the territory of Asher (chap. xvii. 11); it is therefore in all probability the *Nahr Zerka*, possibly the crocodile river of *Pliny* (*Reland*, Pal. p. 730), which is three hours to the south of Dor, and whose name (*blue*) might answer both to *shihor* (black) and *libnath* (white).—Ver. 27. From this point the boundary "*turned towards the east*," probably following the river Libnath for a short distance upwards, "*to Beth-dagon*," which has not yet been discovered, and must not be identified with Beit Dejan between Yafa and Ludd (Diospolis), "*and touched Zebulun and the valley of Jiphtah-el on the north of Beth-emek, and Nehiël, and went out on the left to Cabul*," *i.e.* on the northern side of it. The north-west boundary went from Zebulun into the valley of *Jiphtah-el*, *i.e.* the upper part of the Wady *Abilîn* (ver. 14). Here therefore the eastern boundary of Asher, which ran northwards from Wady Zerka past the western side of Issachar and Zebulun, touched the north-west corner of Zebulun. The two places, *Beth-emek* and *Nehiël* (the latter possibly the same as *Neah* in ver. 13), which were situated at the south of the valley of *Jiphtah-el*, have not been discovered; they may, however, have been upon the border of Zebulun and yet have belonged to Asher. *Cabul*, the *κώμη Χαβωλώ* of *Josephus* (Vit. § 43), in the district of Ptolemais, has been preserved in the village of *Kabul*, four hours to the south-east of Acre (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 88, and *Van de Velde*, R. i. p. 218).

In vers. 28-30 the towns and boundaries in the northern part of the territory of Asher, on the Phœnician frontier, are given, and the Phœnician cities Sidon, Tyre, and Achzib are mentioned as marking the boundary. First of all we have four towns in ver. 28, reaching as far as Sidon, no doubt in the northern district of Asher. *Ebron* has not yet been traced. As *Abdon* occurs among the towns

which Asher gave up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 30; 1 Chron. vi. 59), and in this verse also twenty mss. have the reading *Abdon*, many writers, like *Reland* (Pal. p. 514), regard *Ebron* as a copyist's error for *Abdon*. This is possible enough, but it is by no means certain. As the towns of Asher are not all given in this list, since *Acco*, *Achlab*, and *Helba* (Judg. i. 31) are wanting, *Abdon* may also have been omitted. But we cannot attach any importance to the reading of the twenty mss., as it may easily have arisen from chap. xxi. 30; and in addition to the Masoretic text, it has against it the authority of all the ancient versions, in which the reading *Ebron* is adopted. But even *Abdon* cannot be traced with certainty. On the supposition that *Abdon* is to be read for *Ebron*, *Knobel* connects it with the present *Abbadiyeh*, on the east of Beirut (*Rob.* iii. App.; *Ritter*, Erdk. xvii. pp. 477 and 710), or with *Abidat*, on the east (not the north) of Jobail (Byblus), mentioned by *Burekhardt* (Syr. p. 296) and *Robinson* (iii. App.); though he cannot adduce any other argument in support of the identity of *Abdon* with these two places, which are only known by name at present, except the resemblance in their names. On the supposition, however, that *Abdon* is not the same as *Ebron*, *Van de Velde's* conjecture is a much more natural one; namely, that it is to be found in the ruins of *Abdeh*, on the Wady Kurn, to the north of Acca. *Rehob* cannot be traced. The name occurs again in ver. 30, from which it is evident that there were two towns of this name in the territory of Asher (see at ver. 30). *Schultz* and *Van de Velde* connect it with the village of *Hamûl* by the wady of that name, between Ras el Abyad and Ras en Nakura; but this is too far south to be included in the district which reached to great Sidon. *Knobel's* suggestion would be a more probable one, namely, that it is connected with the village of *Hammama*, on the east of Beirut, in the district of *el Metn*, on the heights of Lebanon, where there is now a Maronite monastery (*vid. Seetzen*, i. p. 260; *Rob.* iii. App.; and *Ritter*, xvii. pp. 676 and 710), if it could only be shown that the territory of Asher reached as far to the east as this. *Kanah* cannot be the village of *Kâna*, not far from Tyre (*Rob.* iii. p. 384), but must have been farther north, and near to Sidon, though it has not yet been discovered. For the supposition that it is connected with the existing place called *Ain Kanieh* (*Rob.* iii. App.; *Ritter*, xvii. pp. 94 and 703), on the north of Jezzin, is overthrown by the fact that that place is too far to the east to be thought of in this connection; and neither *Robinson* nor *Ritter* makes any allusion to "*Ain Kana*, in the neighbourhood of

Jurjera, six hours to the south-east of Sidon," which *Knobel* mentions without quoting his authority, so that the existence of such a place is very questionable. On *Sidon*, now *Saida*, see at chap. xi. 8.—Ver. 29. "*And the boundary turned* (probably from the territory of Sidon) *to Ramah, to the fortified town of Zor.*" *Robinson* supposes that *Rama* is to be found in the village of *Rameh*, on the south-east of Tyre, where several ancient sarcophagi are to be seen (*Bibl. Res.* p. 63). "*The fortified town of Zor,*" *i.e.* Tyre, is not the insular Tyre, but the town of Tyre, which was on the mainland, the present *Sur*, which is situated by the sea-coast, in a beautiful and fertile plain (see *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvii. p. 320, and *Movers*, *Phönizier*, ii. 1, pp. 118 sqq.). "*And the boundary turned to Hosah, and the outgoings thereof were at the sea, by the side of the district of Achzib.*" *Hosah* is unknown, as the situation of *Kausah*, near to the *Rameh* already mentioned (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 61), does not suit in this connection. מִחֻבָּל, *lit.* from the district, *i.e.* by the side of it. *Achzib*, where the *Asherites* dwelt with the *Canaanites* (*Judg.* i. 31, 32), is the *Ekdippa* of the Greeks and Romans, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Achziph*) nine Roman miles, or according to the *Itiner. Hieros.* p. 584, twelve miles to the north of *Acco* by the sea, the present *Zib*, a very large village, three good hours to the north of *Acre*,—a place on the sea-coast, with considerable ruins of antiquity (see *Ges. Thes.* p. 674 ; *Seetzen*, ii. p. 109 ; *Ritter*, xvi. pp. 811-12).—In ver. 30 three separate towns are mentioned, which were probably situated in the eastern part of the northern district of *Asher*, whereas the border towns mentioned in vers. 28 and 29 describe this district in its western half. *Unmah* (LXX. Ἀμμα) may perhaps have been preserved in *Kefr Ammeih*, upon the Lebanon, to the south of *Hamma*, in the district of *Jurd* (*Rob.* iii. App.; *Ritter*, xvii. p. 710). *Aphek* is the present *Afka* (see at chap. xiii. 4). *Rehob* cannot be traced with certainty. If it is *Hub*, as *Knobel* supposes, and the name *Hub*, which is borne by a Maronite monastery upon Lebanon, in the diocese of el-Jebail (to the north-east of *Jebail*), is a corruption of *Rehob*, this would be the northernmost town of *Asher* (see *Seetzen*, i. pp. 187 sqq., and *Ritter*, xvii. p. 791). The number "*twenty-two towns and their villages*" does not tally, as there are twenty-three towns mentioned in vers. 26-30, if we include *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Achzib*, according to *Judg.* i. 31, 32. The only way in which the numbers can be made to agree is to reckon *Nehiel* (ver. 27) as identical with *Neah* (ver. 13). But this point cannot be determined with certainty, as the *Asherites* received

other towns, such as Acco and Aclaph, which are wanting in this list, and may possibly have simply fallen out.

Vers. 32–39. THE INHERITANCE OF NAPHTALI.—This fell between Asher and the upper Jordan. It reached northwards to the northern boundary of Canaan, and touched Zebulun and Issachar on the south. In vers. 33 and 34 the boundary lines are given: viz. in ver. 33 the western boundary towards Asher, with the northern and eastern boundaries: in ver. 34 the southern boundary; but with the uncertainty which exists as to several of the places named, it cannot be traced with certainty.—Ver. 33. “*Its boundary was* (its territory reached) *from Heleph, from the oak-forest at Zaanannim, and Adami Nekeb and Jabneel to Lakkum; and its outgoings were the Jordan.*” *Heleph* is unknown, though in all probability it was to the south of *Zaanannim*, and not very far distant. According to Judg. iv. 11, the *oak-forest* (*allon*: see the remarks on Gen. xii. 6) at *Zaanannim* was near *Kedesh*, on the north-west of Lake Huleh. There are still many oaks in that neighbourhood (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 386); and on the south of Bintl *Jebail Robinson* crossed a low mountain-range which was covered with small oak trees (*Pal. iii.* p. 372). *Adami hannekeb*, i.e. *Adami* of the pass (*Nekeb*, judging from the analogy of the Arabic, signifying *foramen, via inter montes*), is supposed by *Knobel* to be *Deir-el-ahmar*, i.e. red cloister, a place which is still inhabited, three hours to the north-west of Baalbek, on the pass from the cedars to Baalbek (*Seetzen*, i. pp. 181, 185; *Burckhardt*, *Syr.* p. 60; and *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvii. p. 150), so called from the reddish colour of the soil in the neighbourhood, which would explain the name *Adami*. *Knobel* also connects *Jabneel* with the lake *Jemun*, *Jemuni*, or *Jammune*, some hours to the north-west of Baalbek, on the eastern side of the western Lebanon range (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 548; *Ritter*, xvii. pp. 304 sqq.), where there are still considerable ruins of a very early date to be found, especially the ruins of an ancient temple and a celebrated place of pilgrimage, with which the name “God’s building” agrees. And lastly, he associates *Lakkum* with the mountains of *Lokham*, as the northern part of Lebanon on the Syrian mountains, from the latitude of Laodicea to that of Antioch on the western side of the Orontes, is called by the Arabian geographers *Isztachri*, *Abulfeda*, and others. So far as the names are concerned, these combinations seem appropriate enough, but they are hardly tenable. The resemblance between the names *Lakkum* and *Lokham*

is only in appearance, as the Hebrew name is written with ק and the Arabic with ك . Moreover, the mountains of Lokham are much too far north for the name to be adduced as an explanation of Lakkum. The interpretation of *Adami Nekeb* and *Jabneel* is also irreconcilable with the circumstance that the lake *Jamun* was two hours to the west of the red convent, so that the boundary, which starts from the west, and is drawn first of all towards the north, and then to the north-east and east, must have run last of all from the red convent, and not from the *Jamun* lake to the Jordan. As *Jabneel* is mentioned after *Adami Nekeb*, it must be sought for to the east of *Adami Nekeb*, whereas the *Jamun* lake lies in the very opposite direction, namely, directly to the west of the red convent. The three places mentioned, therefore, cannot be precisely determined at present. The Jordan, where the boundary of Asher terminated, was no doubt the upper Jordan, or rather the *Nahr Hasbany*, one of the sources of the Jordan, which formed, together with the Huleh lake and the Jordan itself, between Lake Huleh and the Sea of Tiberias, and down to the point where it issues from the latter, the eastern boundary of Asher.—Ver. 34. From the Jordan below the Lake of Tiberias, or speaking more exactly, from the point at which the Wady *Bessum* enters the Jordan, “the boundary (of Asher) turned westwards to *Asnoth-tabor*, and went thence out to *Hukkok*.” This boundary, *i.e.* the southern boundary of Asher, probably followed the course of the Wady *Bessum* from the Jordan, which wady was the boundary of Issachar on the north-east, and then ran most likely from *Kefr Sabt* (see at ver. 22) to *Asnoth-tabor*, *i.e.*, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Azanoth*), a *vicus ad regionem Diocæsareæ pertinens in campestribus*, probably on the south-east of *Diocæsarea*, *i.e.* *Sepphoris*, not far from Tabor, to which the boundary of Issachar extended (ver. 22). *Hukkok* has not yet been traced. *Robinson* (Bibl. Res. p. 82) and *Van de Velde* (Mem. p. 322) are inclined to follow *Rabbi Parchi* of the fourteenth century, and identify this place with the village of *Yakûk*, on the north-west of the Lake of Gennesareth; but this village is too far to the north-east to have formed the terminal point of the southern boundary of Naphtali, as it ran westwards from the Jordan. After this Naphtali touched “*Zebulun on the south, Asher on the west, and Judah by the Jordan toward the sun-rising or east.*” “The Jordan” is in apposition to “Judah,” in the sense of “Judah of the Jordan,” like “Jordan of Jericho” in Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, etc. The Masoretic pointing, which separates these two words, was founded upon some

false notion respecting this definition of the boundary, and caused the commentators great perplexity, until *C. v. Raumer* succeeded in removing the difficulty, by showing that the district of the sixty towns of Jair, which was upon the eastern side of the Jordan, is called Judah here, or reckoned as belonging to Judah, because Jair, the possessor of these towns, was a descendant of Judah on the father's side through Hezron (1 Chron. ii. 5, 21, 22); whereas in chap. xiii. 30, and Num. xxxii. 41, he is reckoned *contra morem*, *i.e.* against the rule laid down in Num. xxxvi. 7, as a descendant of Manasseh, on account of his descent from Machir the Manassite, on his mother's side.¹

Vers. 35 sqq. The fortified towns of Naphtali were the following. *Ziddim*: unknown, though *Knobel* suggests that "it may possibly be preserved in *Chirbet es Saudeh*, to the west of the southern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias (*Rob.* iii. App.);" but this place is to the west of the Wady Bessum, *i.e.* in the territory of Issachar. *Zer* is also unknown. As the LXX. and Syriac give the name as *Zor*, *Knobel* connects it with *Kerak*, which signifies fortress as well as *Zor* (= מצור), a heap of ruins at the southern end of the lake (*Rob.* iii. p. 263), the place which *Josephus* calls *Taricheæ* (see *Reland*, p. 1026),—a very doubtful combination! *Hammath* (*i.e.* *thermæ*), a Levitical town called *Hammoth-dor* in chap. xxi. 32, and *Hammon* in 1 Chron. vi. 61, was situated, according to statements in the Talmud, somewhere near the later city of Tiberias, on the western shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, and was no doubt identical with the κώμη Ἀμμαούς in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, a place with warm baths (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 2, 3; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1, 3). There are warm springs still to be found half an hour to the south of Tabaria, which are used as baths (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 573–4; *Rob.* iii. pp. 258 sqq.). *Rakkath* (according to the *Talm.* and *Rabb. ripa littus*) was situated, according to rabbinical accounts, in the immediate neighbourhood of Hammath, and was the same place as *Tiberias*; but the account given by *Josephus* (*Ant.* xviii. 2, 3; cf. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9, 1) respecting the founding of *Tiberias* by Herod the tetrarch is at variance with this; so that the rabbinical statements appear to have no other foundation than the etymology of the name

¹ See *C. v. Raumer's* article on "Judæa on the east of Jordan," in *Tholuck's lit. Anz.* 1834, Nos. 1 and 2, and his *Palästina*, pp. 233 sqq. ed. 4; and for the arbitrary attempts that had been made to explain the passage by alterations of the text and in other ways, see *Rosenmüller's Bibl. Alterthk.* ii. 1, pp. 301–2; and *Keil's Comm.* on Joshua, pp. 438–9.

Rakkath. *Chinnereth* is given in the Targums as גִּינוֹסָר, גִּינוֹסָר, גִּינוֹסָר, i.e. Γεννησάρ. According to *Josephus* (Bell. Jud. iii. 10, 8), this name was given to a strip of land on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, which was distinguished for its natural beauty, its climate, and its fertility, namely the long plain, about twenty minutes broad and an hour long, which stretches along the western shore of this lake, from el-Mejdel on the south to Khan Minyeh on the north (*Burchhardt*, Syr. pp. 558-9; *Rob.* iii. pp. 279, 290). It must have been in this plain that the town of *Chinnereth* stood, from which the plain and lake together derived the name of *Chinnereth* (Deut. iii. 17) or *Chinneroth* (chap. xi. 2), and the lake alone the name of "Sea of Chinnereth," or "Sea of Chinneroth" (chap. xii. 3, xiii. 27; Num. xxxiv. 11).—Ver. 36. *Adamah* is unknown. *Knobel* is of opinion, that as *Adamah* signifies red, the place referred to may possibly be *Ras el Ahmar*, i.e. red-head, on the north of Safed (*Rob.* iii. p. 370; *Bibl. Res.* p. 69). *Ramah* is the present *Rameh* (*Ramea*), a large well-built village, inhabited by Christians and Druses, surrounded by extensive olive plantations, and provided with an excellent well. It stands upon the slope of a mountain, in a beautiful plain on the south-west of Safed, but without any relics of antiquity (see *Seetzen*, ii. p. 129; *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 78-9). *Hazor* has not yet been traced with certainty (see at chap. xi. 1).—Ver. 37. *Kedesh* (see at chap. xii. 2). *Edrei*, a different place from the town of the same name in Bashan (chap. i. 2, 4), is still unknown. *En-hazor* is probably to be sought for in *Tell Hazur* and *Ain Hazur*, which is not very far distant, on the south-west of Rameh, though the ruins upon *Tell Hazur* are merely the ruins of an ordinary village, with one single cistern that has fallen to pieces (*Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 80, 81).—Ver. 38. *Jireon* (*Iron*) is probably the present village of *Jurûn*, an hour to the south-east of Bint-Jebel, with the ruins of an ancient Christian church (*Seetzen*, ii. pp. 123-4; *Van de Velde*, R. i. p. 133). *Migdal-el*, so far as the name is concerned, might be *Magdala* (Matt. xv. 39), on the western shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, between Capernaum and Tiberias (*Rob.* iii. pp. 279 sqq.); the only difficulty is, that the towns upon this lake have already been mentioned in ver. 35. *Knobel* connects *Migdal-el* with *Chorem*, so as to form one name, and finds *Migdal el Chorem* in the present *Mejdel Kerun*, on the west of Rameh (*Seetzen*, ii. p. 130; *Van de Velde*, i. p. 215), a common Mahometan village. But there is nothing to favour this combination, except the similarity in sound between the two names; whereas it has against it not only the situation of the village, which

was so far to the west, being not more than three hours from Acca, that the territory of Naphtali can hardly have reached so far, but also the very small resemblance between *Chorem* and *Kerum*, not to mention the fact that the accents separate *Chorem* from *Migdal-el*, whilst the omission of the copula (*vav*) before *Chorem* cannot have any weight, as the copula is also wanting before *Zer* and *Rakkath*. *Chorem* and *Beth-anath* have not yet been discovered. From the latter place Naphtali was unable to expel the Canaanites (Judg. i. 33). *Beth-shemesh*, a different place from the town of the same name in Issachar (ver. 22), is also still unknown. The total number of towns is given as nineteen, whereas only sixteen are mentioned by name. It is hardly correct to seek for the missing places among the border towns mentioned in vers. 33 and 34, as the enumeration of the towns themselves is introduced by יַעֲרִי מִבְּצָר in ver. 35, and in this way the list of towns is separated from the description of the boundaries. To this we may add, that the town of Karthan or Kirjathaim, which Naphtali gave up to the Levites (chap. xxi. 32; 1 Chron. vi. 61), does not occur either among the border towns or in the list of towns, from which we may see that the list of towns is an imperfect one.

Vers. 40-48. THE INHERITANCE OF THE TRIBE OF DAN.—This fell to the west of Benjamin, between Judah and Ephraim, and was formed by Judah giving up some of its northern towns, and Ephraim some of its southern towns, to the Danites, so as to furnish them with a territory proportionate to their number. It was situated for the most part in the lowland (*shephelah*), including, however, the hill country between the Mediterranean and the mountains, and extended over a portion of the plain of Sharon, so that it belonged to one of the most fruitful portions of Palestine. The boundaries are not given, because they could be traced from those of the adjoining territories.—Ver. 41. From Judah the families of Dan received *Zorea* and *Eshtaol* (see at chap. xv. 33), and *Ir-shemesh*, also called *Beth-shemesh* (1 Kings iv. 9), on the border of Judah (see chap. xv. 10); but of these the Danites did not take possession, as they were given up by Judah to the Levites (chap. xxi. 16: see at chap. xv. 10). *Sualabbim*, or *Saalbim*, which remained in the hands of the Canaanites (Judg. i. 35), is frequently mentioned in the history of David and Solomon (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chron. xi. 33; 1 Kings iv. 9). It may possibly be the present *Selbît* (*Rob.* iii. App.; *Bibl. Res.* p. 144), some distance to the north

of the three places mentioned (*Knobel*). *Ajalon*, which was also not taken from the Canaanites (Judg. i. 35), was assigned to the Levites (chap. xxi. 24; 1 Chron. vi. 54). It is mentioned in the wars with the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 31; 1 Chron. viii. 13), was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 10), and was taken by the Philistines from King Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 18). It has been preserved in the village of *Yalo* (see at chap. x. 12). *Jethlah* is only mentioned here, and has not yet been discovered. So far as the name is concerned, it may possibly be preserved in the Wady *Atallah*, on the west of *Yalo* (Bibl. Res. pp. 143-4).—Ver. 43. *Elon*, which is mentioned again in 1 Kings iv. 9, with the addition of *Beth-hanan*, has not yet been traced; according to *Knobel*, it “may possibly be *Ellin*, near Timnath and Beth-shemesh, mentioned by *Robinson* in his Pal. vol. iii. App.” *Thimna* (*Thimnathah*) and *Ekron*, on the boundary of Judah (see at chap. xv. 10, 11).—Ver. 44. *Eltekeh* and *Gibbethon*, which were allotted to the Levites (chap. xxi. 23), have not yet been discovered. Under the earliest kings of Israel, *Gibbethon* was in the hands of the Philistines (1 Kings xv. 27, xvi. 15, 17). *Baalath* was fortified by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 18). According to *Josephus* (Ant. viii. 6, 1), it was “*Baleth in the neighbourhood of Geser*,” probably the same place as *Baalath*, on the border of Judah (chap. xv. 11).—Ver. 45. *Jehud* has probably been preserved in the village of *Jehudieh* (*Hudieh*), two hours to the north of Ludd (Diospolis), in a splendidly cultivated plain (*Berggren*, R. iii. p. 162; *Rob.* iii. p. 45, and App.). *Bene-berak*, the present *Ibn Abrak*, an hour from *Jehud* (*Scholz*, R. p. 256). *Gath-rimmon*, which was given to the Levites (chap. xxi. 24; 1 Chron. vi. 54), is described in the *Onom.* (s. v.) as *villa pregrandis in duodecimo milliaro Diospoleos pergentibus Eleutheropolin*,—a statement which points to the neighbourhood of Thimnah, though it has not yet been discovered.—Ver. 46. *Me-jarkon*, i.e. *aquæ flavedinis*, and *Rakkon*, are unknown; but from the clause which follows, “*with the territory before Japho*,” it must have been in the neighbourhood of Joppa (Jaffa). “*The territory before Japho*” includes the places in the environs of Joppa. Consequently *Joppa* itself does not appear to have belonged to the territory of Dan, although, according to Judg. v. 17, the Danites must have had possession of this town. *Japho*, the well-known port of Palestine (2 Chron. ii. 15; Ezra iii. 7; Jonah i. 3), which the Greeks called *Ἰόππη* (Joppa), the present *Jaffa* (see v. *Raumer*, Pal. pp. 204-5, and *Ritter*, Erdk. xvi. pp. 574 sqq.).—Ver. 47. Besides this inheritance, the Danites

of Zorea and Eshtaol went, after Joshua's death, and conquered the town of *Leshem* or *Laish*, on the northern boundary of Canaan, and gave it the name of *Dan*, as the territory which was allotted to them under Joshua was too small for them, on account of their inability to drive out the Amorites from several of their towns (Judg. i. 34, 35, xviii. 2). For further particulars concerning this conquest, see Judg. xviii. *Leshem* or *Laish* (Judg. xviii. 7, 27), i.e. *Dan*, which the *Onom.* describes as *viculus quarto a Paneade miliario euntibus Tyrum*, was the present *Tell el Kadi*, or *el Leddan*, the central source of the Jordan, to the west of Banjas, a place with ancient ruins (see *Rob.* iii. p. 351; *Bibl. Res.* pp. 390, 393). It was there that Jeroboam set up the golden calves (1 Kings xii. 29, 30, etc.); and it is frequently mentioned as the northernmost city of the Israelites, in contrast with Beersheba, which was in the extreme south of the land (Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 10: see also *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xv. pp. 207 sqq.).

Vers. 49–51. *Conclusion of the Distribution of the Land.*—Vers. 49, 50. When the land was distributed among the tribes according to its territories, the Israelites gave Joshua an inheritance in the midst of them, according to the command of Jehovah, namely the town of *Tinnath-serah*, upon the mountains of Ephraim, for which he asked, and which he finished building; and there he dwelt until the time of his death (chap. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9). “*According to the word of the Lord*” (lit. “at the mouth of Jehovah”) does not refer to a divine oracle communicated through the high priest, but to a promise which Joshua had probably received from God at the same time as Caleb, viz. in Kadesh, but which, like the promise given to Caleb, is not mentioned in the Pentateuch (see at chap. xv. 13, xiv. 9). *Tinnath-serah*, called *Tinnath-heres* in Judg. ii. 9, must not be confounded with *Tinnah* in the tribe of Dan (ver. 43, chap. xv. 10), as is the case in the *Onom.* It has been preserved in the present ruins and foundation walls of a place called *Tibneh*, which was once a large town, about seven hours to the north of Jerusalem, and two hours to the west of Jiljilia, standing upon two mountains, with many caverns that have been used as graves (see *Eli Smith* in *Ritter*, *Erdk.* xvi. pp. 562 sqq., and *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 141).—Ver. 51. Closing formula to the account of the distribution of the land, which refers primarily to chap. xviii. 1 sqq., as the expression “*in Shiloh*” shows, but which also includes chap. xiv.–xvii.

SELECTION OF CITIES OF REFUGE, OR FREE CITIES.—CHAP. XX.

After the distribution of the land by lot among the tribes of Israel, six towns were set apart, in accordance with the Mosaic instructions in Num. xxxv., as places of refuge for unintentional manslaughterers. Before describing the appointment and setting apart of these towns, the writer repeats in vers. 1–6 the main points of the Mosaic law contained in Num. xxxv. 9–29 and Deut. xix. 1–13, with reference to the reception of the manslaughterers into these towns. **תָּנוּ לָכֶם**, “give to you,” i.e. appoint for yourselves, “cities of refuge,” etc. In ver. 6, the two regulations, “until he stand before the congregation for judgment,” and “until the death of the high priest,” are to be understood, in accordance with the clear explanation given in Num. xxxv. 24, 25, as meaning that the manslayer was to live in the town till the congregation had pronounced judgment upon the matter, and either given him up to the avenger of blood as a wilful murderer, or taken him back to the city of refuge as an unintentional manslaughterer, in which case he was to remain there till the death of the existing high priest. For further particulars, see at Num. xxxv.—Vers. 7–9. *List of the cities*: Levitical cities were chosen, for the reasons explained in the Commentary on the Pentateuch, iii. p. 262.—Ver. 7. In the land on this side (viz. Canaan) they sanctified the following cities. In the north, *Kedesh* (see at chap. xii. 22), in *Galil*, on the mountains of Naphtali. *Galil* (a circle) was a district in the northern part of the subsequent province of Galilee; it is called **גִּלְלֵי הַתְּנָוִים**, circle of the heathen, in Isa. viii. 23, because an unusually large number of heathen or Gentiles were living there. In the centre of the land, *Shechem*, upon the mountains of Ephraim (see at chap. xvii. 7). And in the south, *Kirjath-arba*, i.e. Hebron, upon the mountains of Judah (see at chap. x. 3).—Ver. 8. The cities in the land on the other side had already been appointed by Moses (Deut. iv. 41–43). For the sake of completeness, they are mentioned here again: viz. *Bezer*, *Ramoth in Gilead*, and *Golan* (see at Deut. iv. 43). The subject is brought to a close in ver. 9. **עָרֵי הַמִּוֶּעֶדָה** signifies neither *urbes congregationis* (*Kimchi*) nor *urbes asyli* (*Gesenius*), but cities of appointment,—those which received the appointment already given and repeated again in what follows.

APPOINTMENT OF TOWNS FOR THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—
CHAP. XXI.

Vers. 1-3. After the cities of refuge had been set apart, the towns were also selected, which the different tribes were to give up for the priests and Levites to dwell in according to the Mosaic instructions in Num. xxxv. 1-8, together with the necessary fields as pasturage for their cattle. The setting apart of the cities of refuge took place before the appointment of the Levitical towns, because the Lord had given commandment through Moses in Num. xxxv. 6, that they were to give to the Levites the six cities of refuge, and forty-two cities besides, *i.e.* forty-eight cities in all. From the introductory statement in vers. 1, 2, that the heads of the fathers (see Ex. vi. 14, 25) of the Levitical families reminded the distribution committee at Shiloh of the command of God that had been issued through Moses, that towns were to be given them to dwell in, we cannot infer, as *Calvin* has done, that the Levites had been forgotten, till they came and asserted their claims. All that is stated in these words is, "that when the business had reached that point, they approached the dividers of the land in the common name of the members of their tribe, to receive by lot the cities appointed for them. They simply expressed the commands of God, and said in so many words, that they had been deputed by the Levites generally to draw lots for those forty-eight cities with their suburbs, which had been appointed for that tribe" (*Masius*). The clause appended to *Shiloh*, "*in the land of Canaan*," points to the instructions in Num. xxxiv. 29 and xxxv. 10, to give the children of Israel their inheritance *in the land of Canaan*.

Vers. 4-8. *Number of the cities* which the different families of Levi received from each tribe. The tribe of Levi was divided into three branches,—the Gershonites, the Kohathites, and the Merarites (see Num. iii. and Ex. vi. 16-19). The Kohathites again were divided into the four families of Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Ex. vi. 18); and the family of Amram into two lines, consisting of the descendants of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 20). The priesthood was committed to the line of Aaron (Num. xviii. 1-7); but the other descendants of Amram, *i.e.* the descendants of Moses, were placed on a par with the other descendants of Levi, and numbered among the simple Levites (Num. iii.; 1 Chron. v. 27-vi. 34). The towns in which the different families of Levi were to dwell were determined by lot; but in all probability the towns

which each tribe was to give up to them were selected first of all, so that the lot merely decided to which branch of the Levites each particular town was to belong.—Ver. 4. The first lot came out for the families of Kohath, and among these again for the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* the priests. They received thirteen towns from the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin. “This did not happen by chance; but God, according to His wonderful counsel, placed them just in that situation which He had determined to select for His own temple” (*Calvin*).—Ver. 5. The rest of the Kohathites, *i.e.* the descendants of Moses, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, received ten towns from Ephraim, Dan, and half Manasseh.—Ver. 6. The Gershonites received thirteen towns from Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and half Manasseh in Bashan.—Ver. 7. The Merarites received twelve towns from Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun.

The number of towns thus assigned to the Levites will not appear too large, if we consider, (1) that judging from the number of towns in so small a land, the greater part of them cannot have been very large; (2) that the Levites were not the sole possessors of these towns, but simply received the number of dwelling-houses which they actually required, with meadow land for their cattle in the suburbs of the towns, whilst the rest of the space still belonged to the different tribes; and (3) that if the 23,000 males, the number of the Levites at the second census which was taken in the steppes of Moab, were distributed among the thirty-five towns, it would give 657 males, or 1300 male and female Levites for every town. On the other hand, offence has been taken at the statement, that thirteen towns were given up to the priests; and under the idea that Aaron could hardly have had descendants enough in Joshua’s time from his two sons who remained alive to fill even two towns, to say nothing of thirteen, the list has been set down as a document which was drawn up at a much later date (*Maurer*, etc.). But any one who takes this ground not only attributes to the distribution commission the enormous shortsightedness of setting apart towns for the priests merely to meet their existing wants, and without any regard to the subsequent increase which would take place in their numbers, but he also forms too large an estimate of the size of the towns, and too small an estimate of the number of the priests. Moreover, it was never intended that the towns should be filled with priests’ families; and the number of priests alive at that time is not mentioned anywhere. But if we bear in mind that Aaron died in the fortieth year of the journeys

of the Israelites, at the age of 123 years (Num. xxxiii. 38), and therefore was eighty-three years old at the time of the exodus from Egypt, his descendants might have entered upon the fourth generation seven years after his death. Now his two sons had twenty-four male descendants, who were the founders of the twenty-four classes instituted by David (1 Chron. xxiv.). And if we only reckon six males to each of the next generations, there would be 144 in the third generation, who would be between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five when the distribution of the land took place, and who might therefore have had 864 male children living at that time; so that the total number of males in the families of the priests might have amounted to more than 1000, that is to say, might have consisted of at least 200 families.

Vers. 9-42. *Names of the Levitical Towns.*¹—Vers. 9-19. *The priests' towns:* (a) in Judah and Simeon (vers. 9-16); (b) in Benjamin (vers. 17-19).—Vers. 9 sqq. In the tribe of Judah the priests received *Kinjath-arba*, or *Hebron*, with the necessary pasturage round about the town (see Num. xxxv. 2), whilst the field of the town with the villages belonging to it remained in the hands of Caleb and his family as their possession (chap. xiv. 12 sqq.).—Ver. 13 contains a repetition of ver. 11, occasioned by the parenthetical remark in ver. 12. They also received *Libnah* in the lowland (see chap. xv. 42, x. 29); *Jattir* (chap. xv. 48), *Eshtemoah*

¹ There is a similar list in 1 Chron. vi. 54-81, though in some respects differently arranged, and with many variations in the names, and corruptions of different kinds in the text, which show that the author of the Chronicles has inserted an ancient document that was altogether independent of the book before us. Thus in the Chronicles there are only forty-two towns mentioned by name instead of forty-eight, although it is stated in vers. 45 sqq. that $13 + 10 + 13 + 12$, i.e. forty-eight towns in all, were given up to the Levites. The names omitted are (1) Jutta in Judah; (2) Gibeon in Benjamin; (3 and 4) Ethekeh and Gibbethon in Dan; (5 and 6) and Jokneam and Nahalal in Zebulun (compare vers. 16, 17, 23, 34, and 35, with 1 Chron. vi. 59, 60, 68, 77. In some cases also the author of the Chronicles gives different names, though some of them indeed are only different forms of the same name, e.g. Hilen for Holon, Alemeth for Almon, Ashtaroth for Beeshterah, Mashal for Misheal, Hammon for Hammoth-dor, Kirjathaim for Kartan (compare 1 Chron. vi. 58, 60, 71, 74, 76, with Josh. xxi. 15, 18, 27, 30, 32); or in some cases possibly different names of the same town, e.g. Jokneam for Kibzaim, and Ramoth for Jarmuth, and Anem for En-gannim (1 Chron. vi. 68, 83, and Josh. xxi. 22, 29); whilst some evidently give the true reading, viz. Ashan for Ain, and Bileam for Gath-rimmon (1 Chron. vi. 59, 70; Josh. xxi. 16, 25). The majority, however, are faulty readings, viz. Aner for Tauach, Kedesh for Kishon, Hukok for Helkath, Rimmon and Tabor (compare 1 Chron. vi. 70, 72, 75, 77, with Josh. xxi. 25, 28, 31, 34, 35).

(chap. xv. 50), *Holon* (chap. xv. 51), and *Debir* (chap. xv. 15, 49, x. 38) on the mountains of Judah; *Ain*, for which we should read *Ashan* (1 Chron. vi. 44; cf. chap. xv. 42), in the tribe of Simeon (chap. xix. 7); *Juttah* on the mountains (chap. xv. 55); and *Beth-shemesh* in the lowland (chap. xv. 10).—Vers. 17 sqq. In the tribe of Benjamin they received *Gibeon* (see chap. ix. 3), *Geba* (chap. xviii. 24), also *Anathoth* and *Almon*, which are missing in the list of the towns of Benjamin (see at chap. xviii. 24).—Vers. 20-42. *Towns of the Levites*.—Vers. 20-26. The other *Kohathites* received four towns from the tribe of Ephraim (vers. 21, 22), four from Dan (vers. 23, 24), and two from the half tribe of Manasseh on this side of the Jordan (ver. 25). From Ephraim they received *Shechem* (see chap. xvii. 7), *Gezer* (chap. x. 33), *Kibzaim*—for which we find *Jockmeam* in 1 Chron. vi. 68, possibly a different name for the same place, which has not yet been discovered—and *Beth-horon*, whether Upper or Lower is not stated (see chap. x. 10). From Dan they received *Elthekeh* and *Gibbethon* (chap. xix. 44), *Ajalon* and *Gath-rimmon* (chap. xix. 42, 45). From half Manasseh they received *Taanach* (chap. xvii. 11, xii. 21) and *Gath-rimmon*—this is evidently a copyist's error, occasioned by the wandering of the eye to the previous verse, for *Bileam* (1 Chron. vi. 70), i.e. *Jibleam* (chap. xvii. 11).—Ver. 26. Thus they received ten towns in all.—Vers. 27-33. The *Gershonites* received two towns from eastern Manasseh: *Golan* (chap. xx. 8; Deut. iv. 43), and *Beeshterah*. *Beeshterah* (contracted from *Beth-eshterah*, the house of Astarte), called *Ashtaroth* in 1 Chron. vi. 56, may possibly have been the capital of king Og (*Ashtaroth-karnaim*, Gen. xiv. 5), if not one of the two villages named *Astaroth*, which are mentioned by *Eusebius* in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Astharoth-karnaim*), and are described by *Jerome* as *duo castella in Batanea, novem inter se millibus separata inter Adaram et Abilam civitates*, though *Adara* and *Abila* are too indefinite to determine the situation with any exactness. At any rate, the present *Busra* on the east of the Hauran cannot be thought of for a moment; for this was called *Βόσσορα* or *Βοσοππά*, i.e. *בִּצְרָה*, in ancient times, as it is at the present day (see 1 Macc. v. 26, and *Joseph. Ant.* xii. 8, 3), and was corrupted into *Bostra* by the Greeks and Romans. Nor can it be the present *Kul'at Bustra* on the north of Banyas upon a shoulder of the Hermon, where there are the ruins of a magnificent building, probably a temple of ancient date (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 93, 94; *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 414-15), as *Knobel* supposes, since the territory of the Israelites did not reach so far north,

the land conquered by Joshua merely extending to Baal-gad, *i.e.* Banyas, at the foot of the Hermon (see chap. xi. 17), and the land to the east of the Jordan, or Bashan, only to the Hermon itself, or more correctly, merely to the districts of Geshuri and Maacah at the south-eastern border of the Hermon (see at Deut. iii. 8, 14).—Vers. 28, 29. From Issachar they received four towns: *Kishon* (chap. xix. 20), *Dabrath* (chap. xix. 12), *Jarmuth* = *Remeth* (see chap. xix. 21), and *En-gannim* (chap. xix. 21, or *Anem*, 1 Chron. vi. 73).—Vers. 30, 31. From Asher they received four towns: *Mishal* or *Masal* (chap. xix. 26; cf. 1 Chron. vi. 74), *Abdon* (chap. xix. 28), *Helkath* (chap. xix. 25, called *Hukok* in 1 Chron. vi. 75, probably a copyist's error), and *Rehob* (chap. xix. 28).—Ver. 32. From Naphtali they received three towns: *Kedesh* (chap. xix. 37 and xii. 22), *Hammoth-dor* (called *Hammath* in chap. xix. 35, and *Hammon* in 1 Chron. vi. 76), and *Kartan* (contracted from *Kartain* for *Kirjathaim*, 1 Chron. vi. 76; like *Dothan* in 2 Kings vi. 13, from *Dothain* in Gen. xxxvii. 17). *Kartan* is not mentioned among the towns of Naphtali in chap. xix. 33 sqq.; according to *Knobel* it may possibly be *Katanah*, a place with ruins to the north-east of Safed (*Van de Velde*, Mem. p. 147).—Ver. 33. They received thirteen towns in all.—Vers. 34–40. The *Merarites* received twelve towns. From the tribe of Zebulun they received four: *Jokneam* (chap. xix. 11: see at chap. xii. 22), *Kartah* and *Dimnah*,¹ which are not mentioned among the towns of Zebulun in chap. xix. 11 sqq., and are unknown, and *Nahalal* (chap. xix. 15).—Vers. 36, 37. From Reuben they received four: *Bezer* (chap. xx. 8: see Deut. iv. 43), *Jahza*, *Kedemoth*, and *Mephaath* (chap. xiii. 18).²—Vers. 38, 39. From Gad they received four towns: *Ramoth* in Gilead, and *Mahanaim* (see at chap. xiii. 26), *Heshbon* (chap. xiii. 17) and *Jaezer* (chap. xiii. 25: see at Num. xxi. 32).—Ver. 40. They received

¹ Many commentators identify *Dimnah* with *Rimmono* in 1 Chron. vi. 77, but without sufficient reason; for the text of the Chronicles is no doubt corrupt in this passage, as it has only two names, *Rimmono* and *Tabor*, instead of four.

² *R. Jacob ben Chujim* has omitted vers. 36 and 37 from his Rabbinical Bible of the year 1525 as spurious, upon the authority of *Kimchi* and the larger *Masora*; but upon insufficient grounds, as these verses are to be found in many good mss. and old editions of an earlier date than 1525, as well as in all the ancient versions, and could not possibly have been wanting from the very first, since the *Merarites* received twelve towns, which included the four that belonged to Reuben. In those mss. in which they are wanting, the omission was, no doubt, a copyist's error, occasioned by the ὁμοιοτελεπτόν (see *de Rossi variorum lectt. ad h. l.*, and *J. H. Michaelis'* Note to his Hebrew Bible).

twelve towns in all.—In vers. 41 and 42 the list of the Levitical towns is closed with a statement of their total number, and also with the repetition of the remark that “these cities were every one with their suburbs round about them.” עִיר עִיר וּמִ, city city, *i.e.* every city, with its pasture round about it.

Vers. 43-45 form the conclusion to the account of the division of the land in chap. xiii.-xxi., which not only points back to chap. xi. 23, but also to chap. i. 2-6, and connects the two halves of our book together. By the division of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, the promise which Joshua had received from God after the death of Moses was fulfilled (chap. i. 2 sqq.). The Lord had given Israel the whole land which He had sworn to the fathers (Gen. xii. 7, xv. 18, compared with Josh. i. 3, 4); and they had now taken possession of it to dwell therein.—Ver. 44. He had also procured them rest round about, as He had sworn to their fathers, inasmuch as not a man of all their enemies stood against them. The expression “gave them rest,” etc., points back to Deut. xii. 9, 10, and refers to all the divine promises of the Pentateuch which assured the Israelites of the peaceable possession of Canaan, such as Ex. xxxiii. 14, Deut. iii. 20, etc. No enemy had been able to withstand them, as the Lord had promised Joshua (chap. i. 5). “*The Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand.*” It is true the Canaanites were not all exterminated; but those who were left had become so powerless, that they could neither accomplish nor attempt anything against Israel, so long as the Israelites adhered faithfully to their God, or so long as Joshua and the elders who were his contemporaries were alive (Judg. ii. 6 sqq.), because the Lord had overwhelmed them with fear and terror before the Israelites.¹—Ver. 45. Of all the good words which the Lord had spoken to the house of Israel not one had fallen, *i.e.* remained unfulfilled (Num. vi. 12); all had come to pass (*vid.* chap. xxiii. 14). כָּל־הַדְּבָר הַטוֹב relates to the gracious promises of God with regard to the peaceful possession of Canaan, which formed the basis of all the salvation promised to Israel, and the pledge of the fulfilment of all the further

¹ “If any one should raise a question as to their actual peace, the solution is easy enough. The tribes of Canaan were so alarmed and broken down with their fear, that in their opinion nothing could serve their purpose better than to purchase peace from the children of Israel by the most obsequious servility. Clearly, therefore, the land was subdued and their home at peace, since no one disturbed them, or attempted anything against them; there were no threats, no snares, no violence, and no conspiracy.”—*Calvin.*

promises of God. Notwithstanding the fact that many a tract of country still remained in the hands of the Canaanites, the promise that the land of Canaan should be given to the house of Israel for a possession had been fulfilled; for God had not promised the immediate and total destruction of the Canaanites, but only their gradual extermination (Ex. xxiii. 29, 30; Deut. vii. 22). And even though the Israelites never came into undisputed possession of the whole of the promised land, to the full extent of the boundaries laid down in Num. xxxiv. 1-12, never conquering Tyre and Sidon for example, the promises of God were no more broken on that account than they were through the circumstance, that after the death of Joshua and the elders his contemporaries, Israel was sometimes hard pressed by the Canaanites; since the complete fulfilment of this promise was inseparably connected with the fidelity of Israel to the Lord.¹

RETURN OF THE TWO TRIBES AND A HALF TO THEIR OWN
INHERITANCE.—CHAP. XXII.

Vers. 1-8. After the conquest and division of the land, Joshua sent the auxiliaries of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh back to their homes, with a laudatory acknowledgment of the help they had given to their brethren, and a paternal admonition to adhere faithfully to the Lord and His law, and with a parting blessing (vers. 1-6). By the expression "*then Joshua called,*" etc., the occurrence described in this chapter is placed in a general manner after the conquest and subjugation of Canaan, though not of necessity at the close of the distribution of the land. As the summons to these tribes to go with their brethren into Canaan, to assist them in the war, formed the commencement of Joshua's plans

¹ With reference to this apparent discrepancy between the promises of God and the actual results, *Calvin* observes, that "in order to remove every appearance of discrepancy, it is right to distinguish well between the clear, unwavering, and certain fidelity of God in the fulfilment of His promises, and the weakness and indolence of the people, which caused the blessings of God to slip from their hands. Whatever war the people undertook, in whatever direction they carried their standards, there was victory ready to their hand; nor was there anything to retard or prevent the extermination of all their enemies except their own slothfulness. Consequently, although they did not destroy them all, so as to empty the land for their own possession, the truth of God stood out as distinctly as if they had; for there would have been no difficulty in their accomplishment of all that remained to be done, if they had only been disposed to grasp the victories that were ready to their hand.'

for the conquest of Canaan (chap. i. 12 sqq.), their dismissal to their home very properly forms the conclusion to the history of the conquest of this land by the Israelites. We might therefore assume, without in any way contradicting the words of the text, that these auxiliaries had been dismissed immediately after the war was ended. Even in that case, the account of their dismissal would stand in its proper place, "since it was only right that the history itself, which relates to the conquest and possession of the land, should be fully completed before any other narratives, or any casual occurrences which took place, were introduced to break the thread" (*Lightfoot*, App. i. p. 42). On the other hand, however, the circumstance that the two tribes and a half were dismissed from Shiloh, where the tribes assembled for the first time during the casting of the lots, favours the conclusion that the dismissal did not take place till after the lots had been cast; that is to say, contemporaneously with the advance of the other tribes into their possessions.—Vers. 2, 3. Joshua acknowledged that they had done all that they were under any obligation to do towards Moses and himself (Num. xxxii. 20 sqq.; Josh. i. 16, 17). "*Kept the charge of the commandment*," i.e. observed what had to be observed in relation to the commandment of the Lord (see at Lev. viii. 35 and Gen. xxvi. 5).—Ver. 4 points back to chap. i. 15. "*Unto your tents*," for to your homes,—an antiquated form of expression, as in Deut. xvi. 7, Judg. vii. 8, etc.—Ver. 5. Remembering, however, the changeableness of the human heart, Joshua appends to the acknowledgment of their fidelity in the performance of their duty the pressing admonition, to continue still to observe the law of Moses faithfully, to walk in the ways of the Lord and serve Him with the whole heart, which was simply a repetition of what Moses had impressed in a fatherly way upon the hearts of the people (see Deut. iv. 4, 29, vi. 5, x. 12, xi. 13, etc.).—Ver. 6. Thus Joshua dismissed them with blessings.—In ver. 7, the writer, for the sake of clearness, refers again to the fact that only half of Manasseh had received its inheritance from Moses in Bashan, whereas the other had received its inheritance through Joshua on the west of the Jordan (cf. chap. xiv. 3, and xviii. 7). To us such repetitions appear superfluous; but they are closely connected with the copious breadth of the early historical style of the Hebrews, which abounded in repetitions. The verb נתן (gave) wants its object, נתתיו or נתתיה, which may easily be supplied from the context. This interpolation involved a further repetition of the fact, that Joshua also dismissed

them (the Manassites of the other side) with a blessing, in order that the words might be appended with which Joshua dismissed the two tribes and a half to their homes, namely, the admonition to share the rich booty which they had accumulated with their brethren at home, in accordance with the instructions which Moses had given them with reference to the war with the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 25 sqq.).

Vers. 9–12. On the way home, when the two tribes and a half had reached the border of Canaan, they built a large conspicuous altar in the district of the Jordan, in the land of Canaan, *i.e.* on this side of the Jordan: “*a great altar to see to,*” *i.e.* one which caught the eye on account of its size, since it was to serve for a memorial (vers. 24 sqq.). The definition appended to Shiloh, “*in the land of Canaan*” (ver. 9), serves to bring out the antithesis “*into the land of Gilead,*” by which we are to understand the whole of the country to the east of the Jordan, as in Num. xxxii. 29, Deut. xxxiv. 1, Judg. v. 17, etc. נֶאֱמָרוּ, both in the form and meaning the same as in Num. xxxii. 30, *made possessors, i.e.* settled down. נְלִילֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן, *the circles of the Jordan*, is synonymous with פְּנֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן in Gen. xiii. 10, and signifies that portion of the Ghor which was upon the western side of the Jordan.—Vers. 11, 12. The Israelites (on this side) heard that the tribes in question had built the altar “*opposite to the land of Canaan*” (*lit.* in the face or in front of the land of Canaan), אֶל־עֵבֶר, “*at the opposite region of the children of Israel*” (two descriptions which may be explained on the supposition that the name of Canaan is used in a restricted sense, the valley of the Jordan being expressly excepted, and Canaan considered as only extending to the valley of the Jordan). When they heard this, the whole congregation (in its heads and representatives) assembled at Shiloh, to go up, *i.e.* with the intention of going, to make war against them. The congregation supposed that the altar had been built as a place for sacrifice, and therefore regarded it as a wicked violation of the commandment of God with regard to the unity of the sacrificial altar (Lev. xvii. 8, 9; Deut. xii. 4 sqq.), which they ought to punish according to the law in Deut. xiii. 13 sqq. This zeal was perfectly justifiable, and even praiseworthy, as the altar, even if not erected as a place for sacrifice, might easily be abused to that purpose, and thus become an occasion of sin to the whole nation. In any case, the two tribes and a half ought not to have erected such a building without the consent of Joshua or of the high priest.¹

¹ “We know how sternly the law prohibited the use of two altars: because it was the will of God that His worship should be restricted to one place. When,

Vers. 13-20. The congregation therefore sent Phinehas, the son of the high priest and his presumptive successor in this office, with ten princes, one from each tribe (not the tribe-princes, but a head of the fathers' houses of the families of Israel), to Gilead, to the two tribes and a half, to call them to account for building the altar.—Ver. 16. Assuming at the outset that the altar was intended for a second place of sacrifice in opposition to the command of God, the delegates, with Phinehas no doubt as their speaker, began by reproaching them for falling away from the Lord. “*What faithlessness is this* (מַעַל : see at Lev. v. 15) *that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from Jehovah, in that ye have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day against Jehovah?*” מָרַד (to rebel) is stronger than מַעַל.—Vers. 17 sqq. To show the greatness of the sin through apostasy from the Lord, the speaker reminds them of two previous acts of sin on the part of the nation, which had brought severe judgments upon the congregation. “*Is there too little for us in the iniquity of Peor* (i.e. with Peor, or through the worship of Peor, Num. xxv. 3), *from which we have not cleansed ourselves till this day, and there came the plague upon the congregation of Jehovah?*” אֶת־עֵן is an accusative : see Ges. § 117, 2 ; Ewald, § 277, d. That plague, of which 24,000 Israelites died, was stayed through the zeal of Phinehas for the honour of the Lord (Num. xxv. 4-9, 11). The guilt connected with the worship of Peor had thereby been avenged upon the congregation, and the congregation itself had been saved from any further punishment in consequence of the sin. When Phinehas, therefore, affirmed that the congregation had not yet been cleansed from the crime, he did not mean that they were still bearing or suffering from the punishment of that crime, but that they were not yet cleansed from that sin, inasmuch as many of them were still attached to idolatry in their hearts, even if they had hitherto desisted from it outwardly from fear of the infliction of fresh judgments.—Ver. 18. “*And*

therefore, from the very appearance it could not fail to occur to the mind of any one that they were establishing a second altar, who would not have condemned them as guilty of sacrilege, for introducing rites and ceremonies at variance with the law of God? And since it might so naturally be regarded as a wicked deed, they ought certainly to have consulted their brethren in so grave and important a matter ; and it was especially wrong to pass by the high priest, when the will of God might have been learned from his lips. They were deserving of blame, therefore, because they acted as if they had been alone in the world, and did not consider what offence might easily arise from the novelty of their proceedings.”—*Calvin.*

to-day ye turn away from the Lord again," and are about to bring His wrath upon the whole congregation again through a fresh rebellion.—Ver. 19. "*And truly,*" the speaker continued, "*if the land of your possession should be unclean,*" *sc.* so that you think it necessary to have an altar in the neighbourhood to expiate your sins and wipe away your uncleannesses, "*pass over into the land of Jehovah's possession, where His dwelling-place stands, and settle in the midst of us* ('settle,' as in Gen. xxxiv. 10); *but do not rebel against Jehovah nor against us, by building an altar beside the (one) altar of Jehovah our God.*" מִן is construed first of all with אֵל, and then with the accusative; the only other place in which the latter occurs is Job xxiv. 13.—Ver. 20. He finally reminded them of the sin of Achan, how that had brought the wrath of God upon the whole congregation (chap. vii.); and, moreover, Achan was not the only man who had perished on account of the sin, but thirty-six men had fallen on account of it at the first attack upon Ai (chap. vii. 5). The allusion to this fact is to be understood as an argument *a minori ad majus*, as Masius has shown. "If Achan did not perish alone when he committed sacrilege, but God was angry with the whole congregation, what think ye will be the consequence if ye, so great a number, commit so grievous a sin against God?"

Vers. 21–29. In utter amazement at the suspicion expressed by the delegates of the congregation, the two tribes and a half affirm with a solemn oath, that it never entered into their minds to build an altar as a place of sacrifice, to fall away from Jehovah. The combination of the three names of God—EL, the strong one; ELOHIM, the Supreme Being to be feared; and JEHOVAH, the truly existing One, the covenant God (ver. 22)—serves to strengthen the invocation of God, as in Ps. l. 1; and this is strengthened still further by the repetition of these three names. God knows, and let Israel also know, *sc.* what they intended, and what they have done. The אֲנִי which follows is the usual particle used in an oath. "*Verily (it was) not in rebellion, nor in apostasy from Jehovah,*" *sc.* that this was done, or that we built the altar. "*Mayst Thou not help us to-day,*" *sc.* if we did it in rebellion against God. An appeal addressed immediately to God in the heat of the statement, and introduced in the midst of the asseveration, which was meant to remove all doubt as to the truth of their declaration. The words which follow in ver. 23, "*that we have built,*" etc., continue the oath: *If we have done this, to build us an altar, to turn away from*

the Lord, or to offer thereon burnt-offering, meat-offering, or peace-offering, may Jehovah himself require it (דָּרִשׁ, as in Deut. xviii. 19; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 16). Another earnest parenthetical adjuration, as the substance of the oath, is continued in ver. 24. "But truly (וַאֲמַן, with an affirmative signification) from anxiety, for a reason (lit. on account of a thing) have we done this, thinking (לְאִמּוֹר, since we thought) in time to come your sons might say to our sons, What have ye to do with Jehovah, the God of Israel?" i.e. He does not concern you; He is our God. "Jehovah has made the Jordan a boundary between us and your sons; ye have no part in Jehovah. Thus your sons might make our sons cease to fear Jehovah," i.e. might make them desist from the worship of Jehovah (for the infinitive form יִרָא instead of the abbreviated form יִרְאָה used in 1 Sam. xviii. 29, there are analogies in יִצַּק in Ezek. xxiv. 3, and לִישָׁן, Eccl. v. 11, whereas יִרְאָה is the only form used in the Pentateuch). There was some reason for this anxiety. For, inasmuch as in all the promises and laws Canaan alone (the land on this side of the Jordan, Num. xxxiv. 1-12) is always mentioned as the land which Jehovah would give to His people for their inheritance, it was quite a possible thing that at some future time the false conclusion might be drawn from this, that only the tribes who dwelt in Canaan proper were the true people of Jehovah.—Vers. 26 sqq. "So we thought, we will make ourselves to build an altar (an expression derived from the language of ordinary life, for 'we will build ourselves an altar'), not for burnt-offerings and slain-offerings; but it shall be a witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we may perform the service of Jehovah before His face (i.e. before the tabernacle in which Jehovah was enthroned), with our burnt-offerings, slain-offerings, and peace-offerings,"—in order, as they repeat in ver. 27b from vers. 24, 25, that they might not be denied a part in Jehovah in time to come. For if it should so happen in time to come, that this should be said to them and to their descendants, they would say (or reply), "Behold the copy of the altar of Jehovah, which our fathers made, not for burnt-offerings," etc. (ver. 28b, as in vers. 26b, 27a). For this reason they had built the altar according to the pattern of the altar before the tabernacle, and that not in their own land, but on the western side of the Jordan, where the dwelling-place of Jehovah was standing, as a witness that they worshipped one and the same God with the tribes on this side.—Ver. 29. The speakers conclude with an expression of horror at the thought of rebelling against Jehovah. חָלִילָהּ לָנוּ מִמּוֹנִי, "far be it

from us away from Him (כִּמְנוּ = מִיָּהוָה, 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, xxvi. 11; 1 Kings xxi. 3), to rebel against Jehovah," etc.

Vers. 30-34. This explanation pleased the delegates of the congregation, so that Phinehas bore this testimony to the tribes on the east of the Jordan: "*Now (to-day) we perceive that Jehovah is in the midst of us; because (וְאַתָּה, quod, as in Gen. xxxi. 49, etc.) ye have not committed this unfaithfulness towards Jehovah, since (וְאַתָּה, then, if ye had only this intention) ye have saved the children of Israel out of the hand of Jehovah,*" i.e. preserved them from His judgments.—Vers. 32, 33. They then returned to Canaan and informed the congregation. And the thing pleased them, so that they praised the Lord, *sc.* for having kept their brethren on the other side from rebellion, and they thought no more of going to war against them, or laying waste the land of the tribes on the east of the Jordan.—Ver. 34. The Reubenites and Gadites (half Manasseh is omitted in vers. 33, 34, for the sake of brevity) called the altar "*witness is it between us that Jehovah is God*" (וְעֵד introduces the words). This is at once a name and an explanation, namely in this sense: they gave the altar the name of "*witness between us,*" because it was to be a witness that they also acknowledged and worshipped Jehovah as the true God.

JOSHUA'S FAREWELL AND DEATH.—CHAP. XXIII. XXIV.

After the division of the land among the tribes, Joshua had withdrawn to *Tinnath-serah*, on the mountains of Ephraim (chap. xix. 50), to spend the last days of his life there in the quiet enjoyment of his own inheritance. But when the time of his departure from the earth was drawing near, remembering the call which he had received from the Lord (chap. i. 6-8), he felt constrained to gather the people together once more in the persons of their representatives, to warn them most earnestly of the dangers of apostasy from the Lord, and point out the evils that would follow (chap. xxiii.); and then after that, in a solemn assembly of the nation at Shechem, to review the abundant mercies which the Lord had conferred upon Israel from the calling of Abraham to that day, that he might call upon them to remain steadfast and faithful in the worship of their God, and then solemnly renew the covenant with the Lord.¹

¹ "The pious solicitude of Joshua furnishes an example worthy of imitation by all who have the charge of others. For just as a father would not be

Chap. xxiii. EXHORTATION TO THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THEIR CALLING.—Vers. 1, 2. The introduction to the discourse which follows is attached in its first part to chap. xxii. 3, 4, and thus also to chap. xxi. 43, 44, whilst in the second part it points back to chap. xiii. 1. The Lord had given the people rest from all their enemies round about, after the land had been subdued and divided by lot (chap. xxi. 43, 44). Joshua was already an old man at the termination of the war (chap. xiii. 1); but since then he had advanced still further in age, so that he may have noticed the signs of the near approach of death. He therefore called together the representatives of the people, either to Timnath-serah where he dwelt (chap. xix. 50), or to Shiloh to the tabernacle, the central sanctuary of the whole nation, as the most suitable place for his purpose. “*All Israel*” is still further defined by the apposition, “*its elders, and its heads, and its judges, and its officers.*” This is not to be understood, however, as referring to four different classes of rulers; but the term *elders* is the general term used to denote all the representatives of the people, who were divided into heads, judges, and officers. And the *heads*, again, were those who stood at the head of the tribes, families, and fathers’ houses, and out of whose number the most suitable persons were chosen as judges and officers (Deut. i. 15; see my Bibl. Arch. ii. § 143). Joshua’s address to the elders of all Israel consists of two parts, which run parallel to one another so far as the contents are concerned, vers. 2b–13 and vers. 14–16. In both parts Joshua commences with a reference to his age and his approaching death, in consequence of which he felt constrained to remind the people once more of all the great things that the Lord had done for them, and to warn them against falling away from their gracious covenant God. Just as Joshua, in this the last act of his life, was merely treading in the footsteps of Moses, who had concluded his life with the fullest exhortations to the people to be faithful to the Lord (Deut. i. 30), so his address consists entirely of reminiscences from the Pentateuch, more especially from Deuteronomy, as he had

regarded as sufficiently careful if he merely thought of the interests of his children up to the time of his own death, and did not extend his thoughtfulness on their behalf still further, and as far as was in his power endeavour to provide for their welfare when he himself should be dead; so good rulers ought to look forward that they may not only leave behind them a well-organized state, but may also strengthen and secure its existence for a long time to come.” —*Calvin* (with special reference to 2 Pet. i. 13–15).

nothing fresh to announce to the people, but could only impress the old truth upon their minds once more.

Vers. 2b-13. Joshua commenced his address by reminding them of the greatest manifestations of grace which they had received from the Lord, namely, by referring to what the Lord had done to all these nations (the Canaanites) before them, when He fought for Israel, as Moses had promised them (Deut. i. 30 and iii. 22).—Ver. 3. “*Before you*,” *sc.* smiting and driving them away.—Ver. 4. He (Joshua) had now divided by lot among the tribes of Israel as their inheritance these still remaining (Canaanitish) nations, as the Lord had commanded (chap. xiii. 6, 7), “*from Jordan and further all the nations, which I have exterminated (i.e. which Joshua had destroyed when Canaan was taken), and the great sea* (for ‘to the great sea’) *in the west.*” The breadth of the land of Canaan is here given in a peculiar manner, the *terminus a quo* being mentioned in the first clause, and the *terminus ad quem* (though without the preposition עַד) in the second; and through the parallelism which exists between the clauses, each clause is left to be completed from the other. So that the whole sentence would read thus: “*All these nations which remain . . . from Jordan to the great sea, also all the nations which I have cut off from Jordan, and to the great sea westward.*”—Ver. 5. For the Lord would drive all these still remaining nations before the Israelites, and cut them off, and give the Israelites their land for a possession, as He had promised (chap. xiii. 6; cf. Ex. xxiii. 23 sqq.). הָרָף, as in Deut. vi. 19, ix. 4; and the form יִהְרָפֻם, with *Chateph-kamet*, on account of the weakness of the ה, as in Num. xxxv. 20. יִרְשָׁתֶם, as in chap. i. 15.—Vers. 6 sqq. Only let them be strong, *i.e.* be brave, to keep the law of Moses without fail (cf. chap. i. 7), to enter into no fellowship with these remaining nations (בֹּא, to enter into close intimacy with a person; see ver. 12), and not to pay reverence to their gods in any way, but to adhere stedfastly to the Lord their God as they had hitherto done. To make mention of the names of the idols (Ex. xxiii. 13), to swear by them, to serve them (by sacrifices), and to bow down to them (to invoke them in prayer), are the four outward forms of divine worship (see Deut. vi. 13, x. 20). The concluding words, “*as ye have done unto this day*,” which express a reason for persevering in the attachment they had hitherto shown to Jehovah, “do not affirm that the Israelites had hitherto done all these things fully and perfectly; for who does not know how few mortals there are who devote themselves to God

with all the piety and love which He justly demands? But because the nation as a whole had kept the laws delivered to them by Moses, during the time that the government had been in the hands of Joshua, the sins of individual men were left out of sight on this occasion" (*Masius*).—Vers. 9, 10. For this reason the Lord had driven out great and strong nations before the Israelites, so that no one was able to stand before them. The first hemistich points to the fulfilment of Deut. iv. 38, vii. 1, ix. 1, xi. 23; the second to that of Deut. vii. 24, xi. 25. דָּרַסְתִּי is placed at the beginning absolutely.—In ver. 10*a*, the blessing of fidelity to the law which Israel had hitherto experienced, is described, as in Deut. xxxii. 30, upon the basis of the promise in Lev. xxvi. 7, 8, and Deut. xxviii. 7, and in ver. 10*b* the thought of ver. 3*b* is repeated. To this there is attached, in vers. 11-13, the admonition to take heed for the sake of their souls (cf. Deut. iv. 15), to love the Lord their God (on the love of God as the sum of the fulfilment of the law, see Deut. vi. 5, x. 12, xi. 13). For if they turned, *i.e.* gave up the faithfulness they had hitherto displayed towards Jehovah, and attached themselves to the remnant of these nations, made marriages with them, and entered into fellowship with them, which the Lord had expressly forbidden (Ex. xxxiv. 12-16; Deut. vii. 3), let them know that the Lord their God would not cut off these nations before them any more, but that they would be a snare and destruction to them. This threat is founded upon such passages of the law as Ex. xxiii. 33, Deut. vii. 16, and more especially Num. xxxiii. 55. The figure of a trap, which is employed here (see Ex. x. 7), is still further strengthened by סִבְלָה, a snare (cf. Isa. viii. 14, 15). *Shotet*, a whip or scourge, an emphatic form of the word derived from the *poel* of שָׁט, only occurs here. "*Scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes*" (see Num. xxxiii. 55). Joshua crowds his figures together to depict the misery and oppression which would be sure to result from fellowship with the Canaanites, because, from his knowledge of the fickleness of the people, and the wickedness of the human heart in its natural state, he could foresee that the apostasy of the nation from the Lord, which Moses had foretold, would take place but too quickly; as it actually did, according to Judg. ii. 3 sqq., in the very next generation. The words "*until ye perish*," etc., resume the threat held out by Moses in Deut. xi. 17 (cf. chap. xxviii. 21 sqq.).

Vers. 14-16. In the second part of his address, Joshua sums up briefly and concisely the leading thoughts of the first part,

giving greater prominence, however, to the curse which would follow apostasy from the Lord.—Ver. 14. Now that Joshua was going the way of all the earth (all the inhabitants of the earth), *i.e.* going to die (1 Kings ii. 2), the Israelites knew with all the heart and all the soul, *i.e.* were fully convinced, that of all the good words (gracious promises) of God not one had failed, but all had come to pass (*vid.* chap. xxi. 45). But it was just as certain that the Lord would bring upon them every evil word that He spake through Moses (Lev. xxvi. 14–33; Deut. xxviii. 15–68, and xxix. 14–28), if they transgressed His covenant. “*The evil word*” is the curse of rejection (Deut. xxx. 1, 15). “*Until He have destroyed:*” see Deut. vii. 24, and xxviii. 48. The other words as in ver. 13*b*. If they went after other gods and served them, the wrath of the Lord would burn against them, and they would be quickly destroyed from the good land which He had given them (*vid.* Deut. xi. 17).

Chap. xxiv. 1–28. RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN SHECHEM.—Ver. 1. Joshua brought his public ministry to a close, as Moses had done before him, with a solemn renewal of the covenant with the Lord. For this solemn act he did not choose Shiloh, the site of the national sanctuary, as some MSS. of the LXX. read, but Shechem, a place which was sanctified as no other was for such a purpose as this by the most sacred reminiscences from the times of the patriarchs. He therefore summoned all the tribes of Israel, in their representatives (their elders, etc., as in chap. xxiii. 2), to Shechem, not merely because it was at Shechem, *i.e.* on Gerizim and Ebal, that the solemn establishment of the law in the land of Canaan, to which the renewal of the covenant, as a repetition of the essential kernel of that solemn ceremony, was now to be appended, had first taken place, but still more because it was here that Abraham received the first promise from God after his migration into Canaan, and built an altar at the time (Gen. xii. 6, 7); and most of all, as *Hengstenberg* has pointed out (Diss. ii. p. 12), because Jacob settled here on his return from Mesopotamia, and it was here that he purified his house from the strange gods, burying all their idols under the oak (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxv. 2, 4). As Jacob selected Shechem for the sanctification of his house, because this place was already consecrated by Abraham as a sanctuary of God, so Joshua chose the same place for the renewal of the covenant, because this act involved a practical

renunciation on the part of Israel of all idolatry. Joshua expressly states this in ver. 23, and reference is also made to it in the account in ver. 26. "The exhortation to be faithful to the Lord, and to purify themselves from all idolatry, could not fail to make a deep impression, in the place where the honoured patriarch had done the very same things to which his descendants were exhorted here. The example preached more loudly in this spot than in any other" (*Hengstenberg*). "*And they placed themselves before God.*" From the expression "before God," it by no means follows that the ark had been brought to Shechem, or, as *Knobel* supposes, that an altar was erected there, any more than from the statement in ver. 26 that it was "*by the sanctuary of the Lord.*" For, in the first place, "before God" (*Elohim*) is not to be identified with "before Jehovah," which is used in chap. xviii. 6 and xix. 51 to denote the presence of the Lord above the ark of the covenant; and secondly, even "before Jehovah" does not always presuppose the presence of the ark of the covenant, as *Hengstenberg* has clearly shown. "Before God" simply denotes in a general sense the religious character of an act, or shows that the act was undertaken with a distinct reference to the omnipresent God; and in the case before us it may be attributed to the fact that Joshua delivered his exhortation to the people in the name of Jehovah, and commenced his address with the words, "Thus saith Jehovah."¹

Vers. 2-15. Joshua's address contains an expansion of two thoughts. He first of all recalls to the recollection of the whole nation, whom he is addressing in the persons of its representatives, all the proofs of His mercy which the Lord had given, from the calling of Abraham to that day (vers. 2-13); and then because of these divine acts he calls upon the people to renounce all idolatry, and to serve God the Lord alone (vers. 14, 15). Jehovah is described as the "God of Israel" both at the commencement (ver. 2) and also at the close of the whole transaction, in perfect accordance with the substance and object of the address, which is occupied throughout with the goodness conferred by God upon the race of

¹ "It is stated that they all stood before God, in order that the sanctity and religious character of the assembly may be the more distinctly shown. And there can be no doubt that the name of God was solemnly invoked by Joshua, and that he addressed the people as in the sight of God, so that each one might feel for himself that God was presiding over all that was transacted there, and that they were not engaged in any merely private affair, but were entering into a sacred and inviolable compact with God himself."—*Calvin*.

Israel. The first practical proof of the grace of God towards Israel, was the calling of Abraham from his idolatrous associations, and his introduction to the land of Canaan, where the Lord so multiplied his seed, that Esau received the mountains of Seir for his family, whilst Jacob went into Egypt with his sons.¹ The ancestors of Israel dwelt "*from eternity*," i.e. from time immemorial, on the other side of the stream (the Euphrates), viz. in Ur of the Chaldees, and then at Haran in Mesopotamia (Gen. xi. 28, 31), namely Terah, the father of Abraham and Nahor. Of Terah's three sons (Gen. xi. 27), Nahor is mentioned as well as Abraham, because Rebekah, and her nieces Leah and Rachel, the tribe-mothers of Israel, were descended from him (Gen. xxii. 23, xxix. 10, 16 sqq.). And they (your fathers, Terah and his family) served other gods than Jehovah, who revealed himself to Abraham, and brought him from his father's house to Canaan. Nothing definite can be gathered from the expression "other gods," with reference to the gods worshipped by Terah and his family; nor is there anything further to be found respecting them throughout the whole of the Old Testament. We simply learn from Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, that Laban had *teraphim*, i.e. *penates*, or household and oracular gods.² The question also, whether Abraham was an idolater before his call, which has been answered in different ways, cannot be determined with certainty. We may conjecture, however, that he was not deeply sunk in idolatry, though he had not remained entirely free from it in his father's house; and therefore that his call is not to be regarded as a reward for his righteousness before God, but as an act of free unmerited grace.—Vers. 3, 4. After his

¹ "He commences with their gratuitous training, by which God had precluded them from the possibility of boasting of any pre-eminence or merit. For God had bound them to himself by a closer bond, because when they were on an equality with others, He drew them to himself to be His own peculiar people, for no other reason than His own good pleasure. Moreover, in order that it may be clearly seen that they have nothing whereof to glory, he leads them back to their earliest origin, and relates how their fathers had dwelt in Chaldaea, worshipping idols in common with the rest, and with nothing to distinguish them from the crowd."—*Calvin*.

² According to one tradition, Abraham was brought up in Sabæism in his father's house (see *Hottinger*, *Histor. Orient.* p. 246, and *Philo*, in several passages of his works); and according to another, in the *Targum Jonathan* on Gen. xi. 23, and in the later Rabbins, Abraham had to suffer persecution on account of his dislike to idolatry, and was obliged to leave his native land in consequence. But these traditions are both of them nothing more than conjectures by the later Rabbins.

call, God conducted Abraham through all the land of Canaan (see Gen. xii.), protecting and shielding him, and multiplied his seed, giving him Isaac, and giving to Isaac Jacob and Esau, the ancestors of two nations. To the latter He gave the mountains of Seir for a possession (Gen. xxxvi. 6 sqq.), that Jacob might receive Canaan for his descendants as a sole possession. But instead of mentioning this, Joshua took for granted that his hearers were well acquainted with the history of the patriarchs, and satisfied himself with mentioning the migration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt, that he might pass at once to the second great practical proof of the mercy of God in the guidance of Israel, the miraculous deliverance of Israel out of the bondage and oppression of Egypt.—Vers. 5-7. Of this also he merely mentions the leading points, viz. first of all, the sending of Moses and Aaron (Ex. iii. 10 sqq., iv. 14 sqq.), and then the plagues inflicted upon Egypt. “*I smote Egypt,*” i.e. both land and people. הָרַג is used in Ex. vii. 27 and xii. 23, 27, in connection with the plague of frogs and the slaying of the first-born in Egypt. The words which follow, “*according to that which I did among them, and afterward I brought you out,*” point back to Ex. iii. 20, and show that the Lord had fulfilled the promise given to Moses at his call. He then refers (vers. 6, 7) to the miraculous deliverance of the Israelites, as they came out of Egypt, from Pharaoh who pursued them with his army, giving especial prominence to the crying of the Israelites to the Lord in their distress (Ex. xiv. 10), and the relief of that distress by the angel of the Lord (Ex. xiv. 19, 20). And lastly, he notices their dwelling in the wilderness “*many days,*” i.e. forty years (Num. xiv. 33).—Vers. 8-10. The third great act of God for Israel was his giving up the Amorites into the hands of the Israelites, so that they were able to conquer their land (Num. xxi. 21-35), and the frustration of the attack made by Balak king of the Moabites, through the instrumentality of Balaam, when the Lord did not allow him to curse Israel, but compelled him to bless (Num. xxii.-xxiv.). Balak “*warred against Israel,*” not with the sword, but with the weapons of the curse, or *animo et voluntate* (Vatabl.). “*I would not hearken unto Balaam,*” i.e. would not comply with his wish, but compelled him to submit to my will, and to bless you; “*and delivered you out of his* (Balak’s) *hand,*” when he sought to destroy Israel through the medium of Balaam (Num. xxii. 6, 11).—Vers. 11-13. The last and greatest benefit which the Lord conferred upon the Israelites, was His leading them by miracles of His omnipotence across the Jordan

into Canaan, delivering the “*lords* (or possessors) *of Jericho*,” not “the rulers, *i.e.* the king and his heroes,” as *Knobel* maintains (see 2 Sam. xxi. 12; 1 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12; and the commentary on Judg. ix. 6), “*and all the tribes of Canaan into their hand*,” and sending *hornets before them*, so that they were able to drive out the Canaanites, particularly the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, though “*not with their sword and their bow*” (*vid.* Ps. xlv. 4); *i.e.* it was not with the weapons at their command that they were able to take the lands of these two kings. On the sending of hornets, as a figure used to represent peculiarly effective terrors, see at Ex. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20. In this way the Lord gave the land to the Israelites, with its towns and its rich productions (vineyards and olive trees), without any trouble on their part of wearisome cultivation or planting, as Moses himself had promised them (Deut. vi. 10, 11).—Vers. 14, 15. These overwhelming manifestations of grace on the part of the Lord laid Israel under obligations to serve the Lord with gratitude and sincerity. “*Now therefore fear the Lord* (יִרְאוּ for יִרְאֵה, pointed like a verb יִרְאֵה, as in 1 Sam. xii. 24, Ps. xxxiv. 10), *and serve Him in sincerity and in truth*,” *i.e.* without hypocrisy, or the show of piety, in simplicity and truth of heart (*vid.* Judg. ix. 16, 19). “*Put away the gods* (*Elohim* = the strange gods in ver. 23) *which your fathers served on the other side of the Euphrates and in Egypt*.” This appeal does not presuppose any gross idolatry on the part of the existing generation, which would have been at variance with the rest of the book, in which Israel is represented as only serving Jehovah during the lifetime of Joshua. If the people had been in possession of idols, they would have given them up to Joshua to be destroyed, as they promised to comply with his demand (vers. 16 sqq.). But even if the Israelites were not addicted to gross idolatry in the worship of idols, they were not altogether free from idolatry either in Egypt or in the desert. As their fathers were possessed of *teraphim* in Mesopotamia (see at ver. 2), so the Israelites had not kept themselves entirely free from heathen and idolatrous ways, more especially the demon-worship of Egypt (comp. Lev. xvii. 7 with Ezek. xx. 7 sqq., xxiii. 3, 8, and Amos v. 26); and even in the time of Joshua their worship of Jehovah may have been corrupted by idolatrous elements. This admixture of the pure and genuine worship of Jehovah with idolatrous or heathen elements, which is condemned in Lev. xvii. 7 as the worship of *Seirim*, and by Ezekiel (*l. c.*) as the idolatrous worship of the people in Egypt, had its roots in the corruption of the

natural heart, through which it is at all times led to make to itself idols of mammon, worldly lusts, and other impure thoughts and desires, to which it cleaves, without being able to tear itself entirely away from them. This more refined idolatry might degenerate in the case of many persons into the grosser worship of idols, so that Joshua had ample ground for admonishing the people to put away the strange gods, and serve the Lord.—Ver. 15. But as the true worship of the living God must have its roots in the heart, and spring from the heart, and therefore cannot be forced by prohibitions and commands, Joshua concluded by calling upon the representatives of the nation, in case they were not inclined (“if it seem evil unto you”) to serve Jehovah, to choose now this day the gods whom they would serve, whether the gods of their fathers in Mesopotamia, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land they were now dwelling, though he and his house would serve the Lord. There is no necessity to adduce any special proofs that this appeal was not intended to release them from the obligation to serve Jehovah, but rather contained the strongest admonition to remain faithful to the Lord.

Vers. 16-25. The people responded to this appeal by declaring, with an expression of horror at idolatry, their hearty resolution to serve the Lord, who was their God, and had shown them such great mercies. The words, “*that brought us up and our fathers out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage,*” call to mind the words appended to the first commandment (Ex. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6), which they hereby promise to observe. With the clause which follows, “*who did those great signs in our sight,*” etc., they declare their assent to all that Joshua had called to their mind in vers. 3-13. “*We also*” (ver. 18), as well as thou and thy house (ver. 15).—Vers. 19-21. But in order to place most vividly before the minds of the people to what it was that they bound themselves by this declaration, that they might not inconsiderately vow what they would not afterwards observe, Joshua adds, “*Ye cannot serve Jehovah,*” *sc.* in the state of mind in which ye are at present, or “by your own resolution only, and without the assistance of divine grace, without solid and serious conversion from all idols, and without true repentance and faith” (*J. H. Michaelis*). For Jehovah is “*a holy God,*” etc. *Elohim*, used to denote the Supreme Being (see at Gen. ii. 4), is construed with the predicate in the plural. On the holiness of God, see the exposition of Ex. xix. 6. On the expression “*a jealous God,*” see Ex. xx. 5; and on לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, Ex. xxiii. 21. The

only other place in which the form קָנָא is used for קָנָא is Nah. i. 2. "If ye forsake the Lord and serve strange gods, He will turn (*i.e.* assume a different attitude towards you) and do you hurt, after He has done you good," *i.e.* He will not spare you, in spite of the blessings which He has conferred upon you. הָרַע is used to denote the judgments threatened in the law against transgressors.—Ver. 21. The people adhered to their resolution. לֹא, *minime*, as in chap. v. 14, *i.e.* we will not serve other gods, but Jehovah.—Vers. 22, 23. Upon this repeated declaration Joshua says to them, "*ye are witnesses against yourselves*," *i.e.* ye will condemn yourselves by this your own testimony if ye should now forsake the Lord, "for ye yourselves have chosen you Jehovah to serve Him;" whereupon they answer עֲדִים, "*witnesses are we against ourselves*," signifying thereby, "we profess and ratify once more all that we have said" (*Rosenmüller*). Joshua then repeated his demand that they should put away the strange gods from within them, and incline their hearts (entirely) to Jehovah the God of Israel. אֱלֹהֵי הַנֶּכֶד אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבְּכֶם might mean the foreign gods which are in the midst of you, *i.e.* among you, and imply the existence of idols, and the grosser forms of idolatrous worship in the nation; but בְּקִרְבְּכֶם also signifies "within," or "in the heart," in which case the words refer to idols of the heart. That the latter is the sense in which the words are to be understood is evident from the fact, that although the people expressed their willingness to renounce all idolatry, they did not bring any idols to Joshua to be destroyed, as was done in other similar cases, *viz.* Gen. xxxv. 4, and 1 Sam. vii. 4. Even if the people had carried idols about with them in the desert, as the prophet Amos stated to his contemporaries (Amos v. 26; cf. Acts vii. 43), the grosser forms of idolatry had disappeared from Israel with the dying out of the generation that was condemned at Kadesh. The new generation, which had been received afresh into covenant with the Lord by the circumcision at Gilgal, and had set up this covenant at Ebal, and was now assembled around Joshua, the dying servant of God, to renew the covenant once more, had no idols of wood, stone, or metal, but only the "figments of false gods," as *Calvin* calls them, the idols of the heart, which it was to put away, that it might give its heart entirely to the Lord, who is not content with divided affections, but requires the whole heart (Deut. vi. 5, 6).—Vers. 24, 25. On the repeated and decided declaration of the people, "*the Lord our God will we serve, and to His voice will we hearken*," Joshua completed the covenant with them that day. This

conclusion of a covenant was really a solemn renewal of the covenant made at Sinai, like that which took place under Moses in the steppes of Moab (Deut. xxviii. 69). "*And set them a statute and right at Shechem,*" *sc.* through the renewal of the covenant. These words recall Ex. xv. 25, where the guidance of Israel to bitter water, and the sweetening of that water by the means which the Lord pointed out to Moses, are described as setting a *statute and right* for Israel, and then explained by the promise, that if they would hearken to the voice of Jehovah, He would keep them from all the diseases of Egypt. And in accordance with this, by the renewal of the covenant at Shechem, there were set for Israel a *חוק*, *i.e.* a *statute*, which bound the people to a renewed and conscientious maintenance of the covenant, and a *מִשְׁפָּט*, or *right*, by virtue of which they might expect on this condition the fulfilment of all the covenant mercies of the Lord.

Vers. 26-28. All these things (*הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה*) are not merely the words spoken on both sides, but the whole ceremony of renewing the covenant) Joshua wrote in the law-book of God, *i.e.* he wrote them in a document which he placed in the law-book of Moses, and then set up a large stone, as a permanent memorial of what had taken place, on the spot where the meeting had been held, "*under the oak that was in the sanctuary of Jehovah.*" As *בְּמִקְדָּשׁ* neither means "at the sanctuary," nor near the sanctuary, nor "in the place where the sanctuary was set up;" the "sanctuary of Jehovah" cannot signify "the ark of the covenant, which had been brought from the tabernacle to Shechem, for the ceremony of renewing the covenant." Still less can we understand it as signifying the tabernacle itself, since this was not removed from place to place for particular sacred ceremonies; nor can it mean an altar, in which an oak could not possibly be said to stand; nor some other illegal sanctuary of Jehovah, since there were none in Israel at that time. The sanctuary of Jehovah under the oak at Shechem was nothing else than the holy place under the oak, where Abraham had formerly built an altar and worshipped the Lord, and where Jacob had purified his house from the strange gods, which he buried under this oak, or rather terebinth tree (Gen. xii. 6, 7, xxxv. 2, 4). This is the explanation adopted by *Masius*, *J. D. Michaelis*, and *Hengstenberg* (Diss. ii. p. 12). In ver. 27 Joshua explains to the people the meaning of the stone which he had set up. The stone would be a witness against the people if they should deny their God. As a memorial of what had taken place, the stone had heard all the words

which the Lord had addressed to Israel, and could bear witness against the people, that they might not deny their God. “*Deny your God*,” viz. in feeling, word, or deed.—Ver. 28. Joshua then dismissed the people, each one to his inheritance. He had done all that was in his power to establish the people in fidelity to the Lord.

Vers. 29–33. DEATH AND BURIAL OF JOSHUA AND ELEAZAR.—With the renewal of the covenant Joshua had ended his vocation. He did not formally lay down his office, because there was no immediate successor who had been appointed by God. The ordinary rulers of the congregation were enough, when once they were settled in Canaan, viz. the elders as heads and judges of the nation, together with the high priest, who represented the nation in its relation to God, and could obtain for it the revelation of the will of God through the right of the Urim and Thummim. In order therefore to bring the history of Joshua and his times to a close, nothing further remained than to give an account of his death, with a short reference to the fruit of his labours, and to add certain other notices for which no suitable place had hitherto presented itself.—Vers. 29, 30. Soon after these events (vers. 1–28) Joshua died, at the age of 110, like his ancestor Joseph (Gen. l. 26), and was buried in his hereditary possessions at Timnath-serah, upon the mountains of Ephraim, to the north of Mount Gaash. *Timnath-serah* is still in existence (see at chap. xix. 50). *Mount Gaash*, however, has not been discovered.—Ver. 31. Joshua’s labours had not remained without effect. During his own lifetime, and that of the elders who outlived him, and who had seen all that the Lord did for Israel, all Israel served the Lord. “The elders” are the rulers and leaders of the nation. The account of the burial of Joseph’s bones, which the Israelites had brought with them from Egypt to Canaan (Ex. xiii. 19), is placed after the account of Joshua’s death, because it could not have been introduced before without interrupting the connected account of the labours of Joshua; and it would not do to pass it over without notice altogether, not only because the fact of their bringing the bones with them had been mentioned in the book of Exodus, but also because the Israelites thereby fulfilled the promise given by their fathers to Joseph when he died. The burial of Joseph in the piece of field which Jacob had purchased at Shechem (*vid.* Gen. xxxiii. 19) had no doubt taken place immediately after the division of the land, when Joseph’s descendants received Shechem

and the field there for an inheritance. This piece of field, however, they chose for a burial-place for Joseph's bones, not only because Jacob had purchased it, but in all probability chiefly because Jacob had sanctified it for his descendants by building an altar there (Gen. xxxiii. 20). The death and burial of Eleazar, who stood by Joshua's side in the guidance of the nation, are mentioned last of all (ver. 33). When Eleazar died, whether shortly before or shortly after Joshua, cannot be determined. He was buried at Gibeah of Phinehas, the place which was given to him upon the mountains of Ephraim, *i.e.* as his inheritance. *Gibeath Phinehas*, *i.e.* hill of Phinehas, is apparently a proper name, like Gibeah of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 34, etc.). The situation, however, is uncertain. According to *Eusebius* (*Onom. s. v. Γαβαάς*), it was upon the mountains of Ephraim, in the tribe of Benjamin, and was at that time a place named *Gabatha*, the name also given to it by *Josephus* (Ant. v. 1, 29), about twelve Roman miles from Eleutheropolis. This statement is certainly founded upon an error, at least so far as the number twelve is concerned. It is a much more probable supposition, that it is the Levitical town *Geba* of Benjamin, on the north-east of Ramah (chap. xviii. 24), and the name *Gibeah* of Phinehas might be explained on the ground that this place had become the hereditary property of Phinehas, which would be perfectly reconcilable with its selection as one of the priests' cities. As the priests, for example, were not the sole possessors of the towns ceded to them in the possessions of the different tribes, the Israelites might have presented Phinehas with that portion of the city which was not occupied by the priests, and also with the field, as a reward for the services he had rendered to the congregation (Num. xxv. 7 sqq.), just as Caleb and Joshua had been specially considered; in which case Phinehas might dwell in his own hereditary possessions in a priests' city. The situation, "upon the mountains of Ephraim," is not at variance with this view, as these mountains extended, according to Judg. iv. 5, etc., far into the territory of Benjamin (see at chap. xi. 21). The majority of commentators, down to *Knobel*, have thought the place intended to be a *Gibeah* in the tribe of Ephraim, namely the present *Jeeb* or *Jibia*, by the Wady Jib, on the north of Guphna, towards Neapolis (Sichem: see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 80), though there is nothing whatever to favour this except the name.

With the death of Eleazar the high priest, the contemporary of Joshua, the times of Joshua came to a close, so that the account of

Eleazar's death formed a very fitting termination to the book. In some mss. and editions of the Septuagint, there is an additional clause relating to the high priest Phinehas and the apostasy of the Israelites after Joshua's death; but this is merely taken from Judg. ii. 6, 11 sqq. and iii. 7, 12 sqq., and arbitrarily appended to the book of Joshua.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS AND CHARACTER, ORIGIN AND SOURCES, OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES.



THE book of Judges, headed *Shophetim* in the Hebrew Bibles, and *Kριταί* in the Alexandrian version, and called *liber Judicum* in the Vulgate, contains the history of the Israelitish theocracy for a period of about 350 years,

from the death of Joshua to the death of Samson, or to the time of the prophet Samuel. It may be divided according to its contents into three parts: (1) an introduction (chap. i.–iii. 6); (2) the history of the several judges (chap. iii. 7–xvi. 31); and (3) a twofold appendix (chap. xvii.–xxi.). In the *Introduction* the prophetic author of the book first of all takes a general survey of those facts which exhibited most clearly the behaviour of the Israelites to the Canaanites who were left in the land after the death of Joshua, and closes his survey with the reproof of their behaviour by the angel of the Lord (chap. i. 1–ii. 5). He then describes in a general manner the attitude of Israel to the Lord its God and that of the Lord to His people during the time of the judges, and represents this period as a constant alternation of humiliation through hostile oppression, when the nation fell away from its God, and deliverance out of the power of its enemies by judges whom God raised up and endowed with the power of His Spirit, whenever the people returned to the Lord (chap. ii. 6–iii. 6). This is followed in the *body of the work* (chap. iii. 7–xvi. 31) by the history of the several oppressions of Israel on the part of foreign nations, with the deliverance effected by the judges who were raised up by God, and whose deeds are for the most part elaborately described in chronological order, and introduced by the standing formula, “And the children of Israel

did evil in the sight of the Lord," etc.; or, "And the children of Israel again did evil (added to do evil)," etc. They are arranged in six historical groups: (1) the oppression by the Mesopotamian king, Chushan-rishathaim, with the deliverance from this oppression through *Othniel* the judge (chap. iii. 7-11); (2) the oppression by the Moabitish king Eglon, with the deliverance effected through *Ehud* the judge (chap. iii. 12-30), and the victory achieved by *Shamgar* over the Philistines (chap. iii. 31); (3) the subjugation of Israel by the Canaanitish king Jabin, and the deliverance effected through the prophetess *Deborah* and *Barak* the judge (chap. iv.), with *Deborah's* song of victory (chap. v.); (4) the oppression by the Midianites, and the deliverance from these enemies through the judge *Gideon*, who was called to be the deliverer of Israel through an appearance of the angel of the Lord (chap. vi.-viii.), with the history of the three years' reign of his son *Abimelech* (chap. ix.), and brief notices of the two judges *Tola* and *Jair* (chap. x. 1-5); (5) the giving up of the Israelites into the power of the Ammonites and Philistines, and their deliverance from the Ammonitish oppression by *Jephthah* (chap. x. 6-xii. 7), with brief notices of the three judges *Ibzan*, *Elon*, and *Abdon* (chap. xii. 8-15); (6) the oppression by the Philistines, with the account of the life and deeds of *Samson* the judge, who began to deliver Israel out of the power of these foes (chap. xiii.-xvi.). To this there are added two *appendices* in chap. xvii.-xxi.: viz. (1) the account of the worship of images by the Ephraimite *Micah*, and the transportation of that worship by the Danites to *Laish-Dan* (chap. xvii. xviii.); and (2) the infamous conduct of the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, and the war of revenge which was waged by the congregation of Israel against the tribe of Benjamin as a punishment for the crime (chap. xix.-xxi.). Both these events occurred in the earliest part of the period of the judges, as we may gather, in the case of the first, from a comparison of chap. xviii. 1 with chap. i. 34, and in that of the second from a comparison of chap. xx. 28 with *Josh.* xxii. 13 and xxiv. 33; and they are merely placed at the end of the book in the form of *appendices*, because they could not well be introduced into the six complete historical *tableaux*; although, so far as the facts themselves are concerned, they are intimately connected with the contents and aim of the book of Judges, inasmuch as they depict the religious and moral circumstances of the times in the most striking manner in two pictures drawn from life. The relation in which the three parts stand to one another, therefore, is this: the introduction

depicts the basis on which the deeds of the judges were founded, and the appendices furnish confirmatory evidence of the spirit of the age as manifested in those deeds. The whole book, however, is pervaded and ruled by the idea distinctly expressed in the introduction (chap. ii. 1-3, 11-22), that the Lord left those Canaanites who had not been exterminated by Joshua still in the land, to prove to Israel through them whether it would obey His commandments, and that He chastised and punished His people through them for their disobedience and idolatry; but that as soon as they recognised His chastening hand in the punishment, and returned to Him with penitence and implored His help, He had compassion upon them again in His gracious love, and helped them to victory over their foes, so that, notwithstanding the repeated acts of faithlessness on the part of His people, the Lord remained ever faithful in His deeds, and stedfastly maintained His covenant.

We must not look to the book of Judges, therefore, for a complete history of the period of the judges, or one which throws light upon the development of the Israelites on every side. The character of the book, as shown in its contents and the arrangement of the materials, corresponds entirely to the character of the times over which it extends. The time of the judges did not form a new stage in the development of the nation of God. It was not till the time of Samuel and David, when this period was ended, that a new stage began. It was rather a transition period, the time of free, unfettered development, in which the nation was to take root in the land presented to it by God as its inheritance, to familiarize itself with the theocratic constitution given to it by the Mosaic law, and by means of the peculiar powers and gifts conferred upon it by God to acquire for itself that independence and firm footing in Canaan, within the limits of the laws, ordinances, and rights of the covenant, which Jehovah had promised, and the way to which He had prepared through the revelations He had made to them. This task could be accomplished without any ruler directly appointed by the Lord. The first thing which the tribes had to do was to root out such Canaanites as remained in the land, that they might not only establish themselves in the unrestricted and undisputed possession and enjoyment of the land and its productions, but also avert the danger which threatened them on the part of these tribes of being led away to idolatry and immorality. The Lord had promised them His help in this conflict, if they would only walk in His commandments. The maintenance of civil order and the administration of justice

were in the hands of the heads of tribes, families, and households; and for the relation in which the congregation stood to the Lord its God, it possessed the necessary organs and media in the hereditary priesthood of the tribe of Levi, whose head could inquire the will of God in all cases of difficulty through the right of the Urim, and make it known to the nation. Now as long as the generation, which had seen the wonderful works of the Lord in the time of Joshua, was still living, so long did the nation continue faithful to the covenant of its God, and the tribes maintain a successful conflict with the still remaining Canaanites (chap. i. 1-20, 22-25). But the very next generation, to which those mighty acts of the Lord were unknown, began to forget its God, to grow weary and lax in its conflicts with the Canaanites, to make peace with them, and to mix up the worship of Jehovah, the jealous and holy God, with the worship of Baal and Astarte, the Canaanitish deities of nature, and even to substitute the latter in its place. With the loss of love and fidelity to the Lord, the bond of unity which formed the tribes into *one* congregation of Jehovah was also broken. The different tribes began to follow their own separate interests (*vid.* chap. v. 15-17, 23, viii. 5-8), and eventually even to oppose and make war upon one another; whilst Ephraim was bent upon securing to itself the headship of all the tribes, though without making any vigorous efforts to carry on the war with the oppressors of Israel (*vid.* chap. viii. 1 sqq., xii. 1-6). Consequently Israel suffered more and more from the oppression of heathen nations, to which God gave it up as a chastisement for its idolatry; and it would have become altogether a prey to its foes, had not the faithful covenant God taken compassion upon it in its distress as often as it cried to Him, and sent deliverers (מַצִּיִּים, chap. iii. 9, 15; cf. Neh. ix. 27) in those judges, after whom both the age in question and the book before us are called. There are twelve of these judges mentioned, or rather thirteen, as Deborah the prophetess also judged Israel (chap. iv. 4); but there are only eight (Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson), who are described as performing acts by which Israel obtained deliverance from its oppressors. Of the other five (Tolah, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon) we are merely told that they judged Israel so many years. The reason for this we are not to seek in the fact that the report of the heroic deeds of these judges had not been handed down to the time when our book was written. It is to be found simply in the fact that these judges waged no wars and smote no foes.

The judges (*shophetim*) were men who procured justice or right for the people of Israel, not only by delivering them out of the power of their foes, but also by administering the laws and rights of the Lord (chap. ii. 16–19). *Judging* in this sense was different from the administration of civil jurisprudence, and included the idea of government such as would be expected from a king. Thus in 1 Sam. viii. 5, 6, the people are said to have asked Samuel to give them a king “to judge us,” to procure us right, *i.e.* to govern us; and in 2 Kings xv. 5 Jotham is said to have *judged*, *i.e.* governed the nation during the illness of his father. The name given to these men (*shophetim*, judges) was evidently founded upon Deut. xvii. 9 and xix. 17, where it is assumed that in after-times there would be a *shophet*, who would stand by the side of the high priest as the supreme judge or leader of the state in Israel. The judges themselves corresponded to the *δικασταί* of the Tyrians (*Josephus*, c. Ap. i. 21) and the *Suffetes* of the Carthaginians (*qui summus Pœnis est magistratus*, *Liv. Hist.* xxvii. 37, and xxx. 7), with this difference, however, that as a rule the judges of Israel were called directly by the Lord, and endowed with miraculous power for the conquest of the enemies of Israel; and if, after delivering the people from their oppressors, they continued to the time of their death to preside over the public affairs of the whole nation, or merely of several of its tribes, yet they did not follow one another in a continuous line and unbroken succession, because the ordinary administration of justice and government of the commonwealth still remained in the hands of the heads of the tribes and the elders of the people, whilst occasionally there were also prophets and high priests, such as Deborah, Eli, and Samuel (chap. iv. 4; 1 Sam. iv. 18, vii. 15), in whom the government was vested. Thus “Othniel delivered the children of Israel,” and “judged Israel,” by going out to war, smiting Chushan-rishathaim, the Aramæan king, and giving the land rest for forty years (chap. iii. 9–11); and the same with Ehud and several others. On the other hand, Shamgar (chap. iii. 31) and Samson (chap. xiii.–xvi.) are apparently called judges of Israel, simply as opponents and conquerors of the Philistines, without their having taken any part in the administration of justice. Others, again, neither engaged in war nor gained victories. No warlike deeds are recorded of Tola; and yet it is stated in chap. x. 1, that “he rose up after Abimelech to deliver Israel (לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל), and judged Israel twenty-three years;” whilst of his successor Jair nothing more is said, than that “he judged Israel twenty-two

years." Both of these had delivered and judged Israel, not by victories gained over enemies, but by placing themselves at the head of the tribes over whom Gideon had been judge, at the termination of the ephemeral reign of Abimelech, and by preventing the recurrence of hostile oppression, through the influence they exerted, as well as by what they did for the establishment of the nation in its fidelity to the Lord. This also applies to Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, who followed Jephthah in direct succession (chap. xii. 8-15). Of these five judges also, it is not stated that Jehovah raised them up or called them. In all probability they merely undertook the government at the wish of the tribes whose judges they were; whilst at the same time it is to be observed, that such cases as these did not occur until the desire for a king had begun to manifest itself throughout the nation (chap. viii. 22, 23).

But if all the judges did not fight against outward enemies of Israel, it might appear strange that the book of Judges should close with the death of Samson, without mentioning Eli and Samuel, as both of them judged Israel, the one forty years, the other for the whole of his life (1 Sam. iv. 18, vii. 15). But Eli was really high priest, and what he did as judge was merely the natural result of his office of high priest; and Samuel was called to be the prophet of the Lord, and as such he delivered Israel from the oppression of the Philistines, not with the sword and by the might of his arm, like the judges before him, but by the power of the word, with which he converted Israel to the Lord, and by the might of his prayer, with which he sought and obtained the victory from the Lord (1 Sam. vii. 3-10); so that his judicial activity not only sprang out of his prophetic office, but was continually sustained thereby. The line of actual judges terminated with Samson; and with his death the office of judge was carried to the grave. Samson was followed immediately by Samuel, whose prophetic labours formed the link between the period of the judges and the introduction of royalty into Israel. The forty years of oppression on the part of the Philistines, from which Samson began to deliver Israel (chap. xiii. 1, 5), were brought to a close by the victory which the Israelites gained through Samuel's prayer (1 Sam. vii.), as will be readily seen when we have determined the chronology of the period of the judges, in the introductory remarks to the exposition of the body of the book. This victory was not gained by the Israelites till twenty years after Eli's death (comp. 1 Sam. vii. 2 with vi. 1 and iv. 18). Consequently of the forty years during which Eli judged Israel as

high priest, only the last twenty fell within the time of the Philistine oppression, the first twenty before it. But both Samuel and Samson were born during the pontificate of Eli; for when Samson's birth was foretold, the Philistines were already ruling over Israel (Judg. xiii. 5). The deeds of Samson fell for the most part within the last twenty years of the Philistine supremacy, *i.e.* not only in the interval between the capture of the ark and death of Eli and the victory which the Israelites achieved through Samuel over these foes, which victory, however, Samson did not live to see, but also in the time when Samuel had been accredited as a prophet of Jehovah, and Jehovah had manifested himself repeatedly to him by word at Shiloh (1 Sam. iii. 20, 21). Consequently Samuel completed the deliverance of Israel out of the power of the Philistines, which Samson had commenced.

The book of Judges, therefore, embraces the whole of the judicial epoch, and gives a faithful picture of the political development of the Israelitish theocracy during that time. The author writes throughout from a prophet's point of view. He applies the standard of the law to the spirit of the age by which the nation was influenced as a whole, and pronounces a stern and severe sentence upon all deviations from the path of rectitude set before it in the law. The unfaithfulness of Israel, which went a whoring again and again after Baal, and was punished for its apostasy from the Lord with oppression from foreign nations, and the faithfulness of the Lord, who sent help to the people whenever it returned to Him in its oppression, by raising up judges who conquered its enemies, are the two historical factors of those times, and the hinges upon which the history turns. In the case of all the judges, it is stated that they judged "Israel," or the "children of Israel;" although it is very obvious, from the accounts of the different deliverances effected, that most of the judges only delivered and judged those tribes who happened to be oppressed and subjugated by their enemies at a particular time. The other tribes, who were spared by this or the other hostile invasion, did not come into consideration in reference to the special design of the historical account, namely, to describe the acts of the Lord in the government of His people, any more than the development of the religious and social life of individual members of the congregation in harmony with the law; inasmuch as the congregation, whether in whole or in part, was merely fulfilling its divinely appointed vocation, so long as it observed the law, and about this there was nothing special to be

related (see the description given of the book of Judges in *Hengstenberg*, *Diss. on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. pp. 16 sqq.).

Lastly, if we take a survey of the gradual development of Israel during the times of the judges, we may distinguish three stages in the attitude of the Lord to His constantly rebelling people, and also in the form assumed by the external and internal circumstances of the nation: viz. (1) the period from the commencement of the apostasy of the nation till its deliverance from the rule of the Canaanitish king Jabin, or the time of the judges Othniel, Ehud, and Shamgar, Deborah and Barak (chap. iii.-v.); (2) the time of the Midianitish oppression, with the deliverance effected by Gideon, and the government which followed, viz. of Abimelech and the judges Tola and Jair (chap. vi.-x. 5); (3) the time of the Ammonitish and Philistine supremacy over Israel, with the judges Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon on the one hand, and that of Samson on the other (chap. x. 6-xvi. 31). Three times, for example, the Lord threatens His people with oppression and subjugation by foreign nations, as a punishment for their disobedience and apostasy from Him: viz. (1) at Bochim (chap. ii. 1-4) through the angel of the Lord; (2) on the invasion of the Midianites (chap. vi. 7-10), through the medium of a prophet; and (3) at the commencement of the Ammonitish and Philistine oppression (chap. x. 10-14). The first time He threatens, "the Canaanites shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare to you" (chap. ii. 3); the second time, "I delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all that oppressed you; I said unto you, I am Jehovah, your God; fear not the gods of the Amorites: but ye have not hearkened to my voice" (chap. vi. 9, 10); the third time, "Ye have forsaken me and served other gods: wherefore I will deliver you no more; go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation" (chap. x. 13, 14). These threats were fulfilled upon the disobedient nation, not only in the fact that they fell deeper and deeper under the oppression of their foes, but by their also becoming disjointed and separated more and more internally. In the first stage, the oppressions from without lasted a tolerably long time: that of Chushan-rishathaim eight years; that of Eglon the Moabite, eighteen; and that of the Canaanitish king Jabin, as much as twenty years (chap. iii. 8, 14, iv. 3). But, on the other hand, after the first, the Israelites had forty years of peace; after the second, eighty; and after the third, again forty years (chap. iii. 11, 30, v.

31). Under Othniel and Ehud all Israel appears to have risen against its oppressors; but under Barak, Reuben and Gilead, Dan and Asher took no part in the conflict of the other tribes (chap. v. 15-17). In the second stage, the Midianitish oppression lasted, it is true, only seven years (chap. vi. 1), and was followed by forty years of rest under Gideon (chap. viii. 28); whilst the three years' government of Abimelech was followed by forty-five years of peace under Tola and Jair (chap. x. 2, 3); but even under Gideon the jealousy of Ephraim was raised to such a pitch against the tribes who had joined in smiting the foe, that it almost led to a civil war (chap. viii. 1-3), and the inhabitants of Succoth and Peniel refused all assistance to the victorious army, and that in so insolent a manner that they were severely punished by Gideon in consequence (chap. viii. 4-9, 14-17); whilst in the election of Abimelech as king of Shechem, the internal decay of the congregation of Israel was brought still more clearly to light (chap. ix.). Lastly, in the third stage, no doubt, Israel was delivered by Jephthah from the eighteen years' bondage on the part of the Ammonites (chap. xi. 8 sqq.), and the tribes to the east of the Jordan, as well as the northern tribes of the land on this side, enjoyed rest under the judges Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon for thirty-one years (chap. xii. 7, 9, 11, 14); but the Philistine oppression lasted till after Samson's death (chap. xiii. 5, xv. 20), and the internal decay increased so much under this hostile pressure, that whilst the Ephraimites, on the one hand, commenced a war against Jephthah, and sustained a terrible defeat at the hands of the tribes on the east of the Jordan (chap. xii. 1-6), on the other hand, the tribes who were enslaved by the Philistines had so little appreciation of the deliverance which God had sent them through Samson, that the men of Judah endeavoured to give up their deliverer to the Philistines (chap. xv. 9-14). Nevertheless the Lord not only helped the nation again, both in its distress and out of its distress, but came nearer and nearer to it with His aid, that it might learn that its help was to be found in God alone. The first deliverers and judges He stirred up by His Spirit, which came upon Othniel and Ehud, and filled them with courage and strength for the conquest of their foes. Barak was summoned to the war by the prophetess Deborah, and inspired by her with the courage to undertake it. Gideon was called to be the deliverer of Israel out of the severe oppression of the Midianites by the appearance of the angel of the Lord, and the victory over the innumerable army of the foe was given by the

Lord, not to the whole of the army which Gideon summoned to the battle, but only to a small company of 300 men, that Israel might not “vaunt themselves against the Lord,” and magnify their own power. Lastly, Jephthah and Samson were raised up as deliverers out of the power of the Ammonites and Philistines; and whilst Jephthah was called by the elders of Gilead to be the leader in the war with the Midianites, and sought through a vow to ensure the assistance of God in gaining a victory over them, Samson was set apart from his mother’s womb, through the appearance of the angel of the Lord, as the Nazarite who was to begin to deliver Israel out of the power of the Philistines. At the same time there was given to the nation in the person of Samuel, the son for whom the pious Hannah prayed to the Lord, a Nazarite and prophet, who was not only to complete the deliverance from the power of the Philistines which Samson had begun, but to ensure the full conversion of Israel to the Lord its God.

With regard to the *origin* of the book of Judges, it is evident from the repeated remark, “In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes” (chap. xvii. 6, xxi. 25; cf. chap. xviii. 1, xix. 1), that it was composed at a time when Israel was already rejoicing in the benefits connected with the kingdom. It is true this remark is only to be found in the appendices, and would have no force so far as the date of composition is concerned, if the view held by different critics were well-founded, viz. that these appendices were added by a later hand. But the arguments adduced against the unity of authorship in all three parts, the introduction, the body of the work, and the appendices, will not bear examination. Without the introduction (chap. i. 1–iii. 6) the historical narrative contained in the book would want a foundation, which is absolutely necessary to make it intelligible; and the two appendices supply two supplements of the greatest importance in relation to the development of the tribes of Israel in the time of the judges, and most intimately connected with the design and plan of the rest of the book. It is true that in chap. i., as well as in the two appendices, the prophetic view of the history which prevails in the rest of the book, from chap. ii. 11 to chap. xvi. 31, is not distinctly apparent; but this difference may be fully explained from the contents of the two portions, which neither furnish the occasion nor supply the materials for any such view,—like the account of the royal supremacy of Abimelech in chap. ix., in which the so-called “theocratical pragmatism” is also wanting. But, on

the other hand, all these portions are just as rich in allusions to the Mosaic law and the legal worship as the other parts of the book, so that both in their contents and their form they would be unintelligible apart from the supremacy of the law in Israel. The discrepancies which some fancy they have discovered between chap. i. 8 and chap. i. 21, and also between chap. i. 19 and chap. iii. 3, vanish completely on a correct interpretation of the passages themselves. And no such differences can be pointed out in language or style as would overthrow the unity of authorship, or even render it questionable. Even *Stähelin* observes (*spez. Einl.* p. 77): "I cannot find in chap. xvii.–xxi. the (special) author of chap. i.–ii. 5; and the arguments adduced by *Bertheau* in favour of this, from modes of expression to be found in the two sections, appear to me to be anything but conclusive, simply because the very same modes of expression occur elsewhere: יִואֵל לְשֶׁבֶת in Ex. ii. 21; חֲתָן in Num. x. 29; נָתַן בֶּיֶר, Josh. x. 30, xi. 8, Judg. vi. 1, xi. 21; נָתַן לְאִשָּׁה, Gen. xxix. 28, xxx. 4, 9, xxxiv. 8, etc.; הִכָּה לְפִי חֶרֶב, Num. xxi. 24, Deut. xiii. 16, Josh. viii. 24, x. 28, 30, 32, etc. Undoubtedly שָׁאֵל בִּי only occurs in Judg. i. 1 and the appendix, and never earlier; but there is a similar expression in Num. xxvii. 21 and Josh. ix. 14, and the first passage shows how the mode of expression could be so abbreviated. I find no preterites with י, used in the place of the future with י in Judg. i.; for it is evident from the construction that the preterite must be used in vers. 8, 16, 25, etc.; and thus the only thing left that could strike us at all is the idiom שָׁלַח בְּאֵשׁ, which is common to both sections, but which is too isolated, and occurs again moreover in 2 Kings viii. 12 and Ps. lxxiv. 7." But even the "peculiar phrases belonging to a later age," which *Stähelin* and *Bertheau* discover in chap. xvii.–xxi. do not furnish any tenable proof of this assertion. The phrase "from Dan to Beersheba," in chap. xx. 1, was formed after the settlement of the Danites in Laish-Dan, which took place at the commencement of the time of the judges. נָשָׂא נָשִׁים, in chap. xxi. 23, is also to be found in Ruth i. 4; and the others either occur again in the books of Samuel, or have been wrongly interpreted.

We have a firm *datum* for determining more minutely the time when the book of Judges was written, in the statement in chap. i. 21, that the Jebusites in Jerusalem had not been rooted out by the Israelites, but dwelt there with the children of Benjamin "unto this day." The Jebusites remained in possession of Jerusalem, or of the citadel Zion, or the upper town of Jerusalem, until the time

when David went against Jerusalem after the twelve tribes had acknowledged him as king, took the fortress of Zion, and made it the capital of his kingdom under the name of the city of David (2 Sam. v. 6-9; 1 Chron. xi. 4-9). Consequently the book was written before this event, either during the first seven years of the reign of David at Hebron, or during the reign of Saul, under whom the Israelites already enjoyed the benefits of a monarchical government, since Saul not only fought with bravery against all the enemies of Israel, and "delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them" (1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48), but exerted himself to restore the authority of the law of God in his kingdom, as is evident from the fact that he banished the wizards and necromancers out of the land (1 Sam. xxviii. 9). The talmudical statement therefore in *Bava-bathra* (f. 14*b* and 15*a*), to the effect that Samuel was the author of the book, may be so far correct, that if it was not written by Samuel himself towards the close of his life, it was written at his instigation by a younger prophet of his school. More than this it is impossible to decide. So much, however, is at all events certain, that the book does not contain traces of a later age either in its contents or its language, and that chap. xviii. 30 does not refer to the time of the captivity (see the commentary on this passage).

With regard to the *sources* of which the author made use, unless we are prepared to accept untenable hypotheses as having all the validity of historical facts, it is impossible to establish anything more than that he drew his materials not only from oral tradition, but also from written documents. This is obvious from the exactness of the historical and chronological accounts, and still more so from the abundance of characteristic and original traits and expressions that meet the reader in the historical pictures, some of which are very elaborate. The historical fidelity, exactness, and vividness of description apparent in every part of the book are only to be explained in a work which embraces a period of 350 years, on the supposition that the author made use of trustworthy records, or the testimony of persons who were living when the events occurred. This stands out so clearly in every part of the book, that it is admitted even by critics who are compelled by their own dogmatical assumptions to deny the actual truth or reality of the miraculous parts of the history. With regard to the nature of these sources, however, we can only conjecture that chap. i. and xvii.-xxi. were founded upon written accounts, with which the author of the book of Joshua was also acquainted; and that the accounts of Deborah

and Barak, of Gideon, and of the life of Samson, were taken from different writings, inasmuch as these sections are distinguished from one another by many peculiarities. (Further remarks on this subject will be found in the exposition itself.)

EXPOSITION.

I.—ATTITUDE OF ISRAEL TOWARDS THE CANAANITES, AND TOWARDS JEHOVAH ITS GOD.

CHAP. I.—III. 6.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE CANAANITES AFTER JOSHUA'S DEATH.—CHAP. I. 1-II. 5.

AFTER the death of Joshua the tribes of Israel resolved to continue the war with the Canaanites, that they might exterminate them altogether from the land that had been given them for an inheritance. In accordance with the divine command, Judah commenced the strife in association with Simeon, smote the king of Bezek, conquered Jerusalem, Hebron and Debir upon the mountains, Zephath in the south land, and three of the chief cities of the Philistines, and took possession of the mountains; but was unable to exterminate the inhabitants of the plain, just as the Benjaminites were unable to drive the Jebusites out of Jerusalem (vers. 1-21). The tribe of Joseph also conquered the city of Bethel (vers. 22-26); but from the remaining towns of the land neither the Manassites, nor the Ephraimites, nor the tribes of Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali expelled the Canaanites: all that they did was to make them tributary (vers. 27-33). The Danites were actually forced back by the Amorites out of the plain into the mountains, because the latter maintained their hold of the towns of the plain, although the house of Joseph conquered them and made them tributary (vers. 34-36). The angel of the Lord therefore appeared at Bochim, and declared to the Israelites, that because they had not obeyed the command of the Lord, to make no covenant with the Canaanites, the Lord would no more drive out these nations, but would cause them and their gods to become a snare to them (chap. ii. 1-5).

From this divine revelation it is evident, on the one hand, that the failure to exterminate the Canaanites had its roots in the negligence of the tribes of Israel; and on the other hand, that the accounts of the wars of the different tribes, and the enumeration of the towns in the different possessions out of which the Canaanites were not expelled, were designed to show clearly the attitude of the Israelites to the Canaanites in the age immediately following the death of Joshua, or to depict the historical basis on which the development of Israel rested in the era of the judges.

Vers. 1-7. With the words "*Now, after the death of Joshua, it came to pass,*" the book of Judges takes up the thread of the history where the book of Joshua had dropped it, to relate the further development of the covenant nation. A short time before his death, Joshua had gathered the elders and heads of the people around him, and set before them the entire destruction of the Canaanites through the omnipotent help of the Lord, if they would only adhere with fidelity to the Lord; whilst, at the same time, he also pointed out to them the dangers of apostasy from the Lord (Josh. xxiii.). Remembering this admonition and warning, the Israelites inquired, after Joshua's death, who should begin the war against the Canaanites who still remained to be destroyed; and the Lord answered, "*Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand*" (vers. 1, 2). שָׁאַל בַּיהוָה, to ask with Jehovah for the purpose of obtaining a declaration of the divine will, is substantially the same as שָׁאַל בַּמִּשְׁפָּט הָאֲזָרִים (Num. xxvii. 21), to inquire the will of the Lord through the Urim and Thummim of the high priest. From this time forward inquiring of the Lord occurs with greater frequency (*vid.* chap. xx. 23, 27; 1 Sam. x. 22, xxii. 10, xxiii. 2, etc.), as well as the synonymous expression "ask of *Elohim*" in chap. xviii. 5, xx. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxii. 13; 1 Chron. xiv. 10; whereas Moses and Joshua received direct revelations from God. The phrase יַעֲלֶה אֶל-הַכְּנָעֲנִי, "*go up to the Canaanites,*" is defined more precisely by the following words, "*to fight against them;*" so that עָלָה is used here also to denote the campaign against a nation (see at Josh. viii. 1), without there being any necessity, however, for us to take אֶל in the sense of עַל. עָלָה בְּתַחֲלָה signifies "*to go up in the beginning,*" *i.e.* to open or commence the war; not to hold the commandership in the war, as the *Sept.*, *Vulgate*, and others render it (see chap. x. 18, where יַחַל לְהִלָּחֵם is expressly distinguished from being the chief or leader). Moreover, מִי does not mean *who?* *i.e.* what person, but, as the answer clearly shows, *what tribe?* Now a

tribe could open the war, and take the lead at the head of the other tribes, but could not be the commander-in-chief. In the present instance, however, Judah did not even enter upon the war at the head of all the tribes, but simply joined with the tribe of Simeon to make a common attack upon the Canaanites in their inheritance. The promise in ver. 2*b* is the same as that in Josh. vi. 2, viii. 1, etc. "*The land*" is not merely the land allotted to the tribe of Judah, or Judah's inheritance, as *Bertheau* supposes, for Judah conquered Jerusalem (ver. 8), which had been allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28), but the land of Canaan generally, so far as it was still in the possession of the Canaanites and was to be conquered by Judah. The reason why Judah was to commence the hostilities is not to be sought for in the fact that Judah was the most numerous of all the tribes (*Rosenmüller*), but rather in the fact that Judah had already been appointed by the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 8 sqq.) to be the champion of his brethren.—Ver. 3. Judah invited Simeon his brother, *i.e.* their brother tribe, to take part in the contest. This epithet is applied to Simeon, not because Simeon and Judah, the sons of Jacob, were the children of the same mother, Leah (Gen. xxix. 33, 35), but because Simeon's inheritance was within the territory of Judah (Josh. xix. 1 sqq.), so that Simeon was more closely connected with Judah than any of the other tribes. "*Come up with me into my lot (into the inheritance that has fallen to me by lot), that we may fight against the Canaanites, and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went with him,*" *i.e.* joined with Judah in making war upon the Canaanites. This request shows that Judah's principal intention was to make war upon and exterminate the Canaanites who remained in his own and Simeon's inheritance. The different expressions employed, *come up* and *go*, are to be explained from the simple fact that the whole of Simeon's territory was in the *shephelah* and *Negeb*, whereas Judah had received the heart of his possessions upon the mountains.

Ver. 4. "*And Judah went up,*" *sc.* against the Canaanites, to make war upon them. The completion of the sentence is supplied by the context, more especially by ver. 2. So far as the sense is concerned, *Rosenmüller* has given the correct explanation of *וַיֵּלֶךְ*, "*Judah entered upon the expedition along with Simeon.*" "*And they smote the Canaanites and the Perizzites in Bezek, 10,000 men.*" The result of the war is summed up briefly in these words; and then in vers. 5-7 the capture and punishment of the hostile king *Adoni-bezek* is specially mentioned as being the most important

event in the war. The foe is described as consisting of Canaanites and Perizzites, two tribes which have been already named in Gen. xiii. 7 and xxxiv. 30 as representing the entire population of Canaan, "*the Canaanites*" comprising principally those in the lowlands by the Jordan and the Mediterranean (*vid.* Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3), and "*the Perizzites*" the tribes who dwelt in the mountains (Josh. xvii. 15). On the *Perizzites*, see Gen. xiii. 7. The place mentioned, *Bezek*, is only mentioned once more, namely in 1 Sam. xi. 8, where it is described as being situated between Gibeah of Saul (see at Josh. xviii. 28) and Jabesh in Gilead. According to the *Onom.* (*s. v. Bezek*), there were at that time two places very near together both named *Bezek*, seventeen Roman miles from Neapolis on the road to *Scythopolis*, *i.e.* about seven hours to the north of Nabulus on the road to Beisan. This description is perfectly reconcilable with 1 Sam. xi. 8. On the other hand, *Clericus* (*ad h. l.*), *Rosenmüller*, and *v. Raumer* suppose the *Bezek* mentioned here to have been situated in the territory of Judah; though this cannot be proved, since it is merely based upon an inference drawn from ver. 3, *viz.* that Judah and Simeon simply attacked the Canaanites in their own allotted territories,—an assumption which is very uncertain. There is no necessity, however, to adopt the opposite and erroneous opinion of *Bertheau*, that the tribes of Judah and Simeon commenced their expedition to the south from the gathering-place of the united tribes at Shechem, and fought the battle with the Canaanitish forces in that region upon this expedition; since Shechem is not described in Josh. xxiv. as the gathering-place of the united tribes, *i.e.* of the whole of the military force of Israel, and the battle fought with Adoni-bezek did not take place at the time when the tribes prepared to leave Shiloh and march to their own possessions after the casting of the lots was over. The simplest explanation is, that when the tribes of Judah and Simeon prepared to make war upon the Canaanites in the possessions allotted to them, they were threatened or attacked by the forces of the Canaanites collected together by Adoni-bezek, so that they had first of all to turn their arms against this king before they could attack the Canaanites in their own tribe-land. As the precise circumstances connected with the occasion and course of this war have not been recorded, there is nothing to hinder the supposition that Adoni-bezek may have marched from the north against the possessions of Benjamin and Judah, possibly with the intention of joining the Canaanites in Jebus, and the Anakim in Hebron and upon the

mountains in the south, and then making a combined attack upon the Israelites. This might induce or even compel Judah and Simeon to attack this enemy first of all, and even to pursue him till they overtook him at his capital Bezek, and smote him with all his army. *Adoni-bezek*, *i.e.* lord of Bezek, is the official title of this king, whose proper name is unknown.

In the principal engagement, in which 10,000 Canaanites fell, Adoni-bezek escaped; but he was overtaken in his flight (vers. 6, 7), and so mutilated, by the cutting off of his thumbs and great toes, that he could neither carry arms nor flee. With this cruel treatment, which the Athenians are said to have practised upon the captured *Ægynetes* (*Ælian*, *var. hist.* ii. 9), the Israelites simply executed the just judgment of retribution, as Adoni-bezek was compelled to acknowledge, for the cruelties which he had inflicted upon captives taken by himself. "*Seventy kings*," he says in ver. 7, "*with the thumbs of their hands and feet cut off, were gathering under my table. As I have done, so God hath requited me.*" מְקַצְצִים . . . בְּהוֹנוֹת, *lit.* "cut in the thumbs of their hands and feet" (see *Ewald*, *Lehrb.* § 284, *c.*). The object to מִלֶּקֶטִים, "gathering up" (*viz.* crumbs), is easily supplied from the idea of the verb itself. Gathering up crumbs under the table, like the dogs in *Matt.* xv. 27, is a figurative representation of the most shameful treatment and humiliation. "Seventy" is a round number, and is certainly an exaggerated hyperbole here. For even if every town of importance in Canaan had its own king, the fact that, when Joshua conquered the land, he only smote thirty-one kings, is sufficient evidence that there can hardly have been seventy kings to be found in all Canaan. It appears strange, too, that the king of Bezek is not mentioned in connection with the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. Bezek was probably situated more on the side towards the valley of the Jordan, where the Israelites under Joshua did not go. Possibly, too, the culminating point of Adoni-bezek's power, when he conquered so many kings, was before the arrival of the Israelites in Canaan, and it may at that time have begun to decline; so that he did not venture to undertake anything against the combined forces of Israel under Joshua, and it was not till the Israelitish tribes separated to go to their own possessions, that he once more tried the fortunes of war and was defeated. The children of Judah took him with them to Jerusalem, where he died.

Vers. 8-15. After his defeat, Judah and Simeon went against Jerusalem, and conquered this city and smote it, *i.e.* its inhabitants,

with the edge of the sword, or without quarter (see Gen. xxxiv. 26), and set the city on fire. *שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ*, to set on fire, to give up to the flames, only occurs again in chap. xx. 48, 2 Kings viii. 12, and Ps. lxxiv. 7. Joshua had already slain the king of Jerusalem and his four allies after the battle at Gibeon (Josh. x. 3, 18–26), but had not conquered Jerusalem, his capital. This was not done till after Joshua's death, when it was taken by the tribes of Judah and Simeon. But even after this capture, and notwithstanding the fact that it had been set on fire, it did not come into the sole and permanent possession of the Israelites. After the conquerors had advanced still farther, to make war upon the Canaanites in the mountains, in the *Negeb*, and in the *shephelah* (vers. 9 sqq.), the Jebusites took it again and rebuilt it, so that in the following age it was regarded by the Israelites as a foreign city (chap. xix. 11, 12). The Benjaminites, to whom Jerusalem had fallen by lot, were no more able to drive out the Jebusites than the Judæans had been. Consequently they continued to live by the side of the Benjaminites (chap. i. 21) and the Judæans (Josh. xv. 63), who settled, as time rolled on, in this the border city of their possessions; and in the upper town especially, upon the top of Mount Zion, they established themselves so firmly, that they could not be dislodged until David succeeded in wresting this fortress from them, and made the city of Zion the capital of his kingdom (2 Sam. v. 6 sqq.).¹—Vers. 9 sqq. After the conquest of Jerusalem, the children of Judah (together with the Simeonites, ver. 3) went down into their own possessions, to make war upon the Canaanites in the mountains, the *Negeb*, and the *shephelah* (see at Josh. xv. 48, xxi. 33), and to exterminate them. They first of all conquered Hebron and Debir upon the mountains (vers. 10–15), as has already been related in Josh. xv.

¹ In this way we may reconcile in a very simple manner the different accounts concerning Jerusalem in Josh. xv. 63, Judg. i. 8, 21, xix. 11 sqq., 1 Sam. xvii. 54, and 2 Sam. v. vi., without there being the slightest necessity to restrict the conquest mentioned in this verse to the city that was built round Mount Zion, as *Josephus* does, to the exclusion of the citadel upon Zion itself; or to follow *Bertheau*, and refer the account of the Jebusites dwelling by the children of Judah in Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 63) to a time subsequent to the conquest of the citadel of Zion by David,—an interpretation which is neither favoured by the circumstance that the Jebusite Araunah still held some property there in the time of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 21 sqq.), nor by the passage in 1 Kings ix. 20 sqq., according to which the descendants of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites who still remained in the land were made into tributary bondmen by Solomon, and set to work upon the buildings that he had in hand.

14-19 (see the commentary on this passage). The forms עֲלִיָּת and תַּתְּחִיָּת (ver. 15), instead of עֲלִיּוֹת and תַּתְּחִיּוֹת (Josh. xv. 19), are in the singular, and are construed with the plural form of the feminine נְלוֹת, because this is used in the sense of the singular, "a spring" (see *Ewald*, § 318, a.).

Ver. 16. The notice respecting the Kenites, that they went up out of the palm-city with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah in the south of Arad, and dwelt there with the Judæans, is introduced here into the account of the wars of the tribe of Judah, because this migration of the Kenites belonged to the time between the conquest of Debir (vers. 12 sqq.) and Zephath (ver. 17); and the notice itself was of importance, as forming the intermediate link between Num. x. 29 sqq., and the later allusions to the Kenites in Judg. iv. 11, v. 24, 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29. "*The children of the Kenite*," i.e. the descendants of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses (compare chap. iv. 11, where the name is given, but קִנִּי occurs instead of קֵנִי, with Num. x. 29), were probably a branch of the Kenites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19 along with the other tribes of Canaan, which had separated from the other members of its own tribe before the time of Moses and removed to the land of Midian, where Moses met with a hospitable reception from their chief Reguel on his flight from Egypt. These Kenites had accompanied the Israelites to Canaan at the request of Moses (Num. x. 29 sqq.); and when the Israelites advanced into Canaan itself, they had probably remained as nomads in the neighbourhood of the Jordan near to Jericho, without taking any part in the wars of Joshua. But when the tribe of Judah had exterminated the Canaanites out of Hebron, Debir, and the neighbourhood, after the death of Joshua, they went into the desert of Judah with the Judæans as they moved farther towards the south; and going to the south-western edge of this desert, to the district on the south of Arad (Tell Arad, see at Num. xxi. 1), they settled there on the border of the steppes of the Negeb (Num. xxxiii. 40). "*The palm-city*" was a name given to the city of Jericho, according to chap. iii. 13, Deut. xxxiv. 3, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. There is no ground whatever for thinking of some other town of this name in the desert of Arabia, near the palm-forest, φοινικῶν, of *Diod. Sic.* (iii. 42) and *Strabo* (p. 776), as *Clericus* and *Bertheau* suppose, even if it could be proved that there was any such town in the neighbourhood. וַיֵּלֶךְ, "*then he went* (the branch of the Kenites just referred to) *and dwelt with the people*" (of the children of Judah), that is to

say, with the people of Israel in the desert of Judah. The subject to קניזי is קניזי, the Kenite, as a tribe.

Vers. 17-21. *Remaining Conquests of the combined Tribes of Judah and Simeon.*—Ver. 17. *Zephath* was in the territory of Simeon. This is evident not only from the fact that *Hormah* (*Zephath*) had been allotted to the tribe of Simeon (compare Josh. xix. 4 with chap. xv. 30), but also from the words, “Judah went with Simeon his brother,” which point back to ver. 3, and express the thought that Judah went with Simeon into his territory to drive out the Canaanites who were still to be found there. Going southwards from Debir, Judah and Simeon smote the Canaanites at *Zephath* on the southern boundary of Canaan, and executed the ban upon this town, from which it received the name of *Hormah*, i.e. banning. The town has been preserved in the ruins of *Sepâta*, on the south of *Khalasa* or *Elusa* (see at Josh. xii. 14). In the passage mentioned, the king of *Hormah* or *Zephath* is named among the kings who were slain by Joshua. It does not follow from this, however, that Joshua must necessarily have conquered his capital *Zephath*; the king of Jerusalem was also smitten by Joshua and slain, without Jerusalem itself being taken at that time. But even if *Zephath* were taken by the Israelites, as soon as the Israelitish army had withdrawn, the Canaanites there might have taken possession of the town again; so that, like many other Canaanitish towns, it had to be conquered again after Joshua’s death (see the commentary on Num. xxi. 2, 3). There is not much probability in this conjecture, however, for the simple reason that the ban pronounced by Moses upon the country of the king of Arad (Num. xxi. 2) was carried out now for the first time by Judah and Simeon upon the town of *Zephath*, which formed a part of it. If Joshua had conquered it, he would certainly have executed the ban upon it. The name *Hormah*, which was already given to *Zephath* in Josh. xv. 30 and xix. 4, is no proof to the contrary, since it may be used proleptically there. In any case, the infliction of the ban upon this town can only be explained from the fact that Moses had pronounced the ban upon all the towns of the king of Arad.—Ver. 18. From the *Negeb* Judah turned into the *shephelah*, and took the three principal cities of the Philistines along the line of coast, viz. Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, with their territory. The order in which the names of the captured cities occur is a proof that the conquest took place from the south. First of all Gaza, the southernmost of all the towns of the Philistines, the present *Guzzeh*; then

Askelon (*Askulân*), which is five hours to the north of Gaza; and lastly Ekron, the most northerly of the five towns of the Philistines, the present *Akîr* (see at Josh. xiii. 3). The other two, Ashdod and Gath, do not appear to have been conquered at that time. And even those that were conquered, the Judæans were unable to hold long. In the time of Samson they were all of them in the hands of the Philistines again (see chap. xiv. 19, xvi. 1 sqq.; 1 Sam. v. 10, etc.).—In ver. 19 we have a brief summary of the results of the contests for the possession of the land. “*Jehovah was with Judah* ;” and with His help they took possession of the mountains. And they did nothing more; “*for the inhabitants of the plain they were unable to exterminate, because they had iron chariots*.” הָיָה לָהֶם has two different meanings in the two clauses: first (יָרַשׁ), to seize upon a possession which has been vacated by the expulsion or destruction of its former inhabitants; and secondly (לְהַדְרִישׁ, with the accusative, of the inhabitants), to drive or exterminate them out of their possessions,—a meaning which is derived from the earlier signification of making it an emptied possession (see Ex. xxxiv. 24; Num. xxxii. 21, etc.). “*The mountain*” here includes the south-land (the *Negel*), as the only distinction is between mountains and plain. “*The valley*” is the *shephelah* (ver. 9). לֹא לְהַדְרִישׁ, he was not (able) to drive out. The construction may be explained from the fact that לֹא is to be taken independently here as in Amos vi. 10, in the same sense in which לֹא before the infinitive is used in later writings (2 Chron. v. 11; Esther iv. 2, viii. 8; Eccl. iii. 14: see *Ges.* § 132-3, anm. 1; *Ewald*, § 237, e.). On the iron chariots, *i.e.* the chariots tipped with iron, see at Josh. xvii. 16.—To this there is appended, in ver. 20, the statement that “*they gave Hebron unto Caleb*,” etc., which already occurred in Josh. xv. 13, 14, and was there explained; and also in ver. 21 the remark, that the Benjaminites did not drive out the Jebusites who dwelt in Jerusalem, which is so far in place here, that it shows, on the one hand, that the children of Judah did not bring Jerusalem into the undisputed possession of the Israelites through this conquest, and, on the other hand, that it was not their intention to diminish the inheritance of Benjamin by the conquest of Jerusalem, and they had not taken the city for themselves. For further remarks, see at ver. 8.

The hostile attacks of the other tribes upon the Canaanites who remained in the land are briefly summed up in vers. 22-36. Of these the taking of Bethel is more fully described in vers. 22-26.

Besides this, nothing more is given than the list of the towns in the territories of western Manasseh (vers. 27, 28), Ephraim (ver. 29), Zebulun (ver. 30), Asher (vers. 31, 32), Naphtali (ver. 33), and Dan (vers. 34, 35), out of which the Canaanites were not exterminated by these tribes. Issachar is omitted; hardly, however, because that tribe made no attempt to disturb the Canaanites, as *Bertheau* supposes, but rather because none of its towns remained in the hands of the Canaanites.

Vers. 22–26. Like Judah, so also (“they also,” referring back to vers. 2, 3) did the house of Joseph (Ephraim and western Manasseh) renew the hostilities with the Canaanites who were left in their territory after the death of Joshua. The children of Joseph went up against Bethel, and Jehovah was with them, so that they were able to conquer the city. *Bethel* had indeed been assigned to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22), but it was situated on the southern boundary of the tribe-land of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 2, xviii. 13); so that the tribe of Joseph could not tolerate the Canaanites in this border town, if it would defend its own territory against them, and purge it entirely of them. This is a sufficient explanation of the fact that this one conquest is mentioned, and this only, without there being any necessity to seek for the reason, as *Bertheau* does, in the circumstance that the town of Bethel came into such significant prominence in the later history of Israel, and attained the same importance in many respects in relation to the northern tribes, as that which Jerusalem attained in relation to the southern. For the fact that nothing more is said about the other conquests of the children of Joseph, may be explained simply enough on the supposition that they did not succeed in rooting out the Canaanites from the other fortified towns in their possessions; and therefore there was nothing to record about any further conquests, as the result of their hostilities was merely this, that they did not drive the Canaanites out of the towns named in vers. 27, 29, but simply made them tributary. יְהִירָו, they had it explored, or spied out. חָזַק is construed with ב here, because the spying laid hold, as it were, of its object. *Bethel*, formerly *Luz*, now *Beitin*: see at Gen. xxviii. 19 and Josh. vii. 2.—Ver. 24. And the watchmen (i.e. the spies sent out to explore Bethel) saw a man coming out of the town, and got him to show them the entrance into it, under a promise that they would show him favour, i.e. would spare the lives of himself and his family (see Josh. ii. 12, 13); whereupon they took the town and smote it without

quarter, according to the law in Deut. xx. 16, 17, letting none but the man and his family go. By "*the entrance into the city*" we are not to understand the gate of the town, but the way or mode by which they could get into the town, which was no doubt fortified. —Ver. 26. The man whom they had permitted to go free, went with his family into the land of the Hittites, and there built a town, to which he gave the name of his earlier abode, viz. *Luz*. The situation of this *Luz* is altogether unknown. Even the situation of the land of the Hittites cannot be more precisely determined; for we find Hittites at Hebron in the times of Abraham and Moses (Gen. xxiii.), and also upon the mountains of Palestine (Num. xiii. 29), and at a later period in the north-east of Canaan on the borders of Syria (1 Kings x. 29). That the Hittites were one of the most numerous and widespread of the tribes of the Canaanites, is evident from the fact that, in Josh. i. 4, the Canaanites generally are described as Hittites.

Vers. 27, 28. Manasseh did not root out the Canaanites from the towns which had been allotted to it in the territory of Asher and Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11), but simply made them tributary. לֹא הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־בֵּית־שֵׁעָן וגו', considered by itself, might be rendered: "*Manasseh did not take possession of Bethshean,*" etc. But as we find, in the further enumeration, the inhabitants of the towns mentioned instead of the towns themselves, we must take הוֹרִישׁ in the sense of rooting out, driving out of their possessions, which is the only rendering applicable in ver. 28; and thus, according to a very frequent metonymy, must understand by the towns the inhabitants of the towns. "*Manasseh did not exterminate Bethshean,*" i.e. the inhabitants of Bethshean, etc. All the towns mentioned here have already been mentioned in Josh. xvii. 11, the only difference being, that they are not placed in exactly the same order, and that *Endor* is mentioned there after *Dor*; whereas here it has no doubt fallen out through a copyist's error, as the Manassites, according to Josh. xvii. 12, 13, did not exterminate the Canaanites from all the towns mentioned there. The change in the order in which the towns occur—Taanach being placed next to Bethshean, whereas in Joshua Bethshean is followed by Ibleam, which is placed last but one in the present list—may be explained on the supposition, that in Josh. xvii. 11, Endor, Taanach, and Megiddo are placed together, as forming a triple league, of which the author of our book has taken no notice. Nearly all these towns were in the plain of Jezreel, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the great com-

mercial roads which ran from the coast of the Mediterranean to Damascus and central Asia. The Canaanites no doubt brought all their strength to bear upon the defence of these roads; and in this their war-chariots, against which Israel could do nothing in the plain of Jezreel, were of the greatest service (see ver. 19; Josh. xvii. 16). For further particulars respecting the situation of the different towns, see at Josh. xvii. 11. *Dor* only was on the coast of the Mediterranean (see at Josh. xi. 2), and being a commercial emporium of the Phœnicians, would certainly be strongly fortified, and very difficult to conquer.—Ver. 28. As the Israelites grew strong, they made serfs of the Canaanites (see at Gen. xlix. 15). When this took place is not stated; but at all events, it was only done gradually in the course of the epoch of the judges, and not for the first time during the reign of Solomon, as *Bertheau* supposes on the ground of 1 Kings ix. 20–22 and iv. 12, without considering that even in the time of David the Israelites had already attained the highest power they ever possessed, and that there is nothing at variance with this in 1 Kings iv. 12 and ix. 20–22. For it by no means follows, from the appointment of a prefect by Solomon over the districts of Taanach, Megiddo, and Bethshean (1 Kings iv. 12), that these districts had only been conquered by Solomon a short time before, when we bear in mind that Solomon appointed twelve such prefects over all Israel, to remit in regular order the national payments that were required for the maintenance of the regal court. Nor does it follow, that because Solomon employed the descendants of the Canaanites who were left in the land as tributary labourers in the erection of his great buildings, therefore he was the first who succeeded in compelling those Canaanites who were not exterminated when the land was conquered by Joshua, to pay tribute to the different tribes of Israel.

Vers. 29–35. Ephraim did not root out the Canaanites in *Gezer* (ver. 29), as has already been stated in Josh. xvi. 10.—Ver. 30. Zebulun did not root out the Canaanites in *Kitron* and *Nahalol*. Neither of these places has been discovered (see at Josh. xix. 15).—Ver. 31. Asher did not root out those in *Acco*, etc. *Acco*: a seaport town to the north of Carmel, on the bay which is called by its name; it is called *Ake* by *Josephus*, *Diod. Sic.*, and *Pliny*, and was afterwards named *Ptolemais* from one of the Ptolemys (1 Macc. v. 15, 21, x. 1, etc.; Acts xxi. 7). The Arabs called it *Akka*, and this was corrupted by the crusaders into *Acker* or *Acre*. During the crusades it was a very flourishing maritime and commercial

town; but it subsequently fell into decay, and at the present time has a population of about 5000, composed of Mussulmans, Druses, and Christians (see *C. v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 119; *Rob. Bibl. Res.*; and *Ritter*, Erdk. xvi. pp. 725 sqq.). *Sidon*, now *Saida*: see at Josh. xi. 8. *Achlab* is only mentioned here, and is not known. *Achzib*, i.e. *Ecdippa*: see at Josh. xix. 29. *Helbah* is unknown. *Aphek* is the present *Afkah*: see Josh. xiii. 4, xix. 30. *Rehob* is unknown: see at Josh. xix. 28, 30. As seven out of the twenty-two towns of Asher (Josh. xix. 30) remained in the hands of the Canaanites, including such important places as Acco and Sidon, it is not stated in ver. 32, as in vers. 29, 30, that "the Canaanites dwelt among them," but that "*the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites*," to show that the Canaanites held the upper hand. And for this reason the expression "they became tributaries" (vers. 30, 35, etc.) is also omitted.—Ver. 33. Naphtali did not root out the inhabitants of *Beth-shemesh* and *Beth-anath*, two fortified towns, the situation of which is still unknown (see at Josh. xix. 38); so that this tribe also dwelt among the Canaanites, but did not make them tributary.—Vers. 34, 35. Still less were the Danites able to drive the Canaanites out of their inheritance. On the contrary, the Amorites forced Dan up into the mountains, and would not suffer them to come down into the plain. But the territory allotted to the Danites was almost all in the plain (see at Josh. xix. 40). If, therefore, they were forced out of that, they were almost entirely excluded from their inheritance. The Amorites emboldened themselves (see at Deut. i. 5) to dwell in *Har-cheres*, *Ajalon*, and *Shaalbin*. On the last two places see Josh. xix. 42, where *Ir-shemesh* is also mentioned. This combination, and still more the meaning of the names *Har-cheres*, i.e. sun-mountain, and *Ir-shemesh*, i.e. sun-town, make the conjecture a very probable one, that *Har-cheres* is only another name for *Ir-shemesh*, i.e. the present *Ain Shems* (see at Josh. xv. 10, and *Rob. Pal.* iii. pp. 17, 18). This pressure on the part of the Amorites induced a portion of the Danites to emigrate, and seek for an inheritance in the north of Palestine (see chap. xviii.). On the other hand, the Amorites were gradually made tributary by the powerful tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, who bounded Dan on the north. "*The hand of the house of Joseph lay heavy*," sc. upon the Amorites in the towns already named on the borders of Ephraim. For the expression itself, comp. 1 Sam. v. 6; Ps. xxxii. 4.

Ver. 36. In order to explain the supremacy of the Amorites in

the territory of Dan, a short notice is added concerning their extension in the south of Palestine. "*The territory of the Amorites was,*" i.e. extended (viz. at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites), "*from the ascent of Akrabbim, from the rock onwards and farther up.*" *Maaleh-Akrabbim* (*ascensus scorpionum*) was the sharply projecting line of cliffs which intersected the Ghor below the Dead Sea, and formed the southern boundary of the promised land (see at Num. xxxiv. 4 and Josh. xv. 2, 3). מִהַפְלֵעַ, from the rock, is no doubt given as a second point upon the boundary of the Amoritish territory, as the repetition of the מן clearly shows, notwithstanding the omission of the copula וְ. הַפְלֵעַ, the rock, is supposed by the majority of commentators to refer to the city of *Petra*, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the *Wady Musa* (see *Burckhardt*, Syr. pp. 703 sqq.; *Rob.* Pal. ii. pp. 573 sqq., iii. 653), and which is distinctly mentioned in 2 Kings xiv. 7 under the name of הַפְלֵעַ, and in Isa. xvi. 1 is called simply סֵלֶע. *Petra* is to the south-east of the Scorpion heights. Consequently, with this rendering the following word וְיַמְעֵלָה (and upward) would have to be taken in the sense of *ulterius* (and beyond), and *Rosenmüller's* explanation would be the correct one: "The Amorites not only extended as far as the town of *Petra*, or inhabited it, but they even carried their dwellings beyond this towards the tops of those southern mountains." But a description of the territory of the Amorites in its southern extension into Arabia *Petræa* does not suit the context of the verse, the object of which is to explain how it was that the Amorites were in a condition to force back the Danites out of the plain into the mountains, to say nothing of the fact that it is questionable whether the Amorites ever really spread so far, for which we have neither scriptural testimony nor evidence of any other kind. On this ground even *Bertheau* has taken וְיַמְעֵלָה as denoting the direction upwards, i.e. towards the north, which unquestionably suits the usage of יַמְעֵלָה as well as the context of the passage. But it is by no means in harmony with this to understand הַפְלֵעַ as referring to *Petra*; for in that case we should have two boundary points mentioned, the second of which was farther south than the first. Now a historian who had any acquaintance with the topography, would never have described the extent of the Amoritish territory from south to north in such a way as this, commencing with the Scorpion heights on the north, then passing to *Petra*, which was farther south, and stating that from this point the territory extended farther towards the north. If וְיַמְעֵלָה therefore refers to the exten-

sion of the territory of the Amorites in a northerly direction, the expression "from the rock" cannot be understood as relating to the city of Petra, but must denote some other locality well known to the Israelites by that name. Such a locality there undoubtedly was in the rock in the desert of Zin, which had become celebrated through the events that took place at the water of strife (Num. xx. 8, 10), and to which in all probability this expression refers. The rock in question was at the south-west corner of Canaan, on the southern edge of the *Rakhma* plateau, to which the mountains of the Amorites extended on the south-west (comp. Num. xiv. 25, 44, 45, with Deut. i. 44). And this would be very appropriately mentioned here as the south-western boundary of the Amorites, in connection with the Scorpion heights as their south-eastern boundary, for the purpose of giving the southern boundary of the Amorites in its full extent from east to west.

Chap. ii. 1-5. *The Angel of the Lord at Bochim.*—To the cursory survey of the attitude which the tribes of Israel assumed towards the Canaanites who still remained in their inheritances, there is appended an account of the appearance of the angel of the Lord, who announced to the people the punishment of God for their breach of the covenant, of which they had been guilty through their failure to exterminate the Canaanites. This theophany is most intimately connected with the facts grouped together in chap. i., since the design and significance of the historical survey given there are only to be learned from the reproof of the angel; and since both of them have the same aphoristic character, being restricted to the essential facts without entering minutely into any of the attendant details, very much is left in obscurity. This applies more particularly to the statement in ver. 1a, "*Then the angel of Jehovah came up from Gilgal to Bochim.*" The "angel of Jehovah" is not a prophet, or some other earthly messenger of Jehovah, either Phinehas or Joshua, as the *Targums*, the *Rabbins*, *Bertheau*, and others assume, but the angel of the Lord who is of one essence with God. In the simple historical narrative a prophet is never called *Maleach Jehovah*. The prophets are always called either נְבִיא or אִישׁ נְבִיא, as in chap. vi. 8, or else "man of God," as in 1 Kings xii. 22, xiii. 1, etc.; and Hag. i. 13 and Mal. iii. 1 cannot be adduced as proofs to the contrary, because in both these passages the purely appellative meaning of the word *Maleach* is established beyond all question by the context itself. Moreover, no prophet ever identifies himself so entirely with God as the angel of Jehovah

does here. The prophets always distinguish between themselves and Jehovah, by introducing their words with the declaration "thus saith Jehovah," as the prophet mentioned in chap. vi. 8 is said to have done. On the other hand, it is affirmed that no angel mentioned in the historical books is ever said to have addressed the whole nation, or to have passed from one place to another. But even if it had been a prophet who was speaking, we could not possibly understand his speaking to the whole nation, or "to all the children of Israel," as signifying that he spoke directly to the 600,000 men of Israel, but simply as an address delivered to the whole nation in the persons of its heads or representatives. Thus Joshua spoke to "all the people" (Josh. xxiv. 2), though only the elders of Israel and its heads were assembled round him (Josh. xxiv. 1). And so an angel, or "the angel of the Lord," might also speak to the heads of the nation, when his message had reference to all the people. And there was nothing in the fact of his coming up from Gilgal to Bochim that was at all at variance with the nature of the angel. When the angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon, it is stated in chap. vi. 11 that he came and sat under the terebinth at Ophra; and in the same way the appearance of the angel of the Lord at Bochim might just as naturally be described as coming up to Bochim. The only thing that strikes us as peculiar is his coming up "from Gilgal." This statement must be intimately connected with the mission of the angel, and therefore must contain something more than a simply literal notice concerning his travelling from one place to another. We are not to conclude, however, that the angel of the Lord came from Gilgal, because this town was the gathering-place of the congregation in Joshua's time. Apart altogether from the question discussed in pp. 92 sqq. as to the situation of Gilgal in the different passages of the book of Joshua, such a view as this is overthrown by the circumstance that after the erection of the tabernacle at Shiloh, and during the division of the land, it was not Gilgal but Shiloh which formed the gathering-place of the congregation when the casting of the lots was finished (Josh. xviii. 1, 10). We cannot agree with *H. Witsius*, therefore, who says in his *Miscell. ss.* (i. p. 170, ed. 1736) that "he came from that place, where he had remained for a long time to guard the camp, and where he was thought to be tarrying still;" but must rather assume that his coming up from Gilgal is closely connected with the appearance of the angel-prince, as described in Josh. v. 13, to announce to Joshua the fall of Jericho after the circumcision of

the people at Gilgal. Just as on that occasion, when Israel had just entered into the true covenant relation to the Lord by circumcision, and was preparing for the conquest of Canaan, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joshua as the prince of the army of Jehovah, to ensure him of the taking of Jericho; so here after the entrance of the tribes of Israel into their inheritances, when they were beginning to make peace with the remaining Canaanites, and instead of rooting them out were content to make them tributary, the angel of the Lord appeared to the people, to make known to all the children of Israel that by such intercourse with the Canaanites they had broken the covenant of the Lord, and to foretell the punishment which would follow this transgression of the covenant. By the fact, therefore, that he came up from Gilgal, it is distinctly shown that the same angel who gave the whole of Canaan into the hands of the Israelites when Jericho fell, had appeared to them again at Bochim, to make known to them the purposes of God in consequence of their disobedience to the commands of the Lord. How very far it was from being the author's intention to give simply a geographical notice, is also evident from the fact that he merely describes the place where this appearance occurred by the name which was given to it in consequence of the event, viz. *Bochim*, i.e. weepers. The situation of this place is altogether unknown. The rendering of the LXX., ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθήλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραήλ, gives no clue whatever; for τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα merely arises from a confusion of בָּכִים with בְּכָיִים in 2 Sam. v. 23, which the LXX. have also rendered Κλαυθμών, and ἐπὶ τὸν Βαιθήλ κ.τ.λ. is an arbitrary interpolation of the translators themselves, who supposed *Bochim* to be in the neighbourhood of Bethel, "in all probability merely because they thought of *Allon-bachuth*, the oak of weeping, at Bethel, which is mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 8" (*Bertheau*). With regard to the *piska* in the middle of the verse, see the remarks on Josh. iv. 1. In his address the angel of the Lord identifies himself with Jehovah (as in Josh. v. 14 compared with vi. 2), by describing himself as having made them to go up out of Egypt and brought them into the land which He swore unto their fathers. There is something very striking in the use of the imperfect הָעֲלֵם in the place of the perfect (cf. chap. vi. 8), as the substance of the address and the continuation of it in the historical tense וַיִּבְרָא and וַיִּסְמַךְ require the preterite. The imperfect is only to be explained on the supposition that it is occasioned by the *imperf. consec.* which follows immediately afterwards and reacts through its proximity. "I will

not break my covenant for ever," i.e. will keep what I promised when making the covenant, viz. that I would endow Israel with blessings and salvation, if they for their part would observe the covenant duties into which they had entered (see Ex. xix. 5 sqq.), and obey the commandments of the Lord. Among these was the commandment to enter into no alliance with the inhabitants of that land, viz. the Canaanites (see Ex. xxiii. 32, 33, xxxiv. 12, 13, 15, 16; Deut. vii. 2 sqq.; Josh. xxiii. 12). "*Destroy their altars:*" taken verbatim from Ex. xxxiv. 13, Deut. vii. 5. The words "*and ye have not hearkened to my voice*" recall to mind Ex. xix. 5. "*What have ye done*" (מַה־עָשִׂיתֶם, literally "what is this that ye have done") *sc.* in sparing the Canaanites and tolerating their altars?—Ver. 3. "*And I also have said to you:*" these words point to the threat already expressed in Num. xxxiii. 55, Josh. xxiii. 13, in the event of their not fulfilling the command of God, which threat the Lord would now fulfil. From the passages mentioned, we may also explain the expression וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְצַדִּים, they shall be in your sides, i.e. thorns in your sides. לְצַדִּים is an abbreviated expression for לְצַדִּינִים בְּצַדִּיכֶם in Num. xxxiii. 55, so that there is no necessity for the conjecture that it stands for לְצַדִּים. The last clause of ver. 3 is formed after Ex. xxiii. 33.—Vers. 4, 5. The people broke out into loud weeping on account of this reproof. And since the weeping, from which the place received the name of *Bochim*, was a sign of their grief on account of their sin, this grief led on to such repentance that "*they sacrificed there unto the Lord,*" no doubt presenting sin-offerings and burnt-offerings, that they might obtain mercy and the forgiveness of their sins. It does not follow from this sacrifice, however, that the tabernacle or the ark of the covenant was to be found at *Bochim*. In any place where the Lord appeared to His people, sacrifices might be offered to Him (see chap. vi. 20, 26, 28, xiii. 16 sqq.; 2 Sam. xxiv. 25, and the commentary on Deut. xii. 5). On the other hand, it does follow from the sacrifice at *Bochim*, where there was no sanctuary of Jehovah, that the person who appeared to the people was not a prophet, nor even an ordinary angel, but *the angel of the Lord*, who is essentially one with Jehovah.

CONDUCT OF ISRAEL TOWARDS THE LORD, AND TREATMENT OF
ISRAEL BY THE LORD, IN THE TIME OF THE JUDGES.—CHAP.
II. 6-III. 6.

The attitude which the Israelites assumed towards the Canaanites who were left in their possessions, contained the germ of the peculiar direction given to the development of the nation of God in the times of the judges. To exhibit the course of this development in its most general principles, the age which commenced after Joshua's death is characterized as a period of constant alternation between idolatry and consequent subjugation by foreign nations as a punishment from God for the transgression of His covenant on the one hand, and return to God after receiving chastisement and consequent deliverance by judges expressly raised up by God for that purpose on the other. In this way the righteousness of the holy God is displayed so clearly in the punishment of the rebellious, and the mercy of the faithful covenant God in His forgiveness of the penitent, that the history of Israel at that time exhibits to us an example of the divine holiness and righteousness on the one hand, and of His grace and mercy on the other, as displayed in the church of God of all times, as a warning for the ungodly and for the consolation of the righteous.

Vers. 6-10. The account of this development of the covenant nation, which commenced after the death of Joshua and his contemporaries, is attached to the book of Joshua by a simple repetition of the closing verses of that book (Josh. xxiv. 28-31) in vers. 6-10, with a few unimportant differences, not only to form a link between Josh. xxiv. and Judg. ii. 11, and to resume the thread of the history which was broken off by the summary just given of the results of the wars between the Israelites and Canaanites (*Bertheau*), but rather to bring out sharply and clearly the contrast between the age that was past and the period of the Israelitish history that was just about to commence. The *vav consec.* attached to וַיִּשְׁלַח expresses the order of thought and not of time. The apostasy of the new generation from the Lord (vers. 10 sqq.) was a necessary consequence of the attitude of Israel to the Canaanites who were left in the land, as described in chap. i. 1-ii. 5. This thought is indicated by the *vav consec.* in וַיִּשְׁלַח; so that the meaning of vers. 6 sqq. as expressed in our ordinary phraseology would be as follows: Now when Joshua had dismissed the people, and the children of Israel had gone every one to his own inheritance to take

possession of the land, the people served the Lord as long as Joshua and the elders who survived him were alive; but when Joshua was dead, and that generation (which was contemporaneous with him) had been gathered to its fathers, there rose up another generation after them which knew not the Lord, and also (knew not) the work which He had done to Israel. On the death and burial of Joshua, see at Josh. xxiv. 29, 30. "*Gathered unto their fathers*" corresponds to "gathered to his people" in the Pentateuch (Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29, xlix. 29, 33, etc.: see at Gen. xxv. 8). They "*knew not the Lord*," *sc.* from seeing or experiencing His wonderful deeds, which the contemporaries of Joshua and Moses had seen and experienced.

In the general survey of the times of the judges, commencing at ver. 11, the falling away of the Israelites from the Lord is mentioned first of all, and at the same time it is distinctly shown how neither the chastisements inflicted upon them by God at the hands of hostile nations, nor the sending of judges to set them free from the hostile oppression, availed to turn them from their idolatry (vers. 11-19). This is followed by the determination of God to tempt and chastise the sinful nation by not driving away the remaining Canaanites (vers. 20-23); and lastly, the account concludes with an enumeration of the tribes that still remained, and the attitude of Israel towards them (chap. iii. 1-6).

Vers. 11-19. *Repeated falling away of the People from the Lord.*—Vers. 11-13. The Israelites did what was evil in the eyes of the Lord (what was displeasing to the Lord); they served *Baalim*. The plural *Baalim* is a general term employed to denote all false deities, and is synonymous with the expression "other gods" in the clause "other gods of the gods of the nations round about them" (the Israelites). This use of the term *Baalim* arose from the fact that Baal was the chief male deity of the Canaanites and all the nations of Hither Asia, and was simply worshipped by the different nations with peculiar modifications, and therefore designated by various distinctive epithets. In ver. 12 this apostasy is more minutely described as forsaking Jehovah the God of their fathers, to whom they were indebted for the greatest blessing, *viz.* their deliverance out of Egypt, and following other gods of the heathen nations that were round about them (taken *verbatim* from Deut. vi. 14, and xiii. 7, 8), and worshipping them. In this way they provoked the Lord to anger (*cf.* Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, etc.).—Ver. 13. Thus they forsook Jehovah, and served Baal and the Asthartes. In

this case the singular *Baal* is connected with the plural *Ashtaroth*, because the male deities of all the Canaanitish nations, and those that bordered upon Canaan, were in their nature one and the same deity, viz. *Baal*, a sun-god, and as such the vehicle and source of physical life, and of the generative and reproductive power of nature, which was regarded as an effluence from its own being (see *Movers*, *Relig. der Phönizier*, pp. 184 sqq., and *J. G. Müller* in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*). *Ashtaroth*, from the singular *Ashtoreth*, which only occurs again in 1 Kings xi. 5, 33, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13, in connection with the Sidonian *Astharte*, was the general name used to denote the leading female deity of the Canaanitish tribes, a moon-goddess, who was worshipped as the feminine principle of nature embodied in the pure moon-light, and its influence upon terrestrial life. It corresponded to the Greek *Aphrodite*, whose celebrated temple at Askalon is described in *Herod.* i. 105. In chap. iii. 7, *Asheroth* is used as equivalent to *Ashtaroth*, which is used here, chap. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 10. The name *Asheroth*¹ was transferred to the deity itself from the idols of this goddess, which generally consisted of wooden columns, and are called *Asherim* in Ex. xxxiv. 13, Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xvi. 21. On the other hand, the word *Ashtoreth* is without any traceable etymology in the Semitic dialects, and was probably derived from Upper Asia, being connected with a Persian word signifying a star, and synonymous with *Ἀστροάρχη*, the star-queen of Sabæism (see *Ges. Thes.* pp. 1083-4; *Movers*, p. 606; and *Müller*, *ut sup.*).

With regard to the nature of the Baal and *Astharte* worship, into which the Israelites fell not long after the death of Joshua, and in which they continued henceforth to sink deeper and deeper, it is evident from the more precise allusions contained in the history of Gideon, that it did not consist of direct opposition to the worship of Jehovah, or involve any formal rejection of Jehovah, but that it was simply an admixture of the worship of Jehovah with the heathen or Canaanitish nature-worship. Not only was the ephod which Gideon caused to be made in his native town of Ophrah, and after which all Israel went a whoring (chap. viii. 27), an imitation of the high priest's ephod in the worship of Jehovah; but the worship of Baal-berith at Shechem, after which the Israelites went a whoring again when Gideon was dead (chap. viii. 33), was simply a corruption of the worship of Jehovah, in which Baal was put in the place of Jehovah and worshipped in a similar way,

¹ Rendered *groves* in the English version.—Tr.

as we may clearly see from chap. ix. 27. The worship of Jehovah could even be outwardly continued in connection with this idolatrous worship. Just as in the case of these nations in the midst of which the Israelites lived, the mutual recognition of their different deities and religions was manifested in the fact that they all called their supreme deity by the same name, *Baal*, and simply adopted some other epithet by which to define the distinctive peculiarities of each; so the Israelites also imagined that they could worship the Baals of the powerful nations round about them along with Jehovah their covenant God, especially if they worshipped them in the same manner as their covenant God. This will serve to explain the rapid and constantly repeated falling away of the Israelites from Jehovah into Baal-worship, at the very time when the worship of Jehovah was stedfastly continued at the tabernacle in accordance with the commands of the law. The Israelites simply followed the lead and example of their heathen neighbours. Just as the heathen were tolerant with regard to the recognition of the deities of other nations, and did not refuse to extend this recognition even to Jehovah the God of Israel, so the Israelites were also tolerant towards the Baals of the neighbouring nations, whose sensuous nature-worship was more grateful to the corrupt heart of man than the spiritual Jehovah-religion, with its solemn demands for sanctification of life. But this syncretism, which was not only reconcilable with polytheism, but actually rooted in its very nature, was altogether irreconcilable with the nature of true religion. For if Jehovah is the only true God, and there are no other gods besides or beside Him, then the purity and holiness of His nature is not only disturbed, but altogether distorted, by any admixture of His worship with the worship of idols or of the objects of nature, the true God being turned into an idol, and Jehovah degraded into Baal. Looking closely into the matter, therefore, the mixture of the Canaanitish worship of Baal with the worship of Jehovah was actually forsaking Jehovah and serving other gods, as the prophetic author of this book pronounces it. It was just the same with the worship of Baal in the kingdom of the ten tribes, which was condemned by the prophets Hosea and Amos (see *Hengstenberg*, *Christology*, i. pp. 168 sqq., Eng. trans.).—Vers. 14, 15. On account of this idolatrous worship, the anger of the Lord burned against Israel, so that He gave them up into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and sold them into the hands of their enemies. שָׁדָיִם from שָׁדָה, alternated with שָׁדָיִם in שָׁדָיִם, to plunder. This word

is not met with in the Pentateuch, whereas מָכַר, to sell, occurs in Deut. xxxii. 30, in the sense of giving helplessly up to the foe. "*They could no longer stand before their enemies,*" as they had done under Joshua, and in fact as long as Israel continued faithful to the Lord; so that now, instead of the promise contained in Lev. xxvi. 7, 8, being fulfilled, the threat contained in Lev. xxvi. 17 was carried into execution. "*Whithersoever they went out,*" i.e. in every expedition, every attack that they made upon their enemies, "*the hand of Jehovah was against them for evil, as He had said*" (Lev. xxvi. 17, 36; Deut. xxviii. 25), and "*had sworn unto them.*" There is no express oath mentioned either in Lev. xxvi. or Deut. xxviii.; it is implied therefore in the nature of the case, or in *virtute verborum*, as Seb. Schmidt affirms, inasmuch as the threats themselves were words of the true and holy God. וַיָּצֵר לָהֶם מָאֵר, "*and it became to them very narrow,*" i.e. they came into great straits.—Vers. 16, 17. But the Lord did not rest content with this. He did still more. "*He raised up judges who delivered them out of the hand of their plunderers,*" to excite them to love in return by this manifestation of His love and mercy, and to induce them to repent. But "*they did not hearken even to their judges,*" namely, so as not to fall back again into idolatry, which the judge had endeavoured to suppress. This limitation of the words is supported by the context, viz. by a comparison of vers. 18, 19.—"*But* (בְּ after a negative clause) *they went a whoring after other gods* (for the application of this expression to the spiritual adultery of idolatrous worship, see Ex. xxxiv. 15), *and turned quickly away* (vid. Ex. xxxii. 8) *from the way which their fathers walked in, to hearken to the commandments of the Lord,*" i.e. from the way of obedience to the divine commands. "*They did not so*" (or what was right) *sc.* as their fathers under Joshua had done (cf. ver. 7).—Vers. 18, 19. "*And when the Lord raised them up judges, and was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge* (i.e. as long as the judge was living), *because the Lord had compassion upon their sighing, by reason of them that oppressed them, and vexed them* (קָנָה only occurs again as a verb in Joel ii. 8): *it came to pass when the judge was dead, that they returned and acted more corruptly than their fathers,*" i.e. they turned again to idolatry even more grievously than their fathers had done under the previous judges. "*They did not let fall from their deeds,*" i.e. they did not cease from their evil deeds, and "*from their stiff-necked way.*" קִשְׁיָה, hard, is to be understood as in Ex. xxxii. 9 and

xxxiii. 3, where Israel is called a hard-necked people which did not bend under obedience to the commandments of God.

Vers. 20–23. *Chastisement of the rebellious Nation*.—Vers. 20, 21. On account of this idolatry, which was not only constantly repeated, but continued to grow worse and worse, the anger of the Lord burned so fiercely against Israel, that He determined to destroy no more of the nations which Joshua had left when he died, before the people that had broken His covenant. In order to set forth this divine purpose most distinctly, it is thrown into the form of a sentence uttered by God through the expression וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה. The Lord said, “Because this people has transgressed my covenant, . . . I also will no longer keep my covenant promise (Ex. xxiii. 23, 27 sqq., xxxiv. 10 sqq.), and will no more drive out any of the remaining Canaanites before them” (see Josh. xxiii. 13).—Ver. 22. The purpose of God in this resolution was “to prove Israel through them (the tribes that were not exterminated), whether they (the Israelites) would keep the way of the Lord to walk therein (cf. Deut. viii. 2), as their fathers did keep it, or not.” לִמְעַן נִפְּוֹת is not dependent upon the verb עָיִב, as *Studer* supposes, which yields no fitting sense; nor can the clause be separated from the preceding one, as *Bertheau* suggests, and connected as a protasis with ver. 23 (this would be a thoroughly unnatural construction, for which Isa. xlv. 4 does not furnish any true parallel); but the clause is attached in the simplest possible manner to the main thought in vers. 20, 21, that is to say, to the words “and He said” in ver. 20: Jehovah said, i.e. resolved, that He would not exterminate the remaining nations any further, to tempt Israel through them. The plural בָּם, in the place of the singular בּוֹ, which the foregoing הִרְרֶה requires, is to be regarded as a *constructio ad sensum*, i.e. to be attributed to the fact, that keeping the way of God really consists in observing the commandments of God, and that this was the thought which floated before the writer’s mind. The thought expressed in this verse, that Jehovah would not exterminate the Canaanites before Israel any more, to try them whether they would keep His commandments, just as He had previously caused the people whom He brought out of Egypt to wander in the wilderness for forty years with the very same intention (Deut. viii. 2), is not at variance with the design of God, expressed in Ex. xxiii. 29, 30, and Deut. vii. 22, not to exterminate the Canaanites all at once, lest the land should become waste, and the wild beasts multiply therein, nor yet with the motive assigned in chap. iii. 1, 2. For the determination not

to exterminate the Canaanites in one single year, was a different thing from the purpose of God to suspend their gradual extermination altogether. The former purpose had immediate regard to the well-being of Israel; the latter, on the contrary, was primarily intended as a chastisement for its transgression of the covenant, although even this chastisement was intended to lead the rebellious nation to repentance, and promote its prosperity by a true conversion to the Lord. And the motive assigned in chap. ii. 2 is in perfect harmony with this intention, as our explanation of this passage will clearly show.—Ver. 23. In consequence of this resolution, the Lord let these tribes (those mentioned in chap. iii. 3) remain at rest, *i.e.* quietly, in the land, without exterminating them rapidly. The expression *מִהֵר*, hastily, quickly, *i.e.* according to the distinct words of the following clause, through and under Joshua, appears strange after what has gone before. For what is threatened in ver. 21 is not the suspension of rapid extermination, but of any further extermination. This threat, therefore, is so far limited by the word “hastily,” as to signify that the Lord would not exterminate any more of these nations so long as Israel persisted in its idolatry. But as soon as and whenever Israel returned to the Lord its God in true repentance, to keep His covenant, the Lord would recall His threat, and let the promised extermination of the Canaanites go forward again. Had Israel not forsaken the Lord its God so soon after Joshua’s death, the Lord would have exterminated the Canaanites who were left in the land much sooner than He did, or have carried out their gradual extermination in a much shorter time than was actually the case, in consequence of the continual idolatry of the people.

Chap. iii. 1-6. *Nations which the Lord left in Canaan*: with a repetition of the reason why this was done.—Ver. 1. The reason, which has already been stated in chap. ii. 22, viz. “to prove Israel by them,” is still further elucidated here. In the first place (ver. 1), *אֵת-יְשׁוּעָה* is more precisely defined as signifying “all those who had not known all the wars of Canaan,” *sc.* from their own observation and experience, that is to say, the generation of the Israelites which rose up after the death of Joshua. For “the wars of Canaan” were the wars which were carried on by Joshua with the almighty help of the Lord for the conquest of Canaan. The whole thought is then still further expanded in ver. 2 as follows: “only (for no other purpose than) that the succeeding generations (the generations which followed Joshua and his contemporaries) of the children of Israel,

that He (Jehovah) might teach them war, only those who had not known them (the wars of Canaan)." The suffix attached to יָדְעוּם refers to "the wars of Canaan," although this is a feminine noun, the suffix in the masculine plural being frequently used in connection with a feminine noun. At first sight it would appear as though the reason given here for the non-extermination of the Canaanites was not in harmony with the reason assigned in chap. ii. 22, which is repeated in ver. 4 of the present chapter. But the differences are perfectly reconcilable, if we only give a correct explanation of the two expressions, "learning war," and the "wars of Canaan." Learning war in the context before us is equivalent to learning to make war upon the nations of Canaan. Joshua and the Israelites of his time had not overcome these nations by their own human power or by earthly weapons, but by the miraculous help of their God, who had smitten and destroyed the Canaanites before the Israelites. The omnipotent help of the Lord, however, was only granted to Joshua and the whole nation, on condition that they adhered firmly to the law of God (Josh. i. 7), and faithfully observed the covenant of the Lord; whilst the transgression of that covenant, even by Achan, caused the defeat of Israel before the Canaanites (Josh. vii.). In the wars of Canaan under Joshua, therefore, Israel had experienced and learned, that the power to conquer its foes did not consist in the multitude and bravery of its own fighting men, but solely in the might of its God, which it could only possess so long as it continued faithful to the Lord. This lesson the generations that followed Joshua had forgotten, and consequently they did not understand how to make war. To impress this truth upon them,—the great truth, upon which the very existence as well as the prosperity of Israel, and its attainment of the object of its divine calling, depended; in other words, to teach it by experience, that the people of Jehovah could only fight and conquer in the power of its God,—the Lord had left the Canaanites in the land. Necessity teaches a man to pray. The distress into which the Israelites were brought by the remaining Canaanites was a chastisement from God, through which the Lord desired to lead back the rebellious to himself, to keep them obedient to His commandments, and to train them to the fulfilment of their covenant duties. In this respect, learning war, *i.e.* learning how the congregation of the Lord was to fight against the enemies of God and of His kingdom, was one of the means appointed by God to tempt Israel, or prove whether it would listen to the commandments of

God (ver. 4), or would walk in the ways of the Lord. If Israel should so learn to war, it would learn at the same time to keep the commandments of God. But both of these were necessary for the people of God. For just as the realization of the blessings promised to the nation in the covenant depended upon its hearkening to the voice of the Lord, so the conflicts appointed for it were also necessary, just as much for the purification of the sinful nation, as for the perpetuation and growth of the kingdom of God upon the earth.—Ver. 3. The enumeration of the different nations rests upon Josh. xiii. 2-6, and, with its conciseness and brevity, is only fully intelligible through the light thrown upon it by that passage. The five princes of the Philistines are mentioned singly there. According to Josh. xiii. 4 sqq., “*all the Canaanites and the Sidonians and the Hivites,*” are the Canaanitish tribes dwelling in northern Canaan, by the Phœnician coast and upon Mount Lebanon. “*The Canaanites:*” viz. those who dwelt along the sea-coast to the south of Sidon. *The Hivites:* those who were settled more in the heart of the country, “from the mountains of Baal-hermon up to the territory of Hamath.” *Baal-hermon* is only another name for *Baal-gad*, the present *Banjas*, under the Hermon (cf. Josh. xiii. 5). When it is stated still further in ver. 4, that “they were left in existence (*i.e.* were not exterminated by Joshua) to prove Israel by them,” we are struck with the fact, that besides the Philistines, only these northern Canaanites are mentioned; whereas, according to chap. i., many towns in the centre of the land were also left in the hands of the Canaanites, and therefore here also the Canaanites were not yet exterminated, and became likewise a snare to the Israelites, not only according to the word of the angel of the Lord (chap. ii. 3), but also because the Israelites who dwelt among these Canaanitish tribes contracted marriages with them, and served their gods. This striking circumstance cannot be set aside, as *Bertheau* supposes, by the simple remark, that “the two lists (that of the countries which the tribes of Israel did not conquer after Joshua’s death in chap. i., and the one given here of the nations which Joshua had not subjugated) must correspond on the whole,” since the correspondence referred to really does not exist. It can only be explained on the ground that the Canaanites who were left in the different towns in the midst of the land, acquired all their power to maintain their stand against Israel from the simple fact that the Philistines on the south-west, and several whole tribes of Canaanites in the north, had been left by Joshua neither exterminated nor

even conquered, inasmuch as they so crippled the power of the Israelites by wars and invasions of the Israelitish territory, that they were unable to exterminate those who remained in the different fortresses of their own possessions. Because, therefore, the power to resist the Israelites and oppress them for a time resided not so much in the Canaanites who were dwelling in the midst of Israel, as in the Philistines and the Canaanites upon the mountains of Lebanon who had been left unconquered by Joshua, these are the only tribes mentioned in this brief survey as the nations through which the Lord would prove His people.—Vers. 5, 6. But the Israelites did not stand the test. Dwelling in the midst of the Canaanites, of whom six tribes are enumerated, as in Ex. iii. 8, 17, etc. (see at Deut. vii. 1), they contracted marriages with them, and served their gods, contrary to the express prohibition of the Lord in Ex. xxxiv. 16, xxiii. 24, and Deut. vii. 3, 4.

II.—HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL UNDER THE JUDGES.

CHAP. III. 7—XVI. 31.

In order that we may be able to take a distinct survey of the development of the Israelites in the three different stages of their history during the times of the judges, the first thing of importance to be done is to determine *the chronology of the period of the judges*, inasmuch as not only have greatly divergent opinions prevailed upon this point, but hypotheses have been set up, which endanger and to some extent directly overthrow the historical character of the accounts which the book of Judges contains.¹ If we take a superficial glance at the chronological data contained in

¹ *Rud. Chr. v. Benningen*, for example, reckons up fifty different calculations, and the list might be still further increased by the addition of both older and more recent attempts (see *Winer*, *Bibl. Real-Wörterb.* ii. pp. 327–8). *Lepsius* (*Chronol. der Äg.* i. 315–6, 365 sqq. and 377–8) and *Bunsen* (*Ägypten*, i. pp. 209 sqq. iv. 318 sqq., and *Bibelwerk*, i. pp. cccxxvii. sqq.), starting from the position maintained by *Ewald* and *Bertheau*, that the chronological data of the book of Judges are for the most part to be regarded as round numbers, have sought for light to explain the chronology of the Bible in the darkness of the history of ancient Egypt, and with their usual confidence pronounce it an indisputable truth that the whole of the period of the Judges did not last longer than from 169 to 187 years.

the book, it appears a very simple matter to make the calculation required, inasmuch as the duration of the different hostile oppressions, and also the length of time that most of the judges held their office, or at all events the duration of the peace which they secured for the nation, are distinctly given. The following are the numbers that we find :—

1. Oppression by Chushan-rishathaim	(chap. iii. 8),	8 years.
Deliverance by Othniel, and rest	(chap. iii. 11),	40 "
2. Oppression by the Moabites	(chap. iii. 14),	18 "
Deliverance by Ehud, and rest	(chap. iii. 30),	80 "
3. Oppression by the Canaanitish king Jabin	(chap. iv. 3),	20 "
Deliverance by Deborah and Barak, and rest	(chap. v. 31),	40 "
4. Oppression by the Midianites	(chap. vi. 1),	7 "
Deliverance by Gideon, and rest	(chap. viii. 28),	40 "
Abimelech's reign	(chap. ix. 22),	3 "
Tola, judge	(chap. x. 2),	23 "
Jair, judge	(chap. x. 3),	22 "

Total, . 301 years.

5. Oppression by the Ammonites	(chap. x. 8),	18 "
Deliverance by Jephthah, who judged Israel	(chap. xii. 7),	6 "
Ibzan, judge	(chap. xii. 9),	7 "
Elon, judge	(chap. xii. 11),	10 "
Abdon, judge	(chap. xii. 14),	8 "
6. Oppression by the Philistines	(chap. xiii. 1),	40 "
At this time Samson judged Israel for 20 years (chap. xv. 20 ; xvi. 31).		

Total, . 390 years.

For if to this we add (a) the time of Joshua, which is not distinctly mentioned, and		20 "
(b.) The time during which Eli was judge (1 Sam. iv. 18),		40 "

We obtain . 450 years.¹

And if we add still further—

(c.) The times of Samuel and Saul combined,		40 "
(d.) The reign of David (2 Sam. v. 4 ; 1 Kings ii. 11),		40 "
(e.) The reign of Solomon to the building of the temple (1 Kings vi. 1),		3 "

The whole time from the entrance of Israel into Canaan to the
building of the temple amounted to 533 years.

¹ The earlier chronologists discovered a confirmation of this as the length of time that the period of the judges actually lasted in Acts xiii. 20, where Paul in his speech at Antioch in Pisidia says, according to the *textus receptus*, "After that He gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years

Or if we add the forty years spent in the wilderness, the time that elapsed between the exodus from Egypt and the building of the temple was 573 years. But the interval was not so long as this; for, according to 1 Kings vi. 1, Solomon built the house of the Lord in the 480th year after the children of Israel came out of Egypt, and in the fourth year of his reign. And no well-founded objections can be raised as to the correctness and historical credibility of this statement. It is true that the LXX. have "the 440th year" instead of the 480th; but this reading is proved to be erroneous by *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, who adopt the number 480 in common with all the rest of the ancient versions, and it is now almost unanimously rejected (see *Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. p. 479). In all probability it owed its origin to an arbitrary mode of computing the period referred to by reckoning eleven generations of forty years each (see *Ed. Preuss*; *die Zeitrechnung der LXX.* pp. 78 sqq.). On the other hand, the number 480 of the Hebrew text cannot rest upon a mere reckoning of generations, since the year and month of Solomon's reign are given in 1 Kings vi. 1; and if we deduct this date from the 480, there remain 477 or 476 years, which do not form a cyclical number at all.¹ Again, the exodus of Israel from Egypt

until Samuel the prophet." The discrepancy between this verse and the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that Solomon built the temple in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of Egypt, many have endeavoured to remove by a remark, which is correct in itself, viz. that the apostle merely adopted the traditional opinion of the Jewish schools, which had been arrived at by adding together the chronological data of the book of Judges, without entering into the question of its correctness, as it was not his intention to instruct his hearers in chronology. But this passage cannot prove anything at all; for the reading given in the *lect. rec.* is merely founded upon *Cod. Cant.* and *Laud.*, and the text of *Matthæi*; whilst the oldest reading not only according to the *Codd. Al., Vat., Ephr. S. rescr.*, but according to the *Cod. Sinait. ed. Tischendorf* and several *minuscule*, as well as the *Copt. Sahid. Arm. Vers.* and *Vulg.*, is, καὶ καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ τ. πρ. This text is rendered thus in the *Vulgate*: *et destruens gentes septem in terra Chanaan sorte distribuit eis terram eorum quasi post quadringentos et quinquaginta annos: et post hæc dedit iudices usque ad Samuel prophetam*, and can hardly be understood in any other sense than this, that Paul reckoned 450 as the time that elapsed between the call of Abraham (or the birth of Isaac) and the division of the land, namely 215 + 215 (according to the *Alex. reading* of Ex. xii. 40: see the *comm.* on this passage) + 40 = 470, or about 450.

¹ *Bertheau* has quite overlooked this when he endeavours to make the 480 years from the exodus to the building of the temple into a cyclical number, and

was an "epoch-making" event, which was fixed in the recollection of the people as no other ever was, so that allusions to it run through the whole of the Old Testament. Moreover, the very fact that it does not tally with the sum total of the numbers in the book of Judges is an argument in favour of its correctness; whereas all the chronological calculations that differ from this bring us back to these numbers, such, for example, as the different statements of Josephus, who reckons the period in question at 592 years in Ant. viii. 3, 1, and on the other hand, at 612 years in Ant. xx. 10 and c. Ap. ii. 2.¹ Lastly, it may easily be shown that there are several things assumed in this chronological survey which have no foundation in the text. This applies both to the assumed succession of the Ammonitish and Philistine oppressions, and also to the introduction of the forty years of Eli's life as judge after or in addition to the forty years that the Philistines ruled over Israel.

The current view, that the forty years of oppression on the part of the Philistines did not commence till after the death of Jephthah or Abdon, is apparently favoured, no doubt, by the circumstance, that this oppression is not described till after the death of Abdon (chap. xii. 15), and is introduced with the usual formula, "And the

appeals in support of this to 1 Chron. vi. 35 sqq. (cf. v. 29 sqq.), where twelve generations are reckoned from Aaron to Ahimaaz, the contemporary of David. But it is perfectly arbitrary on his part to include Ahimaaz, who was a boy in the time of David (2 Sam. xv. 27, 36, xviii. 19, 22, 27 sqq.), as the representative of a generation that was contemporaneous with David; whereas it was not Ahimaaz, but his father Zadok, *i.e.* the eleventh high priest from Aaron, who anointed Solomon as king (1 Kings i. 39, ii. 35), and therefore there had been only eleven high priests from the exodus to the building of the temple. If therefore this period was to be divided into generations of forty years each on the ground of the genealogies in the Chronicles, there could only be eleven generations counted, and this is just what the LXX. have done.

¹ *Josephus* adds together the numbers which occur in the book of Judges. Reckoning from the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim to the forty years' oppression of the Philistines (inclusive), these amount to 390 years, if we regard Samson's twenty years as forming part of the Philistine oppression, or to 410 years if they are reckoned separately. Let us add to this the forty years of the journey through the wilderness, the twenty-five years which Josephus assigns to Joshua (Ant. v. 1, 29), the forty years of Eli, the twelve years which he allots to Samuel before the election of Saul as king (vi. 13, 5), and the forty years which he reckons to Samuel and Saul together, and lastly, the forty and a half years of David's reign and the four years of Solomon's up to the time when the temple was built, and we obtain $40 + 25 + 40 + 12 + 40 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 4 = 201\frac{1}{2}$ years; and these added to 390 make $591\frac{1}{2}$, or added to 410 they amount to 611 years.

children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord," etc. (chap. xiii. 1). But this formula, taken by itself, does not furnish any certain proof that the oppression which it introduces did not take place till after what has been already described, especially in the absence of any more definite statement, such as the clause introduced into chap. iv. 1, "when Ehud was dead," or the still more definite remark, that the land had rest so many years (chap. iii. 11, 30, v. 31; cf. chap. viii. 32). Now in the case before us, instead of any such statement as to time, we find the general remark in chap. x. 6 sqq., that when the Israelites sank into idolatry again, Jehovah sold them into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children of Ammon; and after this there simply follows an account of the oppression on the part of the Ammonites, and the eventual deliverance effected by Jephthah (chap. x. 8–xii. 7), together with an enumeration of three judges who succeeded Jephthah (chap. xii. 8–15); but we learn nothing further about the oppression on the part of the Philistines which is mentioned in chap. x. 7. When, therefore, it is still further related, in chap. xiii. 1, that the Lord delivered the Israelites into the hand of the Philistines forty years, this cannot possibly refer to another oppression on the part of the Philistines subsequent to the one noticed in chap. x. 7; but the true explanation must be, that the historian proceeds here for the first time to describe the oppression noticed in chap. x. 7, and introduces his description with the formula he generally adopted: "And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord," etc. The oppression itself, therefore, commenced at the same time as that of the Ammonites, and continued side by side with it; but it lasted much longer, and did not come to an end till a short time before the death of Elon the judge. This is confirmed beyond all doubt by the fact, that although the Ammonites crossed the Jordan to fight against Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, it was chiefly the tribes of Israel who dwelt on the other side of the Jordan that were oppressed by them (chap. x. 8, 9), and that it was only by these tribes that Jephthah was summoned to make war upon them, and was elected as their head and prince (chap. xi. 5–11), and also that it was only the Ammonites in the country to the east of the Jordan whom he subdued then before the Israelites (chap. xi. 32, 33). From this it is very evident that Jephthah, and his successors Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, were not judges over all Israel, and neither fought against the Philistines nor delivered Israel from the oppression of those enemies who invaded the land from the

south-west; so that the omission of the expression, "the land had rest," etc., from chap. xi. and xii., is very significant.¹

But if the Ammonitish and Philistine oppressions occurred at the same time, of course only one of them must be taken into account in our chronological calculations as to the duration of the period of the judges; and the one selected must be the one to the close of which the chronological data of the next period are immediately appended. But this is not the case with the account of the Ammonitish oppression, of the deliverance effected by Jephthah, and of the judges who succeeded him (Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon), because the chronological thread of this series of events is broken off with the death of Abdon, and is never resumed again. It is so, however, with the Philistine oppression, which is said to have lasted forty years, though the termination of it is not given in the book of Judges. Samson merely began to deliver Israel out of the power of the Philistines (chap. xiii. 5), but did not accomplish their complete deliverance. He judged Israel for twenty years in the days

¹ Even *Hitzig*, who denies that the oppression of the Philistines was contemporaneous with that of the Ammonites, is obliged to acknowledge that "it is true, the author first of all disposed very properly of the Ammonitish war before entering into the details of the war with the Philistines, with which it had no connection, and which was not brought to a close so soon." When therefore, notwithstanding this, he adduces as evidence that they were not contemporaneous, the fact that "according to the context, and to all analogy (cf. chap. iv. 1, iii. 11, 12), the author intends to write, in chap. xiii. 1, that after the death of Abdon, when there was no judge in Israel, the nation fell back into its former lawlessness, and as a punishment was given up to the Philistines," a more careful study of the passages cited (chap. iv. 1, iii. 11, 12) will soon show that the supposed analogy does not exist at all, since the expression, "the land had rest," etc., really occurs in both instances (see chap. iii. 11 and 31), whereas it is omitted before chap. xiii. 1. The still further assertion, however, that the account of the Philistine war ought to have followed immediately upon that of the war with the Ammonites, if the intention was to describe this with equal fulness, has no force whatever. If neither Jephthah nor the three judges who followed him had anything to do with the Philistines, if they merely judged the tribes that were oppressed and threatened by the Ammonites, it was natural that everything relating to them should be attached to the account of the defeat of the Ammonites, in order that there might be no unnecessary separation of what was so intimately connected together. And whilst these objections are thus proved to have no force, the objection raised to the contemporaneous occurrence of the two oppressions is wrecked completely upon the distinct statement in chap. x. 7, that Jehovah sold the Israelites into the hands of the Philistines and Ammonites, which *Hitzig* can only get over by declaring, without the slightest foundation, that the words "into the hands of the Philistines" are spurious, simply because they stand in the way of his own assumption.

of the Philistines, *i.e.* during the oppression of the Philistines (chap. xv. 20); consequently the twenty years of his labours must not be taken into account in the chronology of the period of the judges, inasmuch as they are all included in the forty years of the Philistines' rule. At the death of Samson, with which the book of Judges closes, the power of the Philistines was not yet broken; and in chap. iv. of the first book of Samuel we find the Philistines still fighting against the Israelites, and that with such success that the Israelites were defeated by them, and even lost the ark of the covenant. This war must certainly be a continuation of the Philistine oppression, to which the acts of Samson belonged, since the termination of that oppression is not mentioned in the book of Judges; and on the other hand, the commencement of the oppression referred to in 1 Sam. iv. 9 sqq. is not given in the book of Samuel. Consequently even *Hitzig* supports the view which I have expressed, that the forty years' supremacy of the Philistines, noticed in Judg. xiii. 1, is carried on into the book of Samuel, and extends to 1 Sam. vii. 3, 7, and that it was through Samuel that it was eventually brought to a termination (1 Sam. vii. 10 sqq.). But if this is established, then the forty years during which Eli was judge cannot have followed the Philistine oppression and the deeds performed by Samson, and therefore must not be reckoned separately. For since Eli died in consequence of the account of the capture of the ark by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 18), and seven months (1 Sam. vi. 1) and twenty years elapsed after this catastrophe before the Philistines were defeated and humiliated by Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 2), only the last half of the forty years of Eli's judicial life falls within the forty years of the Philistine rule over Israel, whilst the first half coincides with the time of the judge Jair. Eli himself was not a judge in the strict sense of the word. He was neither commander of the army, nor secular governor of the nation, but simply the high priest; and in this capacity he administered the civil law in the supreme court, altogether independently of the question whether there was a secular governor at the time or not. After the death of Eli, Israel continued for more than twenty years utterly prostrate under the yoke of the Philistines. It was during this period that Samson made the Philistines feel the power of the God of Israel, though he could not deliver the Israelites entirely from their oppression. Samuel laboured at the same time, as the prophet of the Lord, to promote the inward and spiritual strength of Israel, and that with such success, that the people came to Mizpeh at his

summons, and there put away the strange gods that they had hitherto worshipped, and worshipped the Lord alone; after which the Lord hearkened to Samuel's prayer, and gave them a complete victory over the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 2-11). After this victory, which was gained not very long after the death of Samson, Samuel undertook the supreme government of Israel as judge, and eventually at their own desire, and with the consent of God, gave them a king in the person of Saul the Benjaminite. This was not till Samuel himself was old, and had appointed as his successors in the office of judge his own sons, who did not walk in their father's ways (1 Sam. viii.-x.). Even under Saul, however, Samuel continued to the very end of his life to labour as the prophet of the Lord for the well-being of Israel, although he laid down his office of judge as soon as Saul had been elected king. He announced to Saul how he had been rejected by God on account of his disobedience; he anointed David as king; and his death did not occur till after Saul had begun to be troubled by the evil spirit, and to plot for David's life (1 Sam. xxv. 1), as we may learn from the fact that David fled to Samuel at Ramah when Saul resolved to slay him (1 Sam. xix. 18).

How long Samuel judged Israel between the victory gained at Ebenezer (1 Sam. vii.) and the election of Saul as king of Israel, is not stated in the Old Testament, nor even the length of Saul's reign, as the text of 1 Sam. xiii. 1 is corrupt. But we shall not be very far from the truth, if we set down about forty years as the time covered by the official life of Samuel as judge after that event and the reign of Saul, and reckon from seventeen to nineteen years as the duration of Samuel's judgeship, and from twenty to twenty-two as the length of Saul's reign. For it is evident from the accounts that we possess of the lives and labours of Samuel and Saul, that Saul did not reign forty years (the time given by Paul in Acts xiii. 21, according to the traditional opinion current in the Jewish schools), but at the most from twenty to twenty-two; and this is now pretty generally admitted (see at 1 Sam. xiii. 1). When David was chosen king of Judah at Hebron after the death of Saul, he was thirty years old (2 Sam. v. 1-4), and can hardly have been anointed king by Samuel at Bethlehem before the age of twenty. For though his father Jesse was still living, and he himself was the youngest of Jesse's eight sons, and was feeding the flock (1 Sam. xvi. 6-12), and even after this is still described as יָעַר (1 Sam. xvii. 42, 55), Jesse was זָקֵן (an old man) at the time (1 Sam. xvii. 12), at any rate sixty years old or more, so that his

eldest son might be forty years old, and David, the youngest, as much as twenty. For עֶרֶב was not only applied to a mere boy, but to a young man approaching twenty; and the keeping of sheep was not merely a task performed by shepherd boys, but also by the grown-up sons of a family, among whom we must certainly reckon David, since he had already contended with lions and bears in the steppe, and slain these beasts of prey (1 Sam. xvii. 34-36), and shortly afterwards was not only recommended to king Saul by his courtiers, as "a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and wise in speech," to cheer up the melancholy king by his playing upon the harp (1 Sam. xvi. 18), but also undertook to fight with the giant Goliath (1 Sam. xvii.), and was placed in consequence over the men of war, and was afterwards made captain of a thousand, and betrothed to his daughter Michal (1 Sam. xviii. 5, 13, 17 sqq.). But if David was anointed by Samuel at the age of about twenty years, Saul could not have reigned more than ten years after that time, as David was made king at the age of thirty. And he cannot have reigned much longer before that time. For, apart from the fact that everything which is related of his former wars and deeds could easily have occurred within the space of ten years, the circumstance that Samuel lived till the last years of Saul's reign, and died but a few years before Saul's death (1 Sam. xxv. 1), precludes the assumption that he reigned any longer than that. For Samuel was already so old that he had appointed his sons as judges, whereupon the people desired a king, and assigned as the reason, that Samuel's sons did not walk in his ways (1 Sam. viii. 1-4), from which it is very evident that they had already filled the office of judge for some considerable time. If we add to this the fact that Samuel was called to be a prophet before the death of Eli, and therefore was no doubt twenty-five or thirty years old when Eli died, and that twenty years and seven months elapsed between the death of Eli and the defeat of the Philistines, so that Samuel may have been about fifty years old at that time, and that he judged the people from this time forward till he had become an old man, and then gave the nation a king in the person of Saul, we cannot assign more than forty years as the interval between the defeat of the Philistines and the death of Saul, without attributing to Samuel an age of more than ninety years, and therefore we cannot reckon more than forty or thirty-nine years as the time that intervened between the installation of Samuel in his office as judge and the commencement of the reign of Saul.

According to this, the chronology of the times of the judges may be arranged as follows :—

a. From the oppression of Chushan-rishathaim to the death of Jair the judge (<i>vid.</i> p. 277),	301 years.
b. Duration of the Philistine oppression,	40 „
c. Judgeship of Samuel and reign of Saul,	39 „
d. David's reign ($7\frac{1}{2}$ and 33 years),	40 „
e. Solomon's reign to the building of the temple,	3 „
	423 years.
a. The wandering in the desert,	40 „
b. The time between the entrance into Canaan and the division of the land,	7 „
c. From the division of Canaan to the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim,	10 „
	480 years.

These numbers are as thoroughly in harmony with 1 Kings vi. 1, and also with the statement made by Jephthah in his negotiations with the king of the Ammonites, that Israel dwelt in Heshbon and the cities along the bank of the Arnon for three hundred years (Judg. xi. 26), as we could possibly expect so general a statement in round numbers to be. For instance, as the chronological data of the book of Judges give 301 years as the interval between the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim and the commencement of the Ammonitish oppression, and as only about ten years elapsed between the division of Canaan, after which the tribes on the east of the Jordan first established themselves firmly in Gilead, and the invasion of Chushan, the Israelites had dwelt 310 years in the land on the other side of the Jordan at the time of Jephthah's negotiations with the Ammonites, or at the most 328, admitting that these negotiations may possibly not have taken place till towards the end of the eighteen years' oppression on the part of the Ammonites, so that Jephthah could appeal with perfect justice to the fact that they had been in possession of the land for 300 years.

This statement of Jephthah, however, furnishes at the same time an important proof that the several chronological data contained in our book are to be regarded as historical, and also that the events are to be reckoned as occurring successively; so that we have no right to include the years of oppression in the years of rest, as is frequently done, or to shorten the whole period from Othniel to Jephthah by arbitrary assumptions of synchronisms, in direct opposition to the text. This testimony removes all foundation from

the hypothesis that the number forty which so frequently occurs is a so-called round number, that is to say, is nothing more than a number derived from a general estimate of the different periods according to generations, or cyclical periods. For if the sum total of the different chronological notices tallies on the whole with the actual duration of the period in question as confirmed by this testimony, the several notices must be regarded as historically true, and that all the more because the greater part of these data consist of such numbers as 6, 8, 18, 20, 22, 23, which can neither be called round nor cyclical. Moreover, the purely cyclical significance of the number forty among the Israelites must first of all be proved. Even *Ewald* (*Gesch.* ii. pp. 480, 481) most justly observes, that "it is very easy to say that the number forty was a round number in the case of different nations; but this round number must first of all have had its origin in life, and therefore must have had its limited application." If, however, we look more closely at the different occasions on which the space of forty years is mentioned, between the exodus from Egypt and the building of the temple, we shall find that at any rate the first and last passages contain very definite notices of time, and cannot possibly be regarded as containing merely round or cyclical numbers. In the case of the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, this is placed beyond the reach of doubt by the fact that even the months are given of both the second and fortieth years (*Num.* x. 11, xx. 1; *Deut.* i. 3), and the intervening space is distinctly stated to have been thirty-eight years (*Deut.* ii. 14). And the forty years that David is said to have reigned also give the precise number, since he reigned seven and a half years at Hebron, and thirty-three at Jerusalem (*2 Sam.* v. 4, 5; *1 Kings* ii. 11). Between these two extreme points we certainly meet with the number forty five times: viz. forty years of rest under Othniel (*Judg.* iii. 11), the same under Barak and Deborah (*chap.* v. 31), and the same again under Gideon (*chap.* viii. 28); also forty years of oppression by the Philistines (*chap.* xiii. 1), and the forty years that Eli was judge (*1 Sam.* iv. 18); and in addition to these, we find eighty years of rest after Ehud's victory (*Judg.* iii. 30). But there are also twelve or thirteen passages in which we find either odd numbers, or at all events numbers that cannot be called cyclical or round (viz. *Judg.* iii. 8, 14, iv. 3, vi. 1, ix. 22, x. 2, 3, xii. 7, 9, 11, 14, xv. 20, xvi. 31). What is there then to justify our calling the number forty cyclical or round? Is it the impossibility or improbability that in the course

of 253 years Israel should have had rest from hostile oppression on three occasions for forty years, and on one for eighty? Is there anything impossible in this? Certainly not. Is there even an improbability? If there be, surely improbabilities have very often been perfectly true. And in the case before us, the appearance itself loses all significance, when we consider that although if we take entire years the number forty is repeated, yet it cannot be taken so literally as that we are to understand that entire years are intended every time. If David's reign is reckoned as forty years in 2 Sam. v. 4, although, according to ver. 5, he reigned seven years and six months in Hebron and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, it may also be the case that, although forty years is the number given in the book of Judges, the period referred to may actually have been only thirty-nine years and a half, or may have been forty and a half. To this must be added the fact that the time during which the war with the enemy lasted is also included in the years of rest; and this must always have occupied several months, and may sometimes have lasted even more than a year. Now, if we give all these circumstances their due weight, every objection that can be raised as to the correctness and historical credibility of the chronological data of the book of Judges vanishes away, whilst all the attempts that have been made to turn these data into round or cyclical numbers are so arbitrary as to need no special refutation whatever.¹

¹ The principal representatives of this hypothesis are *Ewald* and his pupil *Bertheau*. According to *Ewald* (*Gesch.* ii. pp. 473 sqq.), the twelve judges from Othniel to Samson form the historical groundwork of the book, although there are distinct traces that there were many more such rulers, because it was only of these that any reminiscences had been preserved. When, therefore, after the expiration of the whole of this period, the desire arose to bring out into distinct prominence the most important points connected with it, the first thing that was done was to group together these twelve judges, with such brief remarks as we find in the case of five of them (Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon) in chap. x. 1-5 and xii. 8-15. In their case, too, the precise time was given, so far as it could be still remembered. But, independently of this, the attempt was also made to connect the order of the many alternations of war and peace during these 480 years which occurred, according to 1 Kings vi. 1, between the exodus from Egypt and the building of Solomon's temple, to certain grand and easily remembered divisions; and for this the number forty at once presented itself. For since, according to the oldest traditions, Israel spent forty years in the wilderness, and since David also reigned forty years, it might easily be regarded as a suitable thing to divide the whole into twelve equal parts, and to assign to each forty years a great hero and some striking event: *e.g.* (1) Moses and the wilderness; (2) Joshua and the prosperous rule of the elders; (3) the war with Chushan-rishathaim, and Othniel; (4) the Moabites and

The historical character of the chronological data of the book of Judges being thus established, we obtain a continuous chronology for the history of the Israelitish nation, as we may see from the following survey, to which we append a calculation of the years before Christ :—

Ehud; (5) the Aramæans and Jair; (6) the Canaanites under Jabin, and Deborah; (7) the Midianites and Gideon; (8) Tola, with whose opponents we are not acquainted; (9) the Ammonites and Philistines, or Jephthah and Samson; (10) the Philistines and Eli; (11) Samuel and Saul; (12) David. “Finally, then, these twelve judges from Othniel to Samson were necessarily connected with this different mode of reckoning, so that the several numbers, as well as the order in which the judges occur, which show so evidently (?) that the last editor but one compiled the section extending from chap. iii. to xvi. out of a great variety of sources, *must* have been the resultant of many changes.” But *Ewald* looks in vain for any reason for this “must.” And the question starts up at once, how could the idea ever have entered any one’s mind of dividing these 480 years, from the exodus to the building of the temple, among the twelve judges in this particular manner; that to all the judges, concerning whom it was not known how long their period of labour lasted, forty years each were assigned, when it was known that Israel had wandered forty years in the wilderness, that Joshua had governed forty years with the elders, and Samuel and Saul together had ruled for the same time, and David also, so that there only remained for the judges from Othniel to Samson $480 - 4 \times 40$, *i.e.* only 320 years, or, deducting the first three or four years of Solomon’s reign, only 317 or 316 years? These years, if divided among twelve judges, would give only twenty-six or twenty-seven years for each. Or how did they come to allot eighty years to Ehud, and only twenty-two to Jair and twenty-three to Tola, if the two latter had also conquered the hostile oppressors of Israel? And lastly, why was Shamgar left without any, when he delivered Israel from the Philistines? To these and many other questions the author of this hypothesis is unable to give any answer at all; and the arbitrary nature of his mode of manufacturing history is so obvious, that it is unnecessary to waste words in proving it. It is no better with *Bertheau’s* hypothesis (Judg. pp. xvi. sqq.). According to this hypothesis, out of the twelve generations from Moses to David which he derives from 1 Chron. vi. 35 sqq., only six (or 240 years) belong to the judges from Othniel to Samson. These have been variously reckoned. One calculation takes them as six generations of forty years each; another reckons them more minutely, adopting smaller numbers which were assigned to the twelve judges and the son of Gideon. But six generations and twelve judges could not be combined in any other way than by assigning twenty years to each judge. Now there was not a single judge who judged Israel for twenty years, with the exception of Samson. And the total number of the years that they judged is not 240, but 296 years ($40 + 80 + 40 + 40 + 23 + 22 + 6 + 7 + 10 + 8 + 20 + x$). Consequently we do not find any trace throughout the book, that the period of the judges was reckoned as consisting of six generations of forty years each. (Compare with this a more elaborate refutation by *Bachmann*, pp. 3 sqq.).

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS FROM THE EXODUS
TO THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

The Principal Events.	Dura- tion.	Years before the Birth of Christ.
Exodus of Israel from Egypt,	—	1492
The law given at Sinai,	—	1492—1491
Death of Aaron and Moses in the fortieth year of the wandering in the desert,	40	1453
Conquest of Canaan by Joshua,	7	1452—1445
From the division of the land to the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim,	10	1445—1435
Death of Joshua,	—	c. 1442
Wars of the tribes of Israel with the Canaanites,	—	1442 onwards
War of the congregation with Benjamin,	—	c. 1436
Oppression by Chushan-rishathaim,	8	1435—1427
Deliverance by Othniel, and rest,	40	1427—1387
Oppression by the Moabites,	18	1387—1369
Deliverance by Ehud, and rest,	80	1369—1289
Victory of Shamgar over the Philistines,	—	
Oppression by Jabin,	20	1289—1269
Deliverance by Deborah and Barak, and rest,	40	1269—1229
Oppression by the Midianites,	7	1229—1222
Deliverance by Gideon, and rest,	40	1222—1182
Rule of Abimelech,	3	1182—1179
Tola, judge,	23	1179—1156
Jair, judge,	22	1156—1134
Eli, high priest and judge forty years,	—	1154—1114
After repeated apostasy, oppression		
(a) In the East.	(b) In the West.	
By the Ammonites 18 years, from 1134 to 1116 B.C.	By the Philistines,	40 1134—1094
Jephthah judge 6 years, from 1116 to 1110 B.C.	Loss of the ark,	— c. 1114
Ibzan judge 7 years, from 1110 to 1103 B.C.	Samson's deeds,	— 1116—1096
Elon judge 10 years, from 1103 to 1093 B.C.	Samuel's prophetic labours, Defeat of the Philistines,	— 1114 onwards
Abdon judge 8 years, from 1093 to 1085 B.C.	Samuel, judge,	19 1094—1075
	Saul, king,	20 1075—1055
	David king at Hebron,	7 1055—1048
	„ „ at Jerusalem, Solomon's reign to the building of the temple,	33 1048—1015
		3 1015—1012
	Total,	480 years.

All that is required to establish our calculation as to the period of the judges, is to justify our estimate of ten years as the time that intervened between the division of the land and the invasion by Chushan-rishathaim, since the general opinion, founded upon the statement of *Josephus* (Ant. v. 1, 29), that Joshua was στρατηγός of the nation for twenty-five years after the death of Moses, and (vi. 5, 4) that his death was followed by a state of anarchy for eighteen years, is that it was at least thirty-five years. But *Josephus* at all events ought not to be appealed to, as he had no other sources of information with regard to the earlier portion of the Israelitish history than the Old Testament itself; and he so frequently contradicts himself in his chronological statements, that no reliance can be placed upon them even in cases where their incorrectness cannot be clearly proved. And if we consider, on the other hand, that Joshua was an old man when the two great campaigns in the south and north of Canaan were over, and in fact was so advanced in years, that God commanded him to divide the land, although many districts were still unconquered (Josh. xiii. 1 sqq.), in order that he might finish this part of his calling before his death, there is very little probability that he lived for twenty-five years after that time. The same words are used to describe the last days of his life in chap. xxiii. 1, that had previously been employed to describe his great age (chap. xiii. 1 sqq.). No doubt the statement in chap. xxiii. 1, to the effect that "many days after that the Lord had given rest unto Israel from all their foes," Joshua called together the representatives of the nation, to renew the covenant of the nation with the Lord before his death, when taken in connection with the statement in chap. xix. 50, that he built the city of Timnath-serah, which the tribes had given him for an inheritance after the distribution of the land by lot was over, and dwelt therein, proves very clearly that there were certainly "many days" (*Eng. Ver.* "a long time") between the division of the land and the death of Joshua. But this is so comparative a term, that it hardly embraces more than two or three years. And Joshua might build, *i.e.* fortify Timnath-serah, and dwell therein, even if he only lived for two or three years after the division of the land. On the other hand, there appears to have been a longer interval than the seven or eight years allowed in our reckoning between the death of Joshua and the invasion of Chushan; since it not only includes the defeat of Adoni-bezek, the capture of Jerusalem, Hebron, and other towns, by the tribes of Judah and Simeon (chap. i. 1-14), and the con-

quest of Bethel by the tribe of Joseph (chap. i. 22 sqq.), but also the war of the congregation with the tribe of Benjamin (chap. xix.—xxi.). But it is only in appearance that the interval allowed is too short. All these events together would not require many years, but might very well have occurred within the space of about five years. And it is quite possible that the civil war of the Israelites might have been regarded by king Chushan-rishathaim as a favourable opportunity for carrying out his design of making Israel tributary to himself, and that he took advantage of it accordingly. The very fact that Othniel delivered Israel from this oppression, after it had continued for eight years, precludes us from postponing the invasion itself to a longer period after the death of Joshua. For Othniel was not Caleb's nephew, as many suppose, but his younger brother (see at Josh. xv. 17). Now Caleb was eighty-five years old when the distribution of the land commenced (Josh. xiv. 10); so that even if his brother Othniel was thirty, or even forty years younger, he would still be fifty-five, or at any rate forty-five years old, when the division of the land commenced. If the statements of Josephus were correct, therefore, Othniel would have been ninety-one years old, or at any rate eighty-one, when he defeated the Aramæan king Chushan-rishathaim; whereas, according to our calculation, he would only have been fifty or sixty years old when Debir was taken, and sixty-three or seventy-three when Chushan was defeated. Now, even if we take the lower number as the correct one, this would be a sufficiently great age for such a warlike undertaking, especially when we consider that Othniel lived for some time afterwards, as is evident from the words of chap. iii. 11, "And the land had rest forty years: and Othniel the son of Kenaz died," though they may not distinctly affirm that he did not die till the termination of the forty years' rest.

The fact that Caleb's younger brother Othniel was the first judge of Israel, also upsets the hypothesis which *Bertheau* has founded upon a mistaken interpretation of chap. ii. 11—iii. 6, that a whole generation of forty years is to be reckoned between the death of Joshua and the invasion of Chushan, and also the misinterpretation of chap. ii. 7, 10 (cf. Josh. xxiv. 31), according to which the sinful generation did not grow up until after Joshua and all the elders who lived a *long time* after him were dead,—an interpretation which has no support in chap. ii. 7, since *יָמָיו אַחֲרָיו* does not mean "to live *long* after a person," but simply "to survive him." The "other generation which knew not the Lord," etc., that arose

after the death of Joshua and the elders who outlived him, was not a different generation from the succeeding generations, which were given up to the power of their foes on account of their apostasy from the Lord, but the younger generation generally, which took the place of the older men who had seen the works of the Lord under Joshua; in other words, this is only a comprehensive expression for all the succeeding generations who forgot Jehovah their God and served Baalim. So much may be said in vindication of our calculations as to the period of the judges.

I. TIMES OF THE JUDGES : OTHNIEL ; EHUD AND SHAMGAR ;
DEBORAH AND BARAK.—CHAP. III. 7–V.

In this first stage of the times of the judges, which embraces a period of 206 years, the Israelites were oppressed by hostile nations on three separate occasions : first of all by the Mesopotamian king Chushan-rishathaim, whom they were obliged to serve for eighteen years, until Othniel brought them deliverance, and secured them rest for forty years (chap. iii. 7–11) ; secondly by the Moabitish king Eglon for eighteen years, until Ehud slew this king and smote the Moabites, and so humiliated them, that the land had rest for eighty years (chap. iii. 12–30), whilst Shamgar also smote a host of Philistines during the same period (chap. iii. 31) ; and lastly by the Canaanitish king Jabin of Hazor, who oppressed them heavily for twenty years, until Barak gathered an army together at the summons of Deborah the prophetess and with her assistance, and completely defeated the foe (chap. iv.). After this victory, which Deborah celebrated in a triumphal song, the land had rest again for forty years (chap. v.).

Oppression of Israel by Chushan-rishathaim, and Deliverance by Othniel.—Chap. iii. 7–11.

Vers. 7, 8. The first chastisement which the Israelites suffered for their apostasy from the Lord, is introduced with the same formula which had been used before to describe the times of the judges generally (chap. ii. 11, 12), except that instead of וַיִּעָזְבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה ("they forsook the Lord") we have here וַיִּשְׁכַּחוּ אֶת־יְהוָה ("they forgot the Lord their God") from Deut. xxxii. 18 (cf. 1 Sam. xii. 9), and *Asheroth* (rendered "groves") instead of *Ashtarothe* (see at chap. ii. 13). As a punishment for this apostasy, the Lord sold them (chap. ii. 14) into the hand of *Chushan-rishathaim*, the king of Meso-

potamia, whom they were obliged to serve for eight years. All that we know about this king of Mesopotamia is what is recorded here. His name, Chushan-rishathaim, is probably only a title which was given to him by the Israelites themselves. *Rishathaim* signifies "double wickedness," and the word was rendered as an appellative with this signification in the Targums and the Syriac and Arabic versions. *Chushan* is also formed as an adjective from *Cush*, and may denote the Cushites. According to *M. v. Niebuhr* (*Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, p. 272), the rulers of Babylon at that time (1518-1273) were Arabs. "Arabs, however, may have included not only Shemites of the tribe of Joktan or Ishmael, but Cushites also." The invasion of Canaan by this Mesopotamian or Babylonian king has a historical analogy in the campaign of the five allied kings of Shinar in the time of Abraham (*Gen. xiv.*).

Vers. 9-11. In this oppression the Israelites cried to the Lord for help, and He raised them up מוֹשִׁיעַ, a deliverer, helper, namely the Kenizzite *Othniel*, the younger brother and son-in-law of Caleb (see at *Josh. xv. 17*). "*The Spirit of Jehovah came upon him.*" The Spirit of God is the spiritual principle of life in the world of nature and man; and in man it is the principle both of the natural life which we receive through birth, and also of the spiritual life which we receive through regeneration (*vid. Auberlen, Geist des Menschen, in Herzog's Cycl. iv. p. 731*). In this sense the expressions "Spirit of God" (*Elohim*) and "Spirit of the Lord" (*Jehovah*) are interchanged even in *Gen. i. 2*, compared with *Gen. vi. 3*, and so throughout all the books of the Old Testament; the former denoting the Divine Spirit generally in its supernatural causality and power, the latter the same Spirit in its operations upon human life and history in the working out of the plan of salvation. In its peculiar operations the Spirit of Jehovah manifests itself as a spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord (*Isa. xi. 2*). The communication of this Spirit under the Old Testament was generally made in the form of extraordinary and supernatural influence upon the human spirit. The expression employed to denote this is usually וַתָּהִי עָלָיו רוּחַ ("the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him:" thus here, *chap. xi. 29*; *1 Sam. xix. 20, 23*; *2 Chron. xx. 14*; *Num. xxiv. 2*). This is varied, however, with the expressions וַתֵּלַח עִלָּהּ ("the Spirit of Jehovah clothed the man" (*chap. xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14*; *1 Sam. x. 10, xi. 6, xvi. 13*) and וַתִּבְשָׁם אֶתֶרָם, "the Spirit of Jehovah clothed the man" (*chap. vi. 34*; *1 Chron. xii. 18*; *2 Chron. xxiv. 20*). Of these the

former denotes the operations of the Divine Spirit in overcoming the resistance of the natural will of man, whilst the latter represents the Spirit of God as a power which envelopes or covers a man. The recipients and bearers of this Spirit were thereby endowed with the power to perform miraculous deeds, in which the Spirit of God that came upon them manifested itself generally in the ability to prophesy (*vid.* 1 Sam. x. 10, xix. 20, 23; 1 Chron. xii. 18; 2 Chron. xx. 14, xxiv. 20), but also in the power to work miracles or to accomplish deeds which surpassed the courage and strength of the natural man. The latter was more especially the case with the judges; hence the *Chaldee* paraphrases "the Spirit of Jehovah" in chap. vi. 34 as the "spirit of might from the Lord;" though in the passage before us it gives the erroneous interpretation רִיחַ נְבוּאָה, "the spirit of prophecy." *Kinchi* also understands it as signifying "the spirit of bravery, under the instigation of which he was able fearlessly to enter upon the war with Chushan." But we are hardly at liberty to split up the different powers of the Spirit of God in this manner, and to restrict its operations upon the judges to the spirit of strength and bravery alone. The judges not only attacked the enemy courageously and with success, but they also judged the nation, for which the spirit of wisdom and understanding was indispensably necessary, and put down idolatry (chap. ii. 18, 19), which they could not have done without the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. "*And he judged Israel and went out to war.*" The position of וַיִּשְׁפֹּט before וַיֵּצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה does not warrant us in explaining וַיִּשְׁפֹּט as signifying "he began to discharge the functions of a judge," as *Rosenmüller* has done: for שָׁפַט must not be limited to a settlement of the civil disputes of the people, but means to restore *right* in Israel, whether towards its heathen oppressors, or with regard to the attitude of the nation towards the Lord. "*And the Lord gave Chushan-rishathaim into his hand* (cf. chap. i. 2, iii. 28, etc.), *and his hand became strong over him;*" i.e. he overcame him (cf. chap. vi. 2), or smote him, so that he was obliged to vacate the land. In consequence of this victory, the land had rest from war (cf. Josh. xi. 23) forty years. "*And then Othniel died:*" the expression וַיָּמָת with ו consec. does not necessarily imply that Othniel did not die for forty years, but simply that he died after rest had been restored to the land.

*Oppression of Israel by Eglon, and Deliverance by Ehud;
Shamgar's heroic Deeds.—Chap. iii. 12-31.*

In vers. 12-30 the subjugation of the Israelites by *Eglon*, the king of the Moabites, and their deliverance from this bondage, are circumstantially described. First of all, in vers. 12-14, *the subjugation*. When the Israelites forsook the Lord again (in the place of 'אֶת־הָרַע וְגו' . . . וַיַּעֲשׂוּ, ver. 7, we have here the appropriate expression לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע . . . וַיִּסְבּוּ, they added to do, *i.e.* did again, evil, etc., as in chap. iv. 1, x. 6, xiii. 1), the Lord made Eglon the king of the Moabites strong over Israel. חֲזַק עַל, to give a person strength to overcome or oppress another. עַל כִּי, as in Deut. xxxi. 17, instead of the more usual עַל אֲשֶׁר (cf. Jer. iv. 28; Mal. ii. 14; Ps. cxxxix. 14). Eglon allied himself with the Ammonites and Amalekites, those arch-foes of Israel, invaded the land, took the palm-city, *i.e.* Jericho (see at chap. i. 16), and made the Israelites tributary for eighteen years. Sixty years had passed since Jericho had been burnt by Joshua. During that time the Israelites had rebuilt the ruined city, but they had not fortified it, on account of the curse pronounced by Joshua upon any one who should restore it as a fortress; so that the Moabites could easily conquer it, and using it as a base, reduce the Israelites to servitude.—Ver. 15. But when the Israelites cried to the Lord for help, He set them free through the Benjaminite *Ehud*, whom He raised up as their deliverer. *Ehud* was "the son of Gera." This probably means that he was a descendant of Gera, since Gera himself, according to 1 Chron. viii. 3, was a son of Bela the son of Benjamin, and therefore was a grandson of Benjamin; and Shimei the contemporary of David, a man belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, is also called a son of Gera in 2 Sam. xvi. 5, xix. 17. At the same time, it is possible that the name *Gera* does not refer to the same person in these different passages, but that the name was repeated again and again in the same family. "*A man shut with regard to his right hand,*" *i.e.* hindered in the use of his right hand, not necessarily crippled, but in all probability disabled through want of use from his youth upwards. That the expression does not mean crippled, is confirmed by the fact that it is used again in connection with the 700 brave slingers in the army of the Benjaminites in chap. xx. 16, and it certainly cannot be supposed that they were all actual cripples. So much is certain, however, that it does not mean ἀμφοτεροδέξιος, *qui utraque manu pro dextera utebatur* (LXX.,

Vulg.), since אָסַר signifies *clausit* (shut) in Ps. lxi. 16. It is merely with reference to what follows that this peculiarity is so distinctly mentioned.—The Israelites sent a present by him to king Eglon. בְּיָדוֹ does not mean *in*, but *through*, his hand, *i.e.* through his intervention, for others were actually employed to carry the present (ver. 18), so that Ehud merely superintended the matter. *Minchah*, a gift or present, is no doubt a euphemism for tribute, as in 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6, 1 Kings v. 1.—Ver. 16. Ehud availed himself of the opportunity to approach the king of the Moabites and put him to death, and thus to shake off the yoke of the Moabites from his nation. To this end he provided himself with a sword, which had two edges (פָּיִת from פָּה, like שֵׁי, Deut. xxii. 1, from שֵׁ), a cubit long (קֶמַח, *ἀπ. λεγ.*, signified primarily a staff, here a cubit, according to the Syriac and Arabic; not “a span,” σπιθαμή, LXX.), and “*did gird it under his raiment upon his right thigh.*” —Ver. 17. Provided with this weapon, he brought the present to king Eglon, who—as is also mentioned as a preparation for what follows—was a very fat man.—Vers. 18, 19. After presenting the gift, Ehud dismissed the people who had carried the present to their own homes; namely, as we learn from ver. 19, after they had gone some distance from Jericho. But he himself returned from the stone-quarries at Gilgal, *sc.* to Jericho to king Eglon. מִן הַפְּסִילִים refers to some place by Gilgal. In Deut. vii. 25, Isa. xxi. 9, Jer. viii. 19, *pesilim* signifies idols. And if we would retain this meaning here, as the LXX., *Vulg.*, and others have done, we must assume that in the neighbourhood of Gilgal there were stone idols set up in the open air,—a thing which is very improbable. The rendering “stone quarries,” from פָּסַל, to hew out stones (Ex. xxxiv. 1, etc.), which is the one adopted in the *Chaldee*, and by *Rashi* and others, is more likely to be the correct one. *Gilgal* cannot be the Gilgal between Jericho and the Jordan, which was the first encampment of the Israelites in Canaan, as is commonly supposed, since Ehud passed the *Pesilim* on his flight from the king’s dwelling-place to the mountains of Ephraim (vers. 26, 27); and we can neither assume, as *Bertheau* does, that Eglon did not reside in the conquered palm-city (Jericho), but in some uncultivated place in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, nor suppose that after the murder of Eglon Ehud could possibly have gone from Jericho to the Gilgal which was half an hour’s journey towards the east, for the purpose of escaping by a circuitous route of this kind to Seirah in the mountains of Ephraim, which was on the north-west of

Jericho. *Gilgal* is more likely to be *Geliloth*, which was on the west of Jericho opposite to the ascent of Adummim (*Kaalat ed Dom*), on the border of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 17), and which was also called *Gilgal* (Josh. xv. 7). Having returned to the king's palace, Ehud sent in a message to him: "*I have a secret word to thee, O king.*" The context requires that we should understand "*he said*" in the sense of "*he had him told*" (or bade say to him), since Ehud himself did not go in to the king, who was sitting in his room, till afterwards (ver. 20). In consequence of this message the king said: הָם, *lit.* be silent (the imperative of הָסָה); here it is a proclamation, Let there be quiet. Thereupon all who were standing round (viz. his attendants) left the room, and Ehud went in (ver. 20). The king was sitting "in his upper room of cooling alone." The "room of cooling" (*Luther, Sommerlaube*, summer-arbour) was a room placed upon the flat roof of a house, which was open to the currents of air, and so afforded a cool retreat, such as are still met with in the East (*vid. Shaw*, pp. 188-9). Then Ehud said, "*A word of God I have to thee;*" whereupon the king rose from his seat, from reverence towards the word of God which Ehud pretended that he had to deliver to him, not to defend himself, as *Bertheau* supposes, of which there is not the slightest intimation in the text.—Vers. 21, 22. But when the king stood up, Ehud drew his sword from under his garment, and plunged it so deeply into his abdomen that even the hilt followed the blade, and the fat closed upon the blade (so that there was nothing to be seen of it in front, because he did not draw the sword again out of his body), and the blade came out between the legs. The last words have been rendered in various ways. *Luther* follows the Chaldee and *Vulgate*, and renders it "so that the dirt passed from him," taking the ἀπ. λεγ. פְּרִשְׁתָּנָה as a composite noun from פָּרַשׁ, *stercus*, and נָשָׂה, *jecit*. But this is hardly correct, as the form of the word פְּרִשְׁתָּנָה, and its connection with יָצָא, rather points to a noun, פְּרִשְׁתָּן, with ה local. The explanation given by *Gesenius* in his *Thes.* and *Heb. lex.* has much more in its favour, viz. *interstitium pedum*, the place between the legs, from an Arabic word signifying *pedes dissitos habuit*, used as a euphemism for *anus, podex*. The subject to the verb is the blade.¹—Ver. 23. As soon as the deed was

¹ At any rate the rendering suggested by *Ewald*, "Ehud went into the open air, or into the enclosure, the space in front of the *Alija*," is untenable, for the simple reason that it is perfectly irreconcilable with the next clause, "Ehud went forth," etc. (consequently *Fr. Böttcher* proposes to erase this

accomplished, Ehud went out into the porch or front hall, shut the door of the room behind him (יָעַר, not behind himself, but literally round him, *i.e.* Eglon; cf. Gen. vii. 16, 2 Kings iv. 4) and bolted it (this is only added as a more precise explanation of the previous verb).—Vers. 24, 25. When the servants of Eglon came (to enter in to their lord) after Ehud's departure and saw the door of the upper room bolted, they thought "surely (אִם, *lit.* only, nothing but) he covers his feet" (a euphemism for performing the necessities of nature; cf. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3), and waited to shaming (cf. 2 Kings ii. 17, viii. 11), *i.e.* till they were ashamed of their long waiting (see at chap. v. 28). At length they opened the door with the key, and found their lord lying dead upon the floor.

Ehud's conduct must be judged according to the spirit of those times, when it was thought allowable to adopt any means of destroying the enemy of one's nation. The treacherous assassination of a hostile king is not to be regarded as an act of the Spirit of God, and therefore is not set before us as an example to be imitated. Although Jehovah raised up Ehud as a deliverer to His people when oppressed by Eglon, it is not stated (and this ought particularly to be observed) that the Spirit of Jehovah came upon Ehud, and still less that Ehud assassinated the hostile king under the impulse of that Spirit. Ehud proved himself to have been raised up by the Lord as the deliverer of Israel, simply by the fact that he actually delivered his people from the bondage of the Moabites, and it by no means follows that the means which he selected were either commanded or approved by Jehovah.—Vers. 26 sqq. Ehud had escaped whilst the servants of Eglon were waiting, and had passed the stone quarries and reached Seirah. *Seirah* is a place that is never mentioned again; and, judging from the etymology (the hairy), it was a wooded region, respecting the situation of which all that can be decided is, that it is not to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Jericho, but "upon the mountains of Ephraim" (ver. 27). For when Ehud had come to Seirah, he blew the trumpet "*upon the mountains of Ephraim*," to announce to the people the victory that was placed within their reach by the death of Eglon, and to summon them to war with the Moabites, and then went down from the mountain into the plain near Jericho; "*and he was before them*," *i.e.* went in front as their leader, saying to the people, clause from the text, without any critical authority whatever). For if Ehud were the subject to the verb, the subject would necessarily have been mentioned, as it really is in the next clause, ver. 28a.

“Follow me; for Jehovah has given your enemies the Moabites into your hand.” Then they went down and took (*i.e.* took possession of) the fords near Jericho (see at Josh. ii. 7), לְמוֹאָב, either “from the Moabites” or “towards Moab,” and let no one (of the Moabites) cross over, *i.e.* escape to their own land.—Ver. 29. Thus they smote at that time about 10,000 Moabites, all fat and powerful men, *i.e.* the whole army of the enemy in Jericho and on this side of the Jordan, not letting a man escape. The expression “at that time” seems to imply that they did not destroy this number in one single engagement, but during the whole course of the war.—Ver. 30. Thus Moab was subdued under the hand of Israel, and the land had rest for eighty years.

Ver. 31. After him (Ehud) was, *i.e.* there rose up, Shamgar the son of Anath. He smote the Philistines, who had probably invaded the land of the Israelites, six hundred men, with an ox-goad, so that he also (like Othniel and Ehud, vers. 9 and 15) delivered Israel. מִלְמַד הַבָּקָר, ἀπ. λεγ., signifies, according to the Rabbins and the ancient versions, an instrument with which they trained and drove oxen; and with this the etymology agrees, as מִלְמַד is used in Hos. x. 11 and Jer. xxxi. 18 to denote the training of the young ox. According to *Rashi*, מִלְמַד בָּקָר is the same as דִּרְבָן, βούκεντρον, in 1 Sam. xiii. 21. According to *Maundrell* in *Paulus' Samml. der merkw. Reisen nach d. Or.* i. p. 139, the country people in Palestine and Syria use when ploughing goads about eight feet long and six inches in circumference at the thick end. At the thin end they have a sharp point to drive the oxen, and at the other end a small hoe, to scrape off any dirt that may stick to the plough. Shamgar may have smitten the Philistines with some such instrument as this, just as the Edonian prince Lycurgus is described by Homer (Il. vi. 135) as putting Dionysius and the Bacchantines to flight with a βουπλήξ. Nothing is recorded about the descent of Shamgar, either here or in the Song of Deborah, in chap. v. 6. The heroic deed recorded of him must be regarded, as *O. v. Gerlach* affirms, as “merely the result of a holy inspiration that suddenly burst forth within him, in which he seized upon the first weapon that came to his hand, and put to flight the enemy when scared by a terror for God, just as Samson did on a later occasion.” For he does not seem to have secured for the Israelites any permanent victory over the Philistines. Moreover, he is not called judge, nor is the period of his labours taken into account, but in chap. iv. 1 the renewed apostasy of Israel from the Lord is dated from the death of Ehud.

Oppression of Israel by Jabin, and Deliverance by Deborah and Barak.—Chap. iv. and v.

This fresh oppression of the Israelites, and the glorious victory which they obtained over Sisera, Jabin's general, through the judge Deborah and the heroic warrior Barak, are so fully described in Deborah's triumphal song in chap. v., that this song may be regarded as a poetical commentary upon that event. It by no means follows from this fact, however, that the historical account in chap. iv. was first of all founded upon the ode, and was merely intended to furnish an explanation of the song itself. Any such assumption is overthrown by the fact that the prose account in chap. iv. contains, as even *Bertheau* acknowledges, some historical details which we look for in vain in the song, and which are of great assistance in the interpretation of it. All that we can infer with any probability from the internal connection between the historical narrative and the Song of Deborah is, that the author of our book took both of them from one common source; though the few expressions and words which they contain, such as שָׁמִיכָה in ver. 18, הָצִנָּה in ver. 21, מִשְׁבָּתָה in ver. 6, and יָהִים in ver. 15, do not throw any light upon the source from which they were derived. For, with the exception of the first, which is not met with again, the whole of them occur in other passages,—the second in chap. i. 14 and Josh. xv. 18, the third in the same sense in chap. xx. 37, and the fourth in Ex. xiv. 24 and Josh. x. 10. And it by no means follows, that because in the passages referred to, "יָהִים is found in close association with songs or poetical passages" (*Bertheau*), the word itself must be borrowed from the same source as the songs, viz. from the book of Jasher (Josh. x. 13). For הָיִים is found in the same signification in 1 Sam. vii. 10, Ex. xxiii. 27, and Deut. ii. 15, where we look in vain for any songs; whilst it always occurs in connection with the account of a miraculous overthrow of the foe by the omnipotent power of God.

Chap. iv. *The Victory over Jabin and his General Sisera.*—Vers. 1–3. As the Israelites fell away from the Lord again when Ehud was dead, the Lord gave them into the hand of the Canaanitish king *Jabin*, who oppressed them severely for twenty years with a powerful army under *Sisera* his general. The circumstantial clause, "when Ehud was dead," places the falling away of the Israelites from God in direct causal connection with the death of Ehud on the one hand, and the deliverance of Israel into the power of Jabin on the other, and clearly indicates that as long as Ehud lived he

kept the people from idolatry (cf. chap. ii. 18, 19), and defended Israel from hostile oppressions. Joshua had already conquered one king, *Jabin of Hazor*, and taken his capital (Josh. xi. 1, 10). The king referred to here, who lived more than a century later, bore the same name. The name *Jabin*, "the discerning," may possibly have been a standing name or title of the Canaanitish kings of Hazor, as Abimelech was of the kings of the Philistines (see at Gen. xxvi. 8). He is called "king of Canaan," in distinction from the kings of other nations and lands, such as Moab, Mesopotamia, etc. (chap. iii. 8, 12), into whose power the Lord had given up His sinful people. *Hazor*, once the capital of the kingdoms of northern Canaan, was situated over (above or to the north of) Lake Huleh, in the tribe of Naphtali, but has not yet been discovered (see at Josh. xi. 1). Sisera, the general of Jabin, dwelt in *Harosheth* of the *Goyim*, and oppressed the Israelites most tyrannically (*mightily*: cf. chap. viii. 1, 1 Sam. ii. 16) for twenty years with a force consisting of 900 chariots of iron (see at Josh. xvii. 16). The situation of *Harosheth*, which only occurs here (vers. 2, 13, 16), is unknown; but it is certainly to be sought for in one of the larger plains of Galilee, possibly the plain of *Buttauf*, where Sisera was able to develop his forces, whose strength consisted chiefly in war-chariots, and to tyrannize over the land of Israel.

Vers. 4-11. At that time the Israelites were judged by *Deborah*, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, who dwelt under the Deborah-palm between Ramah (er Râm: see at Josh. xviii. 25) and Bethel (Beitin: see at Josh. vii. 2) in the tribe of Benjamin, upon the mountains of Ephraim. Deborah is called נְבִיאָה אִשָּׁה on account of her prophetic gift, like Miriam in Ex. xv. 20, and Huldah the wife of Shallum in 2 Kings xxii. 14. This gift qualified her to judge the nation (the participle שֹׁפֵטת expresses the permanence of the act of judging), i.e. first of all to settle such disputes among the people themselves as the lower courts were unable to decide, and which ought therefore, according to Deut. xvii. 8, to be referred to the supreme judge of the whole nation. The palm where she sat in judgment (cf. Ps. ix. 5) was called after her the *Deborah-palm*. The Israelites went up to her there to obtain justice. The expression "*came up*" is applied here, as in Deut. xvii. 8, to the place of justice, as a spiritual height, independently of the fact that the place referred to here really stood upon an eminence.—Vers. 6 sqq. But in order to secure the rights of her people against their outward foes also, she summoned *Barak* the son of Abinoam from Kedesh,

in the tribe of Naphtali, on the west of the Huleh lake (see at Josh. xii. 22), and made known to him the commands of the Lord: "*Up and draw to Mount Tabor, and take with thee 10,000 men of the children of Naphtali and Zebulun; and I will draw to thee into the brook-valley of Kishon, Sisera the captain of Jabin's army, and his chariots, and his multitude (his men of war), and give him into thy hand.*" מִשְׁכֶּבֶת has been explained in different ways. *Seb. Schmidt, Clericus*, and others supply הִקְרָן or הִשּׁוּפֹר, draw with the trumpet (cf. Ex. xix. 13, Josh. vi. 5), *i.e.* blow the trumpet in long-drawn tones, upon Mount Tabor, and regard this as the signal for convening the people; whilst *Hengstenberg* (Diss. ii. pp. 76, 77) refers to Num. x. 9, and understands the blowing of the horn as the signal by which the congregation of the Lord made known its need to Him, and appealed to Him to come to its help. It cannot indeed be proved that the blowing of the trumpet was merely the means adopted for convening the people together; in fact, the use of the following מִשְׁכֶּבֶת, in the sense of draw, is to be explained on the supposition that מִשְׁכֶּבֶת is used in a double sense. "The long-drawn notes were to draw the Lord to them, and then the Lord would draw to them Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army. Barak first calls the helper from heaven, and then the Lord calls the enemy upon earth." Nevertheless we cannot subscribe to this explanation, *first* of all because the supposed ellipsis cannot be sustained in this connection, when nothing is said about the blowing of a trumpet either in what precedes or in what follows; and *secondly*, because Num. x. 9 cannot be appealed to in explanation, for the simple reason that it treats of the blowing of the *silver trumpets* on the part of the priests, and they must not be confounded with the *shopharoth*. And the use made of the trumpets at Jericho cannot be transferred to the passage before us without some further ground. We are disposed therefore to take the word מִשֶּׁבֶּה in the sense of *draw* (intransitive), *i.e.* proceed one after another in a long-drawn train (as in chap. xx. 37 and Ex. xii. 21), referring to the captain and the warriors drawing after him; whilst in ver. 7 it is to be translated in the same way, though with a transitive signification. Mount Tabor, called Ἰταβύριον by the Greeks (see LXX. Hos. v. 1), the mountain of Christ's transfiguration according to an early tradition of the church, the present *Jebel et Tur*, is a large truncated cone of limestone, which is almost perfectly insulated, and rises to the height of about a thousand feet, on the north-eastern border of the plain of Jezreel. The sides of the mountain are covered with a forest of oaks and wild pistachios,

and upon its flat summit, which is about half an hour in circumference, there are the remains of ancient fortifications (see *Robinson*, Pal. iii. pp. 211 sqq., and *v. Raumer*, Pal. pp. 37, 38). The words "and take with thee 10,000 men" are not to be understood as signifying that Barak was to summon the people together upon the top of Mount Tabor, but the assembling of the people is presupposed; and all that is commanded is, that he was to proceed to Mount Tabor with the assembled army, and make his attack upon the enemy, who were encamped in the valley of Kishon, *from that point*. According to ver. 10, the army was collected at Kedesh in Naphtali. *Nachal Kishon* is not only the brook *Kishon*, which is formed by streams that take their rise from springs upon Tabor and the mountains of Gilboa, flows in a north-westerly direction through the plain of Jezreel to the Mediterranean, and empties itself into the bay of Acca, and which is called *Mukatta* by the natives (see *Rob.* iii. pp. 472 sqq., and *v. Raumer*, pp. 39, 50), but the valley on both sides of the brook, *i.e.* the plain of Jezreel (see at Josh. xvii. 16), where the greatest battles have been fought for the possession of Palestine from time immemorial down to the most recent times (see *v. Raumer*, pp. 40 sqq.).—Vers. 8 sqq. Barak replied that he would not go unless she would go with him—certainly not for the reason suggested by *Bertheau*, viz. that he distrusted the divine promise given to him by Deborah, but because his mistrust of his own strength was such that he felt too weak to carry out the command of God. He wanted divine enthusiasm for the conflict, and this the presence of the prophetess was to infuse into both Barak and the army that was to be gathered round him. Deborah promised to accompany him, but announced to him as the punishment for this want of confidence in the success of his undertaking, that the prize of victory—namely, the defeat of the hostile general—should be taken out of his hand; for Jehovah would sell (*i.e.* deliver up) Sisera into the hand of a woman, viz., according to vers. 17 sqq., into the hand of Jael. She then went with him to Kedesh, where Barak summoned together Zebulun and Naphtali, *i.e.* the fighting men of those tribes, and went up with 10,000 men in his train ("at his feet," *i.e.* after him, ver. 14; cf. Ex. xi. 8 and Deut. xi. 6) to Tabor ("went up:" the expression is used here to denote the advance of an army against a place). Kedesh, where the army assembled, was higher than Tabor. קָדֶשׁ, *Hiphil* with acc., to call together (cf. 2 Sam. xx. 4, 5). Before the engagement with the foe is described, there follows in ver. 11 a statement that

Heber the Kenite had separated himself from his tribe, the children of Hobab, who led a nomad life in the desert of Judah (chap. i. 16), and had pitched his tents as far as the oak forest at Zaanannim (see at Josh. xix. 33) near Kadesh. This is introduced because of its importance in relation to the issue of the conflict which ensued (vers. 17 sqq.). נִפְרָד with *Kametz* is a participle, which is used in the place of the perfect, to indicate that the separation was a permanent one.

Vers. 12–16. As soon as Sisera received tidings of the march of Barak to Mount Tabor, he brought together all his chariots and all his men of war from Harosheth of the Goyim into the brook-valley of the Kishon. Then Deborah said to Barak, “*Up; for this is the day in which Jehovah hath given Sisera into thy hand. Yea* (וַיֵּן, *nonne*, as an expression indicating lively assurance), *the Lord goeth out before thee,*” sc. to the battle, to smite the foe; whereupon Barak went down from Tabor with his 10,000 men to attack the enemy, according to chap. v. 19, at Taanach by the water of Megiddo.—Ver. 15. “*And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his army, with the edge of the sword before Barak.*” וַיִּהְיֶה, as in Ex. xiv. 24 and Josh. x. 10, denotes the confounding of the hostile army by a miracle of God, mostly by some miraculous phenomenon of nature: see, besides Ex. xiv. 24, 2 Sam. xxii. 15, Ps. xviii. 15, and cxliv. 6. The expression וַיִּהְיֶה places the defeat of Sisera and his army in the same category as the miraculous destruction of Pharaoh and of the Canaanites at Gibeon; and the combination of this verb with the expression “with the edge of the sword” is to be taken as *constructio prægnaans*, in this sense: Jehovah threw Sisera and his army into confusion, and, like a terrible champion fighting in front of Israel, smote him without quarter. Sisera sprang from his chariot to save himself, and fled on foot; but Barak pursued the routed foe to Harosheth, and completely destroyed them. “*All Sisera’s army fell by the edge of the sword; there remained not even to one,*” i.e. not a single man.

Vers. 17–22. Sisera took refuge in the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, to escape the sword of the Israelites, as king Jabin lived at peace with the house of Heber, i.e. with this branch of the Kenites.—Ver. 18. Jael received the fugitive into her tent in the usual form of oriental hospitality (סָבַר, as in Gen. xix. 2, 3, to turn aside from the road and approach a person), and covered him with a covering (שִׁמְיָהּ, ἀπ λεγ., covering, or rug), that he might be able to sleep, as he was thoroughly exhausted with his

flight.—Ver. 19. On his asking for water to drink, as he was thirsty (צָמָא, defective form for צָמָאָה), she handed him milk from her bottle, and covered him up again. She gave him milk instead of water, as Deborah emphatically mentions in her song in chap. v. 25, no doubt merely for the purpose of giving to her guest a friendly and hospitable reception. When *Josephus* affirms, in his account of this event (*Ant.* v. 5, 4), that she gave him milk that was already spoiled (διεφθορὸς ἦδη), *i.e.* had turned sour, and *R. Tanchum* supposes that such milk intoxicated the weary man, these are merely later decorations of the simple fact, and have no historical worth whatever.—Ver. 20. In order to be quite sure, Sisera entreated his hostess to stand before the door and turn any one away who might come to her to seek for one of the fugitives. עֲמֹר is the imperative for עָמַר, as the syntax proves that the word cannot be an infinitive. The anomaly apparent in the use of the gender may be accounted for on the ground that the masculine was the more general form, and might therefore be used for the more definite feminine. There are not sufficient grounds for altering it into עָמֹר, the *inf. abs.* Whether Jael complied with this wish is not stated; but in the place of anything further, the chief fact alone is given in ver. 21, namely, that Jael took a tent-plug, and went with a hammer in her hand to Sisera, who had fallen through exhaustion into a deep sleep, and drove the plug into his temples, so that it penetrated into the earth, or the floor. The words וְהוּא־נָרְדָם וַיָּעַף are introduced as explanatory of the course of the events: “*but he was fallen into a deep sleep, and exhausted,*” *i.e.* had fallen fast asleep through exhaustion. “*And so he died.*” וַיָּמָת is attached as a consequence to וַיָּעַף . . . וַתַּחַקֵּעַ, whereas וַיָּעַף belongs to the parenthetical clause וְהוּא־נָרְדָם. This is the explanation adopted by *Rosenmüller*, and also in the remark of *Kinchi*: “the words נָרְדָם וַיָּעַף indicate the reason why Sisera neither heard Jael approach him, nor was conscious of the blow inflicted upon him.” For the combination of וַיָּעַף with וַיָּמָת, “then he became exhausted and died,” which *Stud.* and *Bertheau* support, does not give any intelligible thought at all. A man who has a tent-peg driven with a hammer into his temples, so that the peg passes through his head into the ground, does not become exhausted before he dies, but dies instantaneously. And וַיָּעַף, from עָפָה, equivalent to עָיַף (*Jer.* iv. 31), or יָעַף, and written with *Putach* in the last syllable, to distinguish it from עָוַף, *volare*, has no other meaning than to be exhausted, in any of the passages in which it occurs (see 1 Sam. xiv. 28, 31; 2 Sam. xxi. 15). The

rendering adopted by the LXX., ἐσκοτώθη, cannot be grammatically sustained.—Ver. 22. When Barak, who was in pursuit of Sisera, arrived at Jael's tent, she went to meet him, to show him the deed which she had performed. Thus was Deborah's prediction to Barak (ver. 9) fulfilled. The Lord had sold Sisera into the hand of a woman, and deprived Barak of the glory of the victory. Nevertheless the act-itself was not morally justified, either by this prophetic announcement, or by the fact that it is commemorated in the song of Deborah in chap. v. 24 sqq. Even though there can be no doubt that Jael acted under the influence of religious enthusiasm for the cause of Israel and its God, and that she was prompted by religious motives to regard the connection of her tribe with Israel, the people of the Lord, as higher and more sacred, not only than the bond of peace, in which her tribe was living with Jabin the Canaanitish king, but even than the duties of hospitality, which are so universally sacred to an oriental mind, her heroic deed cannot be acquitted of the sins of lying, treachery, and assassination, which were associated with it, by assuming, as *Calovius*, *Buddeus*, and others have done, that when Jael invited Sisera into her tent, and promised him safety, and quenched his thirst with milk, she was acting with perfect sincerity, and without any thought of killing him, and that it was not till after he was fast asleep that she was instigated and impelled *instinctu Dei arcano* to perform the deed. For Jehovah, the God of Israel, not only abhors lying lips (Prov. xii. 22), but hates wickedness and deception of every kind. It is true, He punishes the ungodly at the hand of sinners; but the sinners whom He employs as the instruments of His penal justice in carrying out the plans of His kingdom, are not instigated to the performance of wicked deeds by an inward and secret impulse from Him. God had no doubt so ordered it, that Sisera should meet with his death in Jael's tent, where he had taken refuge; but this divine purpose did not justify Jael in giving to the enemy of Israel a hospitable reception into her tent, making him feel secure both by word and deed, and then murdering him secretly while he was asleep. Such conduct as that was not the operation of the Spirit of God, but the fruit of a heroism inspired by flesh and blood; and even in Deborah's song (chap. v. 24 sqq.) it is not lauded as a divine act.

Vers. 23, 24. “*So God subdued at that time Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel; and the hand of the Israelites became heavier and heavier in its pressure upon him, until they had*

destroyed him." הִלֹּךְ וְקָשָׁה . . . וְהִתְקַדֵּשׁ יָד, "the hand . . . increased more and more, becoming heavy." הִתְקַדֵּשׁ, used to denote the progress or continual increase of an affair, as in Gen. viii. 3, etc., is connected with the infinitive absolute, and with the participle of the action concerned. קָשָׁה is the feminine participle of קָשָׂה, like נָדַל in Gen. xxvi. 13 (see *Ges.* § 131, 3, Anm. 3). The overthrow of Jabin and his rule did not involve the extermination of the Canaanites generally.

Deborah's Song of Victory.—Chap. v.

This highly poetical song is so direct and lively an utterance of the mighty force of the enthusiasm awakened by the exaltation of Israel, and its victory over Sisera, that its genuineness is generally admitted now. After a general summons to praise the Lord for the courage with which the people rose up to fight against their foes (ver. 2), Deborah the singer dilates in the first section (vers. 3–11) upon the significance of the victory, picturing in lively colours (1) the glorious time when Israel was exalted to be the nation of the Lord (vers. 3–5); (2) the disgraceful decline of the nation in the more recent times (vers. 6–8); and (3) the joyful turn of affairs which followed her appearance (vers. 9–11). After a fresh summons to rejoice in their victory (ver. 12), there follows in the *second* section (vers. 13–21) a lively picture of the conflict and victory, in which there is a vivid description (*a*) of the mighty gathering of the brave to battle (vers. 13–15*a*); (*b*) of the cowardice of those who stayed away from the battle, and of the bravery with which the braver warriors risked their lives in the battle (vers. 15*b*–18); and (*c*) of the successful result of the conflict (vers. 19–21). To this there is appended in the *third* section (vers. 22–31) an account of the glorious issue of the battle and the victory: first of all, a brief notice of the flight and pursuit of the foe (vers. 22–24); secondly, a commemoration of the slaying of Sisera by Jael (vers. 24–27); and thirdly, a scornful description of the disappointment of Sisera's mother, who was counting upon a large arrival of booty (vers. 28–30). The song then closes with the hope, founded upon this victory, that all the enemies of the Lord might perish, and Israel increase in strength (ver. 31*a*). The whole song, therefore, is divided into three leading sections, each of which again is arranged in three somewhat unequal strophes, the first and second sections being introduced by a summons to the praise of God (vers. 2, 12), whilst the third closes with an expression of hope, drawn

from the contents of the whole, with regard to the future prospects of the kingdom of God (ver. 31a).

Ver. 1. The historical introduction (*"Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying"*) takes the place of a heading, and does not mean that the song of Deborah and Barak which follows was composed by them jointly, but simply that it was sung by them together, in commemoration of the victory. The poetess or writer of the song, according to vers. 3, 7, and 12, was Deborah. The song itself opens with a summons to praise the Lord for the willing and joyful rising up of His people.

Ver. 2. *That the strong in Israel showed themselves strong,
That the people willingly offered themselves,
Praise ye the Lord!*

The meaning of פָּרַע and פָּרְעוֹת is a subject of dispute. According to the Septuagint rendering, and that of *Theodot.*, ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγούς ἐν Ἰσραήλ, many give it the meaning to begin or to lead, and endeavour to establish this meaning from an Arabic word signifying to find one's self at the head of an affair. But this meaning cannot be established in Hebrew. פָּרַע has no other meaning than to let loose from something, to let a person loose or free (see at Lev. x. 6); and in the only other passage where פָּרְעוֹת occurs (Deut. xxxii. 42), it does not refer to a leader, but to the luxuriant growth of the hair as the sign of great strength. Hence in this passage also פָּרְעוֹת literally means *comati*, the hairy ones, *i.e.* those who possessed strength; and פָּרַע, to manifest or put forth strength. The persons referred to are the champions in the fight, who went before the nation with strength and bravery. The preposition ב before פָּרַע indicates the reason for praising God, or rather the object with which the praise of the Lord was connected. בַּפָּרַע וּנֹו, literally "in the showing themselves strong." The meaning is, "for the fact that the strong in Israel put forth strength." הִתְנַדְּב, to prove one's self willing, here to go into the battle of their own free will, without any outward and authoritative command. This introduction transports us in the most striking manner into the time of the judges, when Israel had no king who could summon the nation to war, but everything depended upon the voluntary rising of the strong and the will of the nation at large. The manifestation of this strength and willingness Deborah praises as a gracious gift of the Lord. After this summons to praise the Lord, the first part of the song opens with an appeal to the kings and princes of the earth to hear what Deborah has to proclaim to the praise of God.

Ver. 3. Hear, ye kings ; give ear, ye princes !

I, to the Lord will I sing,
Will sing praise to the Lord, the God of Israel.

4. Lord, when Thou wentest out from Seir,
When Thou marchedst out of the fields of Edom,
The earth trembled, and the heavens also dropped ;
The clouds also dropped water.

5. The mountains shook before the Lord,
Sinai there before the Lord, the God of Israel.

The "kings and princes" are not the rulers in Israel, for Israel had no kings at that time, but the kings and princes of the heathen nations, as in Ps. ii. 2. These were to discern the mighty acts of Jehovah in Israel, and learn to fear Jehovah as the almighty God. For the song to be sung applies to Him, the God of Israel. זמר, ψάλλειν, is the technical expression for singing with an instrumental accompaniment (see at Ex. xv. 2).—Vers. 4, 5. To give the Lord the glory for the victory which had been gained through His omnipotent help over the powerful army of Sisera, and to fill the heathen with fear of Jehovah, and the Israelites with love and confidence towards Him, the singer reverts to the terribly glorious manifestation of Jehovah in the olden time, when Israel was accepted as the nation of God (Ex. xix.). Just as Moses in his blessing (Deut. xxxiii. 2) referred the tribes of Israel to this mighty act, as the source of all salvation and blessing for Israel, so the prophetess Deborah makes the praise of this glorious manifestation of God the starting-point of her praise of the great grace, which Jehovah as the faithful covenant God had displayed to His people in her own days. The tacit allusion to Moses' blessing is very unmistakeable. But whereas Moses describes the descent of the Lord upon Sinai (Ex. xix.), according to its gracious significance in relation to the tribes of Israel, as an objective fact (Jehovah came from Sinai, Deut. xxxiii. 2), Deborah clothes the remembrance of it in the form of an address to God, to bring out the thought that the help which Israel had just experienced was a renewal of the coming of the Lord to His people. Jehovah's going out of Seir, and marching out of the fields of Edom, is to be interpreted in the same sense as His rising up from Seir (Deut. xxxiii. 2). As the descent of the Lord upon Sinai is depicted there as a rising of the sun from the east, so the same descent in a black cloud amidst thunder, lightning, fire, and vapour of smoke (Ex. xix. 16, 18), is represented here with direct allusion to these phenomena as a storm rising up from Seir in the east, in which the Lord

advanced to meet His people as they came from the west to Sinai. Before the Lord, who came down upon Sinai in the storm and darkness of the cloud, the earth shook and the heaven dropped, or, as it is afterwards more definitely explained, the clouds dropped with water, emptied themselves of their abundance of water as they do in the case of a storm. The mountains shook (נִפְּלוּ, *Niphal* of נָפַל, dropping the reduplication of the ל = קָלוּ, Isa. lxiii. 19, lxiv. 2), even the strong rocky mountain of Sinai, which stood out so distinctly before the eyes of the singer, that she speaks of it as "this Sinai," pointing to it as though it were locally near. David's description of the miraculous guidance of Israel through the desert in Ps. lxxviii. 8, 9, is evidently founded upon this passage, though it by no means follows from this that the passage before us also treats of the journey through the desert, as *Clericus* supposes, or even of the presence of the Lord in the battle with Sisera, and the victory which it secured. But greatly as Israel had been exalted at Sinai by the Lord its God, it had fallen just as deeply into bondage to its oppressors through its own sins, until Deborah arose to help it (vers. 6-8).

- Ver. 6. In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath,
 In the days of Jael, the paths kept holiday,
 And the wanderers of the paths went crooked ways.
 7. The towns in Israel kept holiday, they kept holiday,
 Until that I, Deborah, arose,
 That I arose a mother in Israel.
 8. They chose new gods ;
 Then was war at the gates :
 Was there a shield seen and a spear
 Among forty thousand in Israel ?

The deep degradation and disgrace into which Israel had sunk before the appearance of Deborah, through its falling away from the Lord into idolatry, forms the dark reverse of that glorification at Sinai. Although, after Ehud, Shamgar had also brought help to the people against their enemies by a victory over the Philistines (chap. iii. 31), and although Jael, who proved herself a heroine by slaying the fugitive Sisera, was then alive, things had got to such a pitch with Israel, that no one would venture upon the public high roads. There are no good grounds for the conjecture that Jael was a different person from the Jael mentioned in chap. iv. 17 sqq., whether a judge who is not further known, as *Ewald* supposes, or a female judge who stood at the head of the nation in these unhappy times (*Bertheau*). תְּדִלּוּ אֶרְצוֹת, *lit.* "the paths ceased," *sc.*

to be paths, or to be trodden by men. הָלְכֵי נְתִיבוֹת, "*those who went upon paths*," or beaten ways, *i.e.* those who were obliged to undertake journeys for the purpose of friendly intercourse or trade, notwithstanding the burden of foreign rule which pressed upon the land; such persons went by "*twisted paths*," *i.e.* by roads and circuitous routes which turned away from the high roads. And פְּרוֹן, *i.e.* the *cultivated land*, with its open towns and villages, and with their inhabitants, was as forsaken and desolate as the public highways. The word *perazon* has been rendered judge or guidance by modern expositors, after the example of *Teller* and *Gesenius*; and in ver. 11 decision or guidance. But this meaning, which has been adopted into all the more recent lexicons, has nothing really to support it, and does not even suit our verse, into which it would introduce the strange contradiction, that at the time when Shamgar and Jael were judges, there were no judges in Israel. In addition to the Septuagint version, which renders the word δουρατοὶ in this verse (*i.e.* according to the *Cod. Vat.*, for the *Cod. Al.* has φράζων), and then in the most unmeaning way adopts the rendering αὔξησον in ver. 11, from which we may clearly see that the translators did not know the meaning of the word, it is common to adduce an Arabic word which signifies *segregavit, discrevit rem ab aliis*, though it is impossible to prove that the Arabic word ever had the meaning to judge or to lead. All the old translators, as well as the Rabbins, have based their rendering of the word upon פְּרוֹי, inhabitant of the flat country (Deut. iii. 5, and 1 Sam. vi. 18), and פְּרוֹת, the open flat country, as distinguished from the towns surrounded by walls (Ezek. xxxviii. 11; Zech. ii. 8), according to which פְּרוֹן, as the place of meeting, would denote both the cultivated land with its unenclosed towns and villages, and also the population that was settled in the open country in unfortified places,—a meaning which also lies at the foundation of the word in Hab. iii. 14. Accordingly, *Luther* has rendered the word *Bauern* (peasants). עַר אֶשֶׁר קָמְתִי עַר יִשְׁקָמְתִי. The contraction of אֶשֶׁר into עַ, with *Dagesh* following, and generally pointed with *Seghol*, but here with *Patach* on account of the ק, which is closely related to the gutturals, belongs to the popular character of the song, and is therefore also found in the Song of Solomon (chap. i. 12, ii. 7, 17, iv. 6). It is also met with here and there in simple prose (Judg. vi. 17, vii. 12, viii. 26); but it was only in the literature of the time of the captivity and a still later date, that it found its way more and more from the language of ordinary conversation into

that of the Scriptures. Deborah describes herself as "a mother in Israel," on account of her having watched over her people with maternal care, just as Job calls himself a father to the poor who had been supported by him (Job xxix. 16; cf. Isa. xxii. 21).—Ver. 8 describes the cause of the misery into which Israel had fallen. **אֱלֹהִים חֲדָשִׁים** is the object to **יִבְחַר**, and the subject is to be found in the previous term *Israel*. Israel forsook its God and Creator, and chose new gods, *i.e.* gods not worshipped by its fathers (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 17). Then there was war (**לָחָם**, the construct state of **לָחַם**, a verbal noun formed from the *Piel*, and signifying conflict or war) at the gates; *i.e.* the enemy pressed up to the very gates of the Israelitish towns, and besieged them, and there was not seen a shield or spear among forty thousand in Israel, *i.e.* there were no warriors found in Israel who ventured to defend the land against the foe. **אֵם** indicates a question with a negative reply assumed, as in 1 Kings i. 27, etc. Shield and spear (or lance) are mentioned particularly as arms of offence and defence, to signify arms of all kinds. The words are not to be explained from 1 Sam. xiii. 22, as signifying that there were no longer any weapons to be found among the Israelites, because the enemy had taken them away ("not seen" is not equivalent to "not found" in 1 Sam. xiii. 22); they simply affirm that there were no longer any weapons to be seen, because not one of the 40,000 men in Israel took a weapon in his hand. The number 40,000 is not the number of the men who offered themselves willingly for battle, according to ver. 2 (*Bertheau*); for apart from the fact that they did not go unarmed into the battle, it is at variance with the statement in chap. iv. 6, 10, that Barak went into the war and smote the enemy with only 10,000 men. It is a round number, *i.e.* an approximative statement of the number of the warriors who might have smitten the enemy and delivered Israel from bondage, and was probably chosen with a reference to the 40,000 fighting men of the tribes on the east of the Jordan, who went with Joshua to Canaan and helped their brethren to conquer the land (Josh. iv. 13). Most of the more recent expositors have given a different rendering of ver. 8. Many of them render the first clause according to the *Peshito* and *Vulgate*, "*God chose something new*," taking *Elohim* as the subject, and *chadashim* (new) as the object. But to this it has very properly been objected, that, according to the terms of the song, it was not *Elohim* but *Jehovah* who effected the deliverance of Israel, and that the Hebrew for new things is not **חֲדָשִׁים**, but **חֲדָשִׁוֹת** (Isa. xlii.

9, xlvi. 6), or **הַדָּשִׁים** (Isa. xliii. 19; Jer. xxxi. 22). On these grounds *Ewald* and *Bertheau* render *Elohim* "judges" (they chose new judges), and appeal to Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7, 8, where the authorities who administered justice in the name of God are called *Elohim*. But these passages are not sufficient by themselves to establish the meaning "judges," and still less to establish the rendering "new judges" for *Elohim chadashim*. Moreover, according to both these explanations, the next clause must be understood as relating to the specially courageous conflict which the Israelites in their enthusiasm carried on with Sisera; whereas the further statement, that among 40,000 warriors who offered themselves willingly for battle there was not a shield or a lance to be seen, is irreconcilably at variance with this. For the explanation suggested, namely, that these warriors did not possess the ordinary weapons for a well-conducted engagement, but had nothing but bows and swords, or instead of weapons of any kind had only the staffs and tools of shepherds and husbandmen, is proved to be untenable by the simple fact that there is nothing at all to indicate any contrast between ordinary and extraordinary weapons, and that such a contrast is altogether foreign to the context. Moreover, the fact appealed to, that **וְ** points to a victorious conflict in vers. 13, 19, 22, as well as in ver. 11, is not strong enough to support the view in question, as **וְ** is employed in ver. 19 in connection with the battle of the kings of Canaan, which was not a successful one, but terminated in a defeat.

The singer now turns from the contemplation of the deep degradation of Israel to the glorious change which took place as soon as she appeared:—

- Ver. 9. My heart inclines to the leaders of Israel;
 To those who offered themselves willingly in the nation. Praise ye the Lord!
10. Ye that ride upon white asses;
 Ye that sit upon coverings,
 And that walk in the way, reflect!
11. With the voice of the archers among drawers (of water),
 There praise ye the righteous acts of the Lord,
 The righteous acts in His villages in Israel.
 Then the people of the Lord went down to the gates!

We must supply the *subst. verb* in connection with **לִּפְנֵי**, "*My heart is (sc. inclined) towards the leaders of Israel,*" i.e. feels itself drawn towards them. **חֹזֵק** for **מְחַזֵּק** (ver. 14), the determining one, i.e. the commander or leader in war: as in Deut. xxxiii. 21. The

leaders and willing ones are first of all to praise the Lord for having crowned their willingness with victory.—Ver. 10. 'And all classes of the people, both high and low, have reason to join in the praise. Those who ride upon white, *i.e.* white-spotted asses, are the upper classes generally, and not merely the leaders (cf. chap. x. 4, xii. 14). צָהָר, *lit.* dazzling white; but since there are no asses that are perfectly white, and white was a colour that was highly valued both by Hebrews and Arabs, they applied the term white to those that were only spotted with white. Those who sit upon coverings (מִדִּין from מָד, a covering or carpet, with the plural termination ין, which is to be regarded as a poetical Chaldaism) are the rich and prosperous; and those who walk on the way, *i.e.* travellers on foot, represent the middle and lower classes, who have to go about and attend to their affairs. Considered logically, this triple division of the nation is not a very exact one, as the first two do not form a true antithesis. But the want of exactness does not warrant our fusing together the middle term and the first, and understanding by *middin* either saddles or saddle-cloths, as *Ewald* and *Bertheau* have done; for saddle-cloths are still further from forming an antithesis to asses, so that those who ride upon white asses could be distinguished, as the upper classes and leaders, from those who sit upon saddles, or are "somewhat richer." Moreover, there is no reason for regarding these three classes as referring simply to the long line of warriors hastening from the victory to the triumphal fête. On the contrary, all classes of the people are addressed, as enjoying the fruits of the victory that had been obtained: the upper classes, who ride upon their costly animals; the rich resting at home upon their splendid carpets; and the poor travellers, who can now go quietly along the high-road again without fear of interruption from the foe (ver. 6). שִׁיר is rendered "*sing*" by many; but this rendering cannot be sustained from Ps. cv. 2 and cxlv. 5, and it is not necessary in the verse before us, since the well-established meaning of the word "ponder," reflect, *sc.* upon the acts of the Lord, is a perfectly suitable one.—Ver. 11. The whole nation had good reason to make this reflection, as the warriors, having returned home, were now relating the mighty acts of the Lord among the women who were watering their flocks, and the people had returned to their towns once more. This is in all probability the idea of the obscure verse before us, which has been interpreted in such very different ways. The first clause, which has no verb, and cannot constitute a sentence by itself, must be connected with the following clause, and taken as an *anakolouthon*,

as יִתְנוּ שָׁם does not form a direct continuation of the clause commencing with מִקּוֹל. After the words “*from the voice of the archers,*” we should expect the continuation “*there is heard,*” or “*there sounds forth the praise of the acts of the Lord.*” Instead of that, the construction that was commenced is relinquished at יִתְנוּ שָׁם, and a different turn is given to the thought. This not only seems to offer the simplest explanation, but the only possible solution of the difficulty. For the explanation that מֵן is to be taken as signifying “*away from,*” as in Num. xv. 24, etc., in the sense of “*far from the voice of the archers, among the watering women,*” does not suit the following word שָׁם, “*there,*” at all. It would be necessary to attribute to מֵן the meaning “*no more disquieted by,*” a meaning which the preposition could not possibly have in this clause. מְחַצְצִים are not sharers in the booty, for חָצַץ simply means to cut, to cut in pieces, to divide, and is never applied to the sharing of booty, for which חֶלֶק is the word used (*vid.* ver. 30; Ps. lxxiii. 13; Isa. ix. 2). מְחַצֵּץ is to be regarded, as the Rabbins maintain, as a *denom.* from חָצַץ, to hold an arrow, signifying therefore the shooter of an arrow. It was probably a natural thing for Deborah, who dwelt in Benjamin, to mention the archers as representatives of warriors generally, since this was the principal weapon employed by the Benjaminites (see 1 Chron. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Chron. xiv. 7, xvii. 17). The tarrying of the warriors among the drawers of water, where the flocks and herds were being watered, points to the time of peace, when the warriors were again occupied with their civil and domestic affairs. יִתְנוּ is a simple aorist. תִּנְּהוּ, *lit.* to repeat, then to relate, or praise. “*The righteousness of Jehovah,*” *i.e.* the marvellous acts of the Lord in and upon Israel for the accomplishing of His purposes of salvation, in which the righteousness of His work upon earth was manifested (cf. 1 Sam. xii. 7, Micah vi. 5). צִדְקוֹת פְּרוֹנוֹ has been rendered by modern expositors, either “*the righteous acts of His guidance or of His decision*” (*Ewald and Bertheau*), or “*the righteous acts of His commanders,*” or “*the benefits towards His princes (leaders) in Israel*” (*Ros.* and others). But neither of these can be sustained. We must take פְּרוֹנוֹ here in just the same sense as in ver. 7; the country covered with open towns and villages, together with their inhabitants, whom Jehovah had delivered from the hostile oppression that had rested upon them, by means of the victory obtained over Sisera. After that victory the people of the Lord went down again to their gates, from the mountains and hiding-places in which they had taken refuge from their foes (vers. 6, 7),

returning again to the plains of the land, and the towns that were now delivered from the foe.

Ver. 12 forms the introduction to the second part, viz. the description of the conflict and the victory. Throwing herself into the great event which she is about to commemorate, Deborah calls upon herself to strike up a song, and upon Barak to lead off his prisoners :

Ver. 12. Awake, awake, Deborah !

Awake, awake, utter a song !

Rise up, Barak, and lead captive thy captives, O son of Abinoam !

עִירִי has the tone upon the last syllable on the first two occasions, to answer to the rapid summoning burst of the Lord in the opening address (*Bertheau*). וְשָׁבָה עִבִּי, to lead away captives, as the fruit of the victory ; not merely to lead in triumph. On the form וְשָׁבָה with *Chateph-patach*, see *Ewald*, § 90, *b*. In the next three strophes of this part (vers. 13–21) the progress of the conflict is described ; and in the first two the part taken in the battle by the different tribes (vers. 13–15*a*, and 15*b*–18).

Ver. 13. Then came down a remnant of nobles of the nation ;
Jehovah came down to me among the heroes.

14. Of Ephraim, whose root in Amalek ;
Behind thee Benjamin among thy peoples.
From Machir came down leaders,
And from Zebulun marchers with the staff of the conductor.

15*a*. And princes in Issachar with Deborah,
And Issachar as well as Barak,
Driven into the valley through his feet.

Looking back to the commencement of the battle, the poetess describes the streaming of the brave men of the nation down from the mountains, to fight the enemy with Barak and Deborah in the valley of Jezreel ; though the whole nation did not rise as one man against its oppressors, but only a remnant of the noble and brave in the nation, with whom Jehovah went into the battle. In ver. 13 the Masoretic pointing of יִרְד is connected with the rabbinical idea of the word as the *fut. apoc.* of יִרְדָּה : “then (now) will the remnant rule over the glorious,” i.e. the remnant left in Israel over the stately foe ; “Jehovah rules for me (or through me) over the heroes in Sisera’s army,” which *Luther* has also adopted. But, as *Schnurr.* has maintained, this view is decidedly erroneous, inasmuch as it is altogether irreconcilable with the description which follows of the marching of the tribes of Israel into the battle. יִרְד is to be understood in the

same sense as יָרַד in ver. 14, and to be pointed as a perfect יָרַד.¹ “*There came down*,” *sc.* from the mountains of the land into the plain of Jezreel, a remnant of nobles. לְאַדְיָרִים is used instead of a closer subordination through the construct state, to bring out the idea of שָׁרִיד into greater prominence (see *Ewald*, § 292). עַם is in apposition to לְאַדְיָרִים, and not to be connected with the following word יְהוָה, as it is by some, in opposition to the accents. The thought is rather this: with the nobles or among the brave Jehovah himself went against the foe. לִי is a *dat. commodi*, equivalent to “for my joy.”—Ver. 14. “*From* (מִן, poetical for מִן) *Ephraim*,” *sc.* there came fighting men; not the whole tribe, but only nobles or brave men, and indeed those whose roots were in Amalek, *i.e.* those who were rooted or had taken root, *i.e.* had settled and spread themselves out upon the tribe-territory of Ephraim, which had formerly been inhabited by Amalekites, the mount of the Amalekites, mentioned in chap. xii. 15 (for the figure itself, see Isa. xxvii. 6, Ps. lxxx. 10, and Job v. 3). “*Behind thee*,” *i.e.* behind Ephraim, there followed Benjamin among thy (Ephraim’s) people (עַמִּי, a poetical form for עַמִּים, in the sense of hosts). Benjamin lived farther south than Ephraim, and therefore, when looked at from the stand-point of the plain of Jezreel, behind Ephraim; “but he came upon the scene of battle, either in subordination to the more powerful Ephraimites, or rushing on with the Ephraimitish hosts” (*Bertheau*). “*From Machir*,” *i.e.* from western Manasseh, there came down leaders (see at ver. 9), *sc.* with warriors in their train. *Machir* cannot refer to the Manassite family of Machir, to which Moses gave the northern part of Gilead, and Bashan, for an inheritance (comp. Josh. xvii. 1 with xiii. 29-31), but it stands poetically for Manasseh generally, as Machir was the only son of Manasseh, from whom all the Manassites were descended (Gen. i. 23; Num. xxvi. 29 sqq., xxvii. 1). The reference here, however, is simply to that portion of the tribe of Manasseh which had received its inheritance by the side of Ephraim, in the land to the west of the Jordan. This explanation of the word is required, not only by the fact that Machir is mentioned after Ephraim and Benjamin, and

¹ The *Cod. Al.* of the LXX. contains the correct rendering, τότε κατέβη κατὰ λείμνα. In the Targum also יָרַד is correctly translated נָתַת, descendit, although the germs of the rabbinical interpretation are contained in the paraphrase of the whole verse: tunc descendit unus ex exercitu Israel et fregit fortitudinem fortium gentium. Ecce non ex fortitudine manus eorum fuit hoc; sed Dominus fregit ante populum suum fortitudinem virorum osorum eorum.

before Zebulun and Issachar, but still more decidedly by the introduction of Gilead beyond Jordan in connection with Reuben, in ver. 17, which can only signify Gad and eastern Manasseh. Hence the two names *Machir* and *Gilead*, the names of Manasseh's son and grandson, are poetically employed to denote the two halves of the tribe of Manasseh; Machir signifying the western Manassites, and Gilead the eastern. "*From Zebulun marchers* (מַשְׁכִּים, to approach in long processions, as in chap. iv. 6) *with the staff of the conductor.*" סֹפֵר, writer or numberer, was the technical name given to the musterer-general, whose duty it was to levy and muster the troops (2 Kings xxv. 19; cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11); here it denotes the military leader generally.—Ver. 15*a*. שָׂרִי, "*my princes*," does not furnish any appropriate meaning, as neither Deborah nor Barak was of the tribe of Issachar, and it is not stated anywhere that the Issacharites gathered round Deborah as their leader. The reading שָׂרִי (*stat. constr.*), adopted by the old versions, must be taken as the correct one, and the introduction of the preposition בְּ does not preclude this (compare בְּגִלְבָּעַה, 2 Sam. i. 21, and *Ewald*, § 289, *b.*). עִם, which is used to denote an outward equality, as in 1 Sam. xvii. 42, and is substantially the same as the כִּן which follows ("*just as*"), is construed without בְּ in the first clause, as in Ps. xlviii. 6. בְּעֶמֶק : into the valley of Jezreel, the plain of Kishon. שָׁלַח בְּרַגְלֵי, as in Job xviii. 8, to be sent off, *i.e.* incessantly impelled, through his feet; here it is applied to an irresistible force of enthusiasm for the battle. The nominative to שָׁלַח is Issachar and Barak.

Ver. 15*b*. At the brooks of Reuben were great resolutions of heart.

16. Why remainest thou between the hurdles,
To hear the piping of the flocks?
At the brooks of Reuben were great projects of heart.
17. Gilead rests on the other side of the Jordan;
And Dan . . . why tarries he by ships?
Asher sits on the shore of the sea,
And by his bays he reposes.
18. Zebulun, a people that despises its soul even to death,
And Naphtali upon the heights of the field.

In this strophe Deborah first of all mentions the tribes which took no part in the conflict (vers. 15*b*–17), and then returns in ver. 18 to the Zebulunites, who staked their life along with Naphtali for the deliverance of Israel from the yoke of the enemy. The enumeration of the tribes who remained at a distance from the conflict commences with Reuben (vers. 15*b* and 16). In this tribe there did arise a lively sympathy with the national elevation. They held

meetings, passed great resolutions, but it led to no practical result; and at length they preferred to remain quietly at home in their own comfortable pastoral life. The meaning brooks for פְּלָגוֹת is well established by Job xx. 17, and there is no reason whatever for explaining the word as equivalent to מַפְלָגוֹת, divisions (2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 12; Ezra vi. 18). The territory of Reuben, which was celebrated for its splendid pastures, must have abounded in brooks. The question, Why satest thou, or remainedst thou sitting between the hurdles? *i.e.* in the comfortable repose of a shepherd's life, is an utterance of amazement; and the irony is very apparent in the next clause, to hear the bleating of the flocks, *i.e.* the piping of the shepherds, instead of the blast of the war-trumpets.—Ver. 17. Gilead, Dan, and Asher took no part at all. By *Gilead*, the tribes of Gad and half Manasseh are intended. The use of the term הַגִּלְעָד to denote the whole of the territory of the Israelites on the east of the Jordan probably gave occasion to this, although גִּלְעָד (without the article) does not refer to the land even here, but refers primarily to the grandson of Manasseh, as the representative of his family which dwelt in Gilead. (For further remarks, see at ver. 14.) Dan also did not let the national movement disturb it in its earthly trade and commerce. גִּיר, to keep one's self in a place, is construed here with the accusative of the place, as in Ps. cxx. 5. The territory of Dan included the port of Joppa (see at Josh. xix. 46), where the Danites probably carried on a trade with the Phœnicians. Asher also in his land upon the coast did not allow himself to be disturbed from his rest, to join in the common war of its nation. חוֹף הַיָּם is used, as in Gen. xlix. 13, for the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. מַפְרָצִים, ἀπ. λεγ., literally a rent, and hence applied to a bay, as an incision made in the sea-shore.—Ver. 18. Zebulun and Naphtali acted quite differently. Zebulun showed itself as a people that despised its life even to death, *i.e.* that sacrificed its life for the deliverance of its fatherland. Naphtali did the same in its mountain home. The two tribes had raised 10,000 fighting men at Barak's call (chap. iv. 10), who constituted at any rate the kernel of the Israelitish army.

If we run over the tribes enumerated, it seems strange that the tribes of Judah and Simeon are not mentioned either among those who joined in the battle, or among those who stayed away. The only way in which this can be explained is on the supposition that these two tribes were never summoned by Barak, either because they were so involved in conflict with the Philistines, that they

were unable to render any assistance to the northern tribes against their Canaanitish oppressors, as we might infer from chap. iii. 31, or because of some inward disagreement between these tribes and the rest. But even apart from Judah and Simeon, the want of sympathy on the part of the tribes that are reprov'd is a sufficient proof that the enthusiasm for the cause of the Lord had greatly diminished in the nation, and that the internal unity of the congregation was considerably loosened.

In the next strophe the battle and the victory are described:—

- Ver. 19. Kings came, . . . they fought;
 The kings of Canaan fought
 At Taanach, at the waters of Megiddo.
 A piece of silver they did not take.
20. From heaven they fought,
 The stars from their courses fought against Sisera.
21. The brook of Kishon swept them away,
 The brook of the olden time, the brook Kishon.
 Go on, my soul, in strength!

The advance of the foe is described in few words. Kings came on and fought. They were the kings of Canaan, since Jabin, like his ancestor (Josh. xi. 1 sqq.), had formed an alliance with other kings of northern Canaan, who went to the battle under the command of Sisera. The battle took place at Taanach (see at Josh. xii. 21), by the water of Megiddo, the present Lejun (see at Josh. xii. 21), *i.e.* by the brook Kishon (cf. chap. iv. 7). Taanach and Megiddo were not quite five miles apart, and beside and between them there were several brooks which ran into the southern arm of the Kishon, that flowed through the plain to the north of both these towns. The hostile kings went into the battle with the hope of slaying the Israelites and making a rich capture of booty. But their hopes were disappointed. They could not take with them a piece of silver as booty. עַבְדָּה, which generally signifies booty or gain, is probably to be taken here in its primary sense of *frustum*, from עָבַד, to cut off or cut in pieces, a “piece of silver,” equivalent to a single piece of valuable booty.—Ver. 20. For not only did the Israelites fight against them, but the powers of heaven also. “*From heaven*” is more minutely defined by “*the stars from their courses.*” These words explain the statement in chap. iv. 15, “the Lord discomfited Sisera;” though in our opinion not so clearly as to enable us to define more precisely the natural phenomenon by which God threw the enemy into confusion. In all probability we have to think of a terrible storm, with thunder and lightning and hail, or

the sudden bursting of a cloud, which is poetically described as though the stars of heaven had left their courses to fight for the Lord and His kingdom upon earth.—Ver. 21. The kings of Canaan could do nothing against these powers. They were smitten; the brook Kishon washed them (*i.e.* their corpses) away. The meaning “to wash away” is well established by the dialects and the context, though the verb itself only occurs here. As the battle was fought between Taanach and Megiddo, *i.e.* to the south of the brook Kishon, and the smitten foe fled towards the north, many of them met with their death in the waves of the brook, which was flowing over its banks at the time. The brook is called נַחַל קִישׁוֹן, *i.e.* the brook of the old world or the olden time (according to the LXX. *Cod. Vat.* χειμάρρους ἀρχαίων), as the stream that had been flowing from time immemorial, and not, as the Chaldee interprets it, the stream that had been celebrated from olden time on account of the mighty acts that had been performed there. The meaning suggested by *Ewald* and others, “brook of attacks, or slaughters,” is not well sustained, although קָרַם is sometimes used to denote a hostile encounter. The last clause interrupts the description of the slaughter and the victory. Borne away by the might of the acts to be commemorated, Deborah stimulates her soul, *i.e.* herself, to a vigorous continuation of her song. הִדְרִי is jussive, and עַן an accusative governed by the verb, in strength, vigorously; for she had still to celebrate the glorious results of the victory. This is done in the third part of the song (vers. 22-31), the first strophe of which (vers. 22-24) describes in brief drastic traits the flight of the foe, and the treatment of the fugitives by the people of the land.

Ver. 22. Then did the hoofs of the horses stamp

With the hunting, the hunting of his strong ones.

23. Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord;

Curse ye, curse ye the inhabitants thereof!

Because they came not to the help of Jehovah,

To the help of Jehovah among the mighty.

24. Blessed before women be Jael,

The wife of Heber the Kenite,

Blessed before women in the tent!

The war-chariots of the enemy hunted away in the wildest flight (ver. 22). The horses stamped the ground with the continuous hunting or galloping away of the warriors. הִדְרָה, the hunting (cf. דָּהַר, Nah. iii. 2). The repetition of the word expresses the continuance or incessant duration of the same thing (see *Ewald*, § 313, *a.*). אַזְבִּירִים, strong ones, are not the horses, but the warriors

in the war-chariots. The suffix refers to סוּר, which is used collectively. The mighty ones on horses are not, however, merely the Canaanitish princes, such as Sisera, as *Ewald* maintains, but the warriors generally who hunted away upon their war-chariots.—Ver. 23. The enemy, or at all events Sisera, might have been destroyed in his flight by the inhabitants of Meroz; but they did not come to the help of the Israelites, and brought down the curse of God upon themselves in consequence. That this is the thought of ver. 23 is evident from the context, and more especially from the blessing pronounced upon Jael in ver. 24. The situation of Meroz, which is not mentioned again, cannot be determined with certainty. *Wilson* and *v. Raumer* imagine that it may be *Kefr Musr* on the south of Tabor, the situation of which at all events is more suitable than *Marussus*, which was an hour and a half to the north of Beisan, and which *Rabbi Schwarz* supposed to be Meroz (see *V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 334). The curse upon the inhabitants of this place is described as a word or command of the angel of the Lord, inasmuch as it was the angel of the Lord who fought for Israel at Megiddo, as the revealer of the invisible God, and smote the Canaanites. Deborah heard from him the words of the curse upon the inhabitants of Meroz, because they did not come to help Jehovah when He was fighting with and for the Israelites. “*Among the heroes*,” or mighty men, *i.e.* associating with the warriors of Israel.—Ver. 24. Jael behaved altogether differently, although she was not an Israelite, but a woman of the tribe of the Kenites, which was only allied with Israel (see chap. iv. 11, 17 sqq.). For her heroic deed she was to be blessed before women (נָּ as in Gen. iii. 14, literally removed away from women). The “*women in the tent*” are dwellers in tents, or shepherdesses. This heroic act is poetically commemorated in the strophe which follows in vers. 25–27.

- Ver. 25. He asked water, she gave him milk ;
 She handed him cream in the dish of nobles.
 26. She stretched out her hand to the plug,
 And her right hand to the workmen's hammer,
 And hammered Sisera, broke his head,
 And dashed in pieces and pierced his temples.
 27. Between her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down :
 Between her feet he bowed, he fell :
 Where he bowed, there he fell down dead.

Assuming that the fact itself is well known, Deborah does not think it necessary to mention Sisera's name in ver. 25. הַמֶּלֶךְ,

which generally signifies thick curdled milk, is used here as synonymous with חֶלֶב, in the sense of good superior milk. כַּפֵּל is only used here and in chap. vi. 38, and signifies a bowl or vessel for holding liquids (see *Arab.*, *Chald.*, and *Talm.*; also *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* i. pp. 625 sqq., ed. *Ros.*). The dish of nobles is a fine costly bowl, such as they are accustomed to hand to noble guests. The whole verse is simply intended to express the thought, that Jael had given to her guest Sisera a friendly reception, and treated him honourably and hospitably, simply in order to make him feel secure.—Ver. 26. “*Her hand*,” i.e. the left hand, as is shown by the antithesis, “her right hand,” which follows. On the form הַשְׁלִיחָנָה, the third pers. fem. sing. with נָה attached, to distinguish it the more clearly from the second pers., see the remarks on Ex. i. 10. הַלְמוֹת עֲמָלִים, *hammer* or *mallet of the hard workers*, is a large heavy hammer. For the purpose of depicting the boldness and greatness of the deed, the words are crowded together in the second hemistich: הָלֵם, to hammer, or smite with the hammer; מָחַס, ἀπ. λεγ., to smite in pieces, smite through; מָחַץ, to smite or dash in pieces; חָלַף, to pierce or bore through. The heaping up of the words in ver. 27 answers the same purpose. They do not “express the delight of a satisfied thirst for revenge,” but simply bring out the thought that Sisera, who was for years the terror of Israel, was now struck dead with a single blow. בְּאַשְׁרֵי כְרָע, at the place where he bowed, there he fell שָׁדוּד, overpowered and destroyed. In conclusion, the singer refers once more in the last strophe (vers. 28-30) to the mother of Sisera, as she waited impatiently for the return of her son, and foreboded his death, whilst the prudent princesses who surrounded her sought to cheer her with the prospect of a rich arrival of booty.

Ver. 28. Through the window there looks out and cries aloud

The mother of Sisera, through the lattice work,

Why does his chariot delay its coming?

Why tarry the steps of his team?

29. The wise of her princesses reply:

—But she repeats her words to herself—

30. Surely they are finding and sharing booty:

A maiden, two maidens to the head of a man,

Booty of variegated cloths for Sisera;

Booty of variegated cloths, garments worked in divers colours,

A variegated cloth, two garments worked in divers colours for his neck
as booty.

Sisera's mother looks out with impatience for the return of her son, and cries aloud out of the window, Why is he never coming?—

foreboding the disastrous result of the war. תִּיבֵב, ἀπ. λεγ., signifies to cry; in Aramæan it is used for הִרִיעַ and רִינָן, to denote a loud joyful cry; here it evidently signifies a loud cry of anxiety. For the repeated question, Why does his chariot delay its coming? is evidently expressive of anxiety and alarm. The form אֶחָרִי, *perf.* *Piel* for אֶחָרִי, may be attributed to the influence of the aleph, which favours the seghol sound, like יִחָמוּ in Gen. xxx. 39. The combination of מִרְכָּבוֹתָיו פַּעֲמֵי, “steps of his chariots,” cannot be explained, as it is by *Bertheau*, on the ground that the word פַּעֲמֵי, as a general expression for intermittent movement, might also be applied to the jerking of the wheels in rolling, but simply on the supposition that מִרְכָּבוֹת, as a synonym for רֶכֶב, is used for the horses yoked to the chariot in the sense of team, like רֶכֶב in 2 Sam. viii. 4, x. 18, etc.—Ver. 29. The princesses in attendance upon Sisera’s mother sought to console her with the remark, that Sisera would have to gather together rich booty, and that his return was delayed in consequence. In the expression “the wisest of her princesses” (see *Ges.* § 119, 2), the irony is very obvious, as the reality put all their wise conjectures to shame. תַּעֲנִנָּה, third pers. plur. fem. for תַּעֲנִינָה. The second hemistich of ver. 29 contains a clause inserted as a parenthesis. אֶף־הִיא is adversative: “but she;” אֶף is only an emphatic copula; the antithesis lies in the emphatic change of subject indicated by הִיא. הִשִּׁיב אֶמְרֶיהָ, *lit.* to bring back her words, *i.e.* to repeat. לָהּ is used in a reflective sense, “to herself.” The meaning is: But Sisera’s mother did not allow herself to be quieted by the words of her wise princesses; on the contrary, she kept repeating the anxious question, Why does Sisera delay his coming? In ver. 30 there follows the answer of the wise princesses. They imagine that Sisera has been detained by the large amount of booty which has to be divided. הֲלֵא, *nonne*, is he not, in the sense of lively certainty. They will certainly discover rich booty, and divide it. רַחֵם, *uterus*, for *puella*. “A girl (or indeed probably) two girls to the head of the man,” *i.e.* for each man. צִבְעִים, *coloured things*, cloths or clothes. רֶקֶמָה, *worked stuff*, or garments worked in divers colours (see the remarks on Ex. xxvi. 36), is attached without the *vav cop.* to צִבְעִים, and is also dependent upon שָׁלַל. The closing words, לְצוּאֵי שָׁלַל, “for the necks,” or (as the plural is also frequently used to signify a single neck, *e.g.* Gen. xxvii. 16, xlv. 14) “for the neck of the booty,” do not give any appropriate sense, as שָׁלַל neither signifies animals taken as booty nor the taker of booty. The idea, however, that שָׁלַל is used for אִישׁ שָׁלַל, like הָלָךְ in 2 Sam. xii. 4

for *אִישׁ הַלָּקֶה*, *viator*, and *חֶתֶף* in Prov. xxiii. 28 for *אִישׁ חֶתֶף*, seems inadmissible, since *שָׁלַל* has just before been used three times in its literal sense. There is just the same objection to the application of *שָׁלַל* to animals taken as booty, not to mention the fact that they would hardly have thought of having valuable cloths upon the necks of animals taken as booty. Consequently the only explanation that remains, is either to alter *לְצִוְאָרִי* into *לְצִוְאָרוֹ* or *לְצִוְאָרָיו*, or else to change *שָׁלַל* into *שָׁנַל*, the royal spouse. In the former case, *שָׁלַל* would have to be taken as in apposition to *צָבַע רֶקֶמְתִּים*: a variegated cloth, two worked in divers colours for his (Sisera's) neck as booty, as the LXX. have rendered it (*τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ σκῦλα*). *Ewald* and *Bertheau* decide in favour of the second alteration, and defend it on the ground that *שָׁלַל* might easily find its way into the text as a copyist's error for *שָׁנַל*, on account of *שָׁלַל* having been already written three times before, and that we cannot dispense with some such word as *שָׁנַל* here, since the repetition of *שָׁלַל* three times, and the threefold use of *ל*, evidently show that there were three different kinds of people among whom the booty was to be distributed; and also that it was only a fitting thing that Sisera should set apart one portion of the booty to adorn the neck of his wife, and that the wisest of the noble ladies, when mentioning the booty, should not forget themselves.

Ver. 31a. So shall all Thine enemies perish, O Jehovah!

But let those who love Him be like the rising of the sun in its strength.

This forms the conclusion of the song. *וְ*, *so*, refers to the whole of the song: just in the same manner as Sisera and his warriors. The rising of the sun in its strength is a striking image of the exaltation of Israel to a more and more glorious unfolding of its destiny, which Deborah anticipated as the result of this victory. With the last clause, "*And the land had rest forty years*" (cf. chap. iii. 11, 30, viii. 28), the account of this event is brought to a close.

II. THE TIMES OF GIDEON AND HIS FAMILY, AND OF THE JUDGES TOLA AND JAIR.—CHAP. VI.—X. 5.

In this second stage of the period of the judges, which did not extend over an entire century (only ninety-five years), Israel was only punished for its apostasy from the Lord, it is true, with a seven years' oppression by the Midianites; but the misery which these enemies, who allied themselves with Amalekites and other Arabian

hordes, brought upon both land and people, so far surpassed the pressure of the previous chastisements, that the Israelites were obliged to take refuge from the foe in ravines, caves, and strongholds of the mountains. But the more heavily the Lord punished His rebellious nation, the more gloriously did He set forth His nearness to help, and also the way which would lead to a lasting peace, and to true deliverance out of every trouble, in the manner in which He called and fitted Gideon to be its deliverer, and gave him the victory over the innumerable army of the hostile hordes, with only 300 chosen warriors. But the tendency to idolatry and to the worship of Baal had already become so strong in Israel, that even Gideon, that distinguished hero of God, who had been so marvellously called, and who refused the title of king when offered to him from genuine fidelity to the Lord, yielded to the temptation to establish for himself an unlawful worship, in a high-priestly ephod which had been prepared for his use, and thus gave the people an occasion for idolatry. For this reason his house was visited with severe judgments, which burst upon it after his death, under the three years' reign of his son Abimelech; although, notwithstanding the deep religious and moral depravity which was manifested in the doings of Abimelech, the Lord gave His people rest for forty-five years longer after the death of Abimelech under two judges, before He punished their apostasy with fresh hostile oppressions.

The history of Gideon and his family is related very fully, because the working of the grace and righteousness of the faithful covenant God was so obviously displayed therein, that it contained a rich treasure of instruction and warning for the church of the Lord in all ages. The account contains such an abundance of special notices of separate events and persons, as can only be explained on the supposition that the author made use of copious records which had been made by contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the events. At the same time, the separate details do not contain any such characteristic marks as will enable us to discover clearly, or determine with any certainty, the nature of the source or sources which the author employed. The only things peculiar to this narrative are the use of the prefix ψ for ψ , not only in reports of the sayings of the persons engaged (chap. vi. 17), but also in the direct narrative of facts (chap. vii. 12, viii. 26), and the formula $\text{רוחַ יְהוָה לְבָשָׁה}$ (chap. vi. 34), which only occurs again in 1 Chron. xii. 18, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20. On the other hand, neither

the interchange of *ha-Elohim* (chap. vi. 36, 39, vii. 14) and *Elohim* (chap. vi. 40, viii. 3, ix. 7, 9, 13, 23, 56, 57) with *Jehovah*, nor the use of the name *Jerubbaal* for *Gideon* (chap. vi. 32, vii. 1, viii. 29, ix. 1, 2, 5, 16, 19, 24, 28), nor lastly the absence of the "theocratical pragmatism" in chap. ix., contains any proof of the nature of the source employed, or even of the employment of two different sources, as these peculiarities are founded upon the contents and materials of the narrative itself.¹

Oppression of Israel by the Midianites, and call of Gideon to be their Deliverer.—Chap. vi. 1-32.

Vers. 1-10. *Renewed Apostasy of the Nation, and its Punishment.*—Ver. 1. As the Israelites forsook *Jehovah* their God again, the Lord delivered them up for seven years into the hands of the Midianites. The *Midianites*, who were descendants of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), and had penetrated into the grassy steppes on the eastern side of the country of the Moabites and

¹ Even *Bertheau*, who infers from these data that two different sources were employed, admits that *ha-Elohim* in the mouth of the Midianites (chap. vii. 14) and *Elohim* in Jotham's fable, where it is put into the mouth of the trees, prove nothing at all, because here, from the different meanings of the divine names, the author could not have used anything but *Elohim*. But the same difference is quite as unmistakeable in chap. viii. 3, ix. 7, 23, 56, 57, since in these passages, either the antithesis of man and God, or the idea of supernatural causality, made it most natural for the author to use the general name of God even if it did not render it absolutely necessary. There remain, therefore, only chap. vi. 20, 36, 39, 40, where the use of *ha-Elohim* and *Elohim* instead of *Jehovah* may possibly have originated with the source made use of by the author. On the other hand, the name *Jerubbaal*, which Gideon received in consequence of the destruction of the altar of Baal (chap. vi. 32), is employed with conscious reference to its origin and meaning, not only in chap. vii. 1, viii. 29, 35, but also throughout chap. ix., as we may see more especially in chap. ix. 16, 19, 28. And lastly, even the peculiarities of chap. ix.—namely, that the names *Jehovah* and *Gideon* do not occur there at all, and that many historical circumstances are related apparently without any link of connection, and torn away from some wider context, which might have rendered them intelligible, and without which very much remains obscure—do not prove that the author drew these incidents from a different source from the rest of the history of Gideon,—such, for example, as a more complete history of the town of Shechem and its rulers in the time of the judges, as *Bertheau* imagines. For these peculiarities may be explained satisfactorily enough from the intention so clearly expressed in chap. viii. 34, 35, and ix. 57, of showing how the ingratitude of the Israelites towards Gideon, especially the wickedness of the Shechemites, who helped to murder Gideon's sons to gratify Abimelech, was punished by God. And no other peculiarities can be discovered that could possibly establish a diversity of sources.

Ammonites (see at Num. xxii. 4), had shown hostility to Israel even in the time of Moses, and had been defeated in a war of retaliation on the part of the Israelites (Num. xxxi.). But they had afterwards recovered their strength, so that now, after an interval of 200 years, the Lord used them as a rod of chastisement for His rebellious people. In vers. 1, 2, 6, they alone are mentioned as oppressors of Israel; but in vers. 3, 33, and chap. vii. 12, the Amalekites and children of the east are mentioned in connection with them, from which we may see that the Midianites were the principal enemies, but had allied themselves with other predatory Bedouin tribes, to make war upon the Israelites and devastate their land. On the *Amalekites*, those leading enemies of the people of God who had sprung from Esau, see the notes on Gen. xxxvi. 12 and Ex. xvii. 8. "*Children of the east*" (see Job i. 3) is the general name for the tribes that lived in the desert on the east of Palestine, "like the name of *Arabs* in the time of *Josephus* (in Ant. v. 6, 1, he calls the children of the east mentioned here by the name of *Arabs*), or in later times the names of the Nabatæans and Kedarenes" (*Bertheau*). Hence we find in chap. viii. 10, that all the enemies who oppressed the Israelites are called "children of the east."—Vers. 2–5. *The oppression of Israel by Midian and its allies.* Their power pressed so severely upon the Israelites, that before (or because of) them the latter "*made them the ravines which are in the mountains, and the caves, and the strongholds,*" *sc.* which were to be met with all over the land in after times (*viz.* at the time when our book was written), and were safe places of refuge in time of war. This is implied in the definite article before מְהָרוֹת and the following substantives. The words "*they made them*" are not at variance with the fact that there are many natural caves to be found in the limestone mountains of Palestine. For, on the one hand, they do not affirm that all the caves to be found in the land were made by the Israelites at that time; and, on the other hand, עָצָה does not preclude the use of natural caves as places of refuge, since it not only denotes the digging and making of caves, but also the adaptation of natural caves to the purpose referred to, *i.e.* the enlargement of them, or whatever was required to make them habitable. The ἀπ. λεγ. מְהָרוֹת does not mean "light holes" (*Bertheau*), or "holes with openings to the light," from נָהַר, in the sense of to stream, to enlighten (*Rashi, Kimchi, etc.*), but is to be taken in the sense of "*mountain ravines,*" hollowed out by torrents (from נָהַר, to pour), which the Israelites made into hiding-

places. *מְצֻדֹת*, *fortresses*, mountain strongholds. These ravines, caves, and fortresses were not merely to serve as hiding-places for the Israelitish fugitives, but much more as places of concealment for their possessions and necessary supplies. For the Midianites, like genuine Bedouins, thought far more of robbing and plundering and laying waste the land of the Israelites, than of exterminating the people themselves. *Herodotus* (i. 17) says just the same respecting the war of the Lydian king Alyattes with the Milesians.—Vers. 3, 4. When the Israelites had sown, the Midianites and their allies came upon them, encamped against them, and destroyed the produce of the land (the fruits of the field and soil) as far as Gaza, in the extreme south-west of the land (“till thou come,” as in Gen. x. 19, etc.). As the enemy invaded the land with their camels and flocks, and on repeated occasions encamped in the valley of Jezreel (ver. 33), they must have entered the land on the west of the Jordan by the main road which connects the countries on the east with Palestine on the west, crossing the Jordan near Beisan, and passing through the plain of Jezreel; and from this point they spread over Palestine to the sea-coast of Gaza. “*They left no sustenance* (in the shape of produce of the field and soil) *in Israel, and neither sheep, nor oxen, nor asses. For they came on with their flocks, and their tents came like grasshoppers in multitude.*” The *Chethibh* *יָבֵאוּ* is not to be altered into *יָבֵאוּ*, according to the *Keri* and certain *Codd.* If we connect *וְאֶהְלֵיהֶם* with the previous words, according to the Masoretic pointing, we have a simple asyndeton. It is more probable, however, that *וְאֶהְלֵיהֶם* belongs to what follows: “*And their tents came in such numbers as grasshoppers.*” *בְּכָרִי*, *lit.* like a multitude of grasshoppers, in such abundance. “*Thus they came into the land to devastate it.*”—Ver. 6. The Israelites were greatly weakened in consequence (*יָדָל*, the imperf. *Niphal* of *דָּלַל*), so that in their distress they cried to the Lord for help.—Vers. 7-10. But before helping them, the Lord sent a prophet to reprove the people for not hearkening to the voice of their God, in order that they might reflect, and might recognise in the oppression which crushed them the chastisement of God for their apostasy, and so be brought to sincere repentance and conversion by their remembrance of the former miraculous displays of the grace of God. The Lord God, said the prophet to the people, brought you out of Egypt, the house of bondage, and delivered you out of the hand of Egypt (Ex. xviii. 9), and out of the hand of all your oppressors (see chap. ii. 18, iv. 3, x. 12),

whom He drove before you (the reference is to the Amorites and Canaanites who were conquered by Moses and Joshua); but ye have not followed His commandment, that ye should not worship the gods of the Amorites. The Amorites stand here for the Canaanites, as in Gen. xv. 16 and Josh. xxiv. 15.

Vers. 11–32. *Call of Gideon to be the Deliverer of Israel.*—As the reproof of the prophet was intended to turn the hearts of the people once more to the Lord their God and deliverer, so the manner in which God called Gideon to be their deliverer, and rescued Israel from its oppressors through his instrumentality, was intended to furnish the most evident proof that the help and salvation of Israel were not to be found in man, but solely in their God. God had also sent their former judges. The Spirit of Jehovah had come upon Othniel, so that he smote the enemy in the power of God (chap. iii. 10). Ehud had put to death the hostile king by stratagem, and then destroyed his army; and Barak had received the command of the Lord, through the prophetess Deborah, to deliver His people from the dominion of their foes, and had carried out the command with her assistance. But Gideon was called to be the deliverer of Israel through an appearance of the angel of the Lord, to show to him and to all Israel, that Jehovah, the God of the fathers, was still near at hand to His people, and could work miracles as in the days of old, if Israel would only adhere to Him and keep His covenant. The call of Gideon took place in two revelations from God. First of all the Lord appeared to him in the visible form of an angel, in which He had already made himself known to the patriarchs, and summoned him in the strength of God to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Midianites (vers. 11–24). He then commanded him, in a dream of the night, to throw down his father's altar of Baal, and to offer a burnt-offering to Jehovah his God upon an altar erected for the purpose (vers. 25–32). In the first revelation the Lord acknowledged Gideon; in the second He summoned Gideon to acknowledge Him as his God.

Vers. 11–24. *Appearance of the Angel of the Lord.*—Ver. 11. The angel of the Lord, *i.e.* Jehovah, in a visible self-revelation in human form (see vol. i. pp. 185 sqq.), appeared this time in the form of a traveller with a staff in his hand (ver. 21), and sat down “*under the terebinth which (was) in Ophrah, that (belonged) to Joash the Abi-ezrite.*” It was not the oak, but Ophrah, that belonged to Joash, as we may see from ver. 24, where the expression “Ophrah of the Abi-ezrite” occurs. According to Josh. xvii. 2 and

1 Chron. vii. 18, *Abiezer* was a family in the tribe of Manasseh, and according to ver. 15 it was a small family of that tribe. *Joash* was probably the head of the family at that time, and as such was the lord or owner of *Ophrah*, a town (chap. viii. 27; cf. ix. 5) which was called "Ophrah of the Abi-ezrite," to distinguish it from Ophrah in the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23). The situation of the town has not yet been determined with certainty. *Josephus* (Ant. v. 6, 5) calls it *Ephran*. *Van de Velde* conjectures that it is to be found in the ruins of *Erfai*, opposite to Akrabeh, towards the s.e., near the Mohammedan Wely of Abu Kharib, on the s.w. of Janun (Mem. pp. 337-8), close to the northern boundary of the tribe-territory of Ephraim, if not actually within it. By this terebinth tree was Gideon the son of Joash "*knocking out wheat in the wine-press.*" תִּבְּט does not mean to thresh, but to knock with a stick. The wheat was threshed upon open floors, or in places in the open field that were rolled hard for the purpose, with threshing carriages or threshing shoes, or else with oxen, which they drove about over the scattered sheaves to tread out the grains with their hoofs. Only poor people knocked out the little corn that they had gleaned with a stick (Ruth ii. 17), and Gideon did it in the existing times of distress, namely in the pressing-tub, which, like all wine-presses, was sunk in the ground, in a hole that had been dug out or hewn in the rock (for a description of cisterns of this kind, see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 135-6), "*to make the wheat fly*" (i.e. to make it safe) "*from the Midianites*" (תִּבְּט as in Ex. ix. 20).—Ver. 12. While he was thus engaged the angel of the Lord appeared to him, and addressed him in these words: "*Jehovah (is) with thee, thou brave hero.*" This address contained the promise that the Lord would be with Gideon, and that he would prove himself a mighty hero through the strength of the Lord. This promise was to be a guarantee to him of strength and victory in his conflict with the Midianites.—Ver. 13. But Gideon, who did not recognise the angel of the Lord in the man who was sitting before him, replied doubtfully, "*Pray, sir, if Jehovah is with us, why has all this befallen us?*"—words which naturally recall to mind the words of Deut. xxxi. 17, "Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not among us?" "*And where,*" continued Gideon, "*are all His miracles, of which our fathers have told us? . . . But now Jehovah hath forsaken us, and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites.*" Gideon may have been reflecting, while knocking the wheat, upon the misery of his people, and the best means of delivering them from the

oppression of the enemy, but without being able to think of any possibility of rescuing them. For this reason he could not understand the address of the unknown traveller, and met his promise with the actual state of things with which it was so directly at variance, namely, the crushing oppression of his people by their enemies, from which he concluded that the Lord had forsaken them and given them up to their foes.—Ver. 14. “*Then Jehovah turned to him and said, Go in this thy strength, and deliver Israel from the hand of Midian. Have not I sent thee?*” The writer very appropriately uses the name Jehovah here, instead of the angel of Jehovah; for by his reply the angel distinctly manifested himself as Jehovah, more especially in the closing words, “*Have not I sent thee?*” (אֵלֶיךָ, in the sense of lively assurance), which are so suggestive of the call of Moses to be the deliverer of Israel (Ex. iii. 12). “*In this thy strength,*” i.e. the strength which thou now hast, since Jehovah is with thee—Jehovah, who can still perform miracles as in the days of the fathers. The demonstrative “*this*” points to the strength which had just been given to him through the promise of God.—Ver. 15. Gideon perceived from these words that it was not a mere man who was speaking to him. He therefore said in reply, not “pray sir” (אֲדָנָי), but “*pray, Lord*” (אֲדָנָי, i.e. Lord God), and no longer speaks of deliverance as impossible, but simply inquires, with a consciousness of his own personal weakness and the weakness of his family, “*Whereby (with what) shall I save Israel? Behold, my family (lit. ‘thousand,’ equivalent to mishpachah: see at Num. i. 16) is the humblest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father’s house (my family).*”—Ver. 16. To this difficulty the Lord replies, “*I will be with thee (see Ex. iii. 12, Josh. i. 5), and thou wilt smite the Midianites as one man,*” i.e. at one blow, as they slay a single man (see Num. xiv. 15).—Vers. 17 sqq. As Gideon could no longer have any doubt after this promise that the person who had appeared to him was speaking in the name of God, he entreated him to assure him by a sign (אֵימָה, a miraculous sign) of the certainty of his appearance. “*Do a sign that thou art speaking with me,*” i.e. that thou art really God, as thou affirmest. אֲשַׁמְּתֶנּוּ, for אֲשַׁמְּתֶנּוּ, is taken from the language of ordinary life. At the same time he presents this request: “*Depart not hence till I (go and) come to thee, and bring out my offering and set it before thee;*” and the angel at once assents. *Minchah* does not mean a sacrifice in the strict sense (*θυσία, sacrificium*), nor merely a “gift of food,” but a sacrificial gift in the

sense of a gift presented to God, on the acceptance of which he hoped to receive the sign, which would show whether the person who had appeared to him was really God. This sacrificial gift consisted of such food as they were accustomed to set before a guest whom they wished especially to honour. Gideon prepared a kid of the goats (עֲשָׂה is used to denote the preparation of food, as in Gen. xviii. 7, 8, etc.), and unleavened cakes of an ephah (about $22\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.) of meal, and brought the flesh in a basket and the broth in a pot out to the terebinth tree, and placed it before him.—Vers. 20, 21. The angel of the Lord then commanded him to lay the flesh and the cakes upon a rock close by, and to pour the broth upon it; that is to say, to make use of the rock as an altar for the offering to be presented to the Lord. When he had done this, the angel touched the food with the end of his staff, and fire came out of the rock and consumed the food, and the angel of the Lord vanished out of Gideon's sight. "*This rock,*" i.e. a rocky stone that was lying near. The departure of the angel from his eyes is to be regarded as a sudden disappearance; but the expression does not warrant the assumption that the angel ascended to heaven in this instance, as in chap. xiii. 19, 20, in the flame of the sacrifice.—Ver. 22. In this miracle Gideon received the desired sign, that the person who had appeared to him was God. But the miracle filled his soul with fear, so that he exclaimed, "*Alas, Lord Jehovah! for to this end have I seen the angel of the Lord face to face.*" אָהֵהָ אֲנִי יְהוָה is an exclamation, sometimes of grief on account of a calamity that has occurred (Josh vii. 7), and sometimes of alarm caused by the foreboding of some anticipated calamity (Jer. i. 6, iv. 10, xxxii. 17; Ezek. iv. 14, etc.). Here it is an expression of alarm, viz. fear of the death which might be the necessary consequence of his seeing God (see Ex. xx. 16 (19), and the remarks on Gen. xvi. 13). The expression which follows, "*for to this end,*" serves to account for the exclamation, without there being any necessity to assume an ellipsis, and supply "that I may die." בִּיָּעֵלְכֶן is always used in this sense (see Gen. xviii. 5, xix. 8, xxxiii. 10, etc.).—Vers. 23, 24. But the Lord comforted him with the words, "*Peace to thee; fear not: thou wilt not die.*" These words were not spoken by the angel as he vanished away, but were addressed by God to Gideon, after the disappearance of the angel, by an inward voice. In gratitude for this comforting assurance, Gideon built an altar to the Lord, which he called *Jehovah-shalom*, "the Lord is peace." The intention of this altar, which was preserved "unto this day," i.e. till the

time when the book of Judges was composed, is indicated in the name that was given to it. It was not to serve as a place of sacrifice, but to be a memorial and a witness of the revelation of God which had been made to Gideon, and of the proof which he had received that Jehovah was peace, *i.e.* would not destroy Israel in wrath, but cherished thoughts of peace. For the assurance of peace which He had given to Gideon, was also a confirmation of His announcement that Gideon would conquer the Midianites in the strength of God, and deliver Israel from its oppressors.

The theophany here described resembles so far the appearance of the angel of the Lord to Abram in the grove of Mamre (Gen. xviii.), that he appears in perfect human form, comes as a traveller, and allows food to be set before him; but there is this essential difference between the two, that whereas the three men who came to Abraham took the food that was set before them and ate thereof,—that is to say, allowed themselves to be hospitably entertained by Abraham,—the angel of the Lord in the case before us did indeed accept the *minchah* that had been made ready for him, but only as a sacrifice of Jehovah which he caused to ascend in fire. The reason for this essential difference is to be found in the different purpose of the two theophanies. To Abraham the Lord came to seal that fellowship of grace into which He had entered with him through the covenant that He had made; but in the case of Gideon His purpose was simply to confirm the truth of His promise, that Jehovah would be with him and would send deliverance through him to His people, or to show that the person who had appeared to him was the God of the fathers, who could still deliver His people out of the power of their enemies by working such miracles as the fathers had seen. But the acceptance of the *minchah* prepared for Him, as a sacrifice which the Lord himself caused to be miraculously consumed by fire, showed that the Lord would still graciously accept the prayers and sacrifices of Israel, if they would but forsake the worship of the dead idols of the heathen, and return to Him in sincerity. (Compare with this the similar theophany in chap. xiii.)

Vers. 25–32. *Gideon set apart as the Deliverer of his People.*—In order to be able to carry out the work entrusted to him of setting Israel free, it was necessary that Gideon should first of all purify his father's house from idolatry, and sanctify his own life and labour to Jehovah by sacrificing a burnt-offering.—Ver. 25. “*In that night,*” *i.e.* the night following the day on which the Lord

appeared to him, God commanded him to destroy his father's Baal's altar, with the *asherah*-idol upon it, and to build an altar to Jehovah, and offer a bullock of his father's upon the altar. "Take the ox-bullock which belongs to thy father, and indeed the second bullock of seven years, and destroy the altar of Baal, which belongs to thy father, and throw down the *asherah* upon it." According to the general explanation of the first clauses, there are two oxen referred to: viz. *first*, his father's young bullock; and *secondly*, an ox of seven years old, the latter of which Gideon was to sacrifice (according to ver. 26) upon the altar to be built to Jehovah, and actually did sacrifice, according to vers. 27, 28. But in what follows there is no further allusion to the young bullock, or the first ox of his father; so that there is a difficulty in comprehending for what purpose Gideon was to take it, or what use he was to make of it. Most commentators suppose that Gideon sacrificed both of the oxen,—the young bullock as an expiatory offering for himself, his father, and all his family, and the second ox of seven years old for the deliverance of the whole nation (see *Seb. Schmidt*). *Bertheau* supposes, on the other hand, that Gideon was to make use of both oxen, or of the strength they possessed for throwing down or destroying the altar, and (according to ver. 26) for removing the מַעֲרָכָה and the עֵצֵי הָאֲשֵׁרָה to the place of the new altar that was to be built, but that he was only to offer the second in sacrifice to Jehovah, because the first was probably dedicated to Baal, and therefore could not be offered to Jehovah. But these assumptions are both of them equally arbitrary, and have no support whatever from the text. If God had commanded Gideon to take two oxen, He would certainly have told him what he was to do with them both. But as there is only one bullock mentioned in vers. 26-28, we must follow *Tremell.* and others, who understand ver. 25 as meaning that Gideon was to take only one bullock, namely the young bullock of his father, and therefore regard וּבַר הַשְּׁנִי ש' ש' as a more precise definition of that one bullock (*var* being used in an explanatory sense, "and indeed," as in Josh. ix. 27, x. 7, etc.). This bullock is called "the second bullock," as being the second in age among the bullocks of Joash. The reason for choosing this second of the bullocks of Joash for a burnt-offering is to be found no doubt in its age (seven years), which is mentioned here simply on account of its significance as a number, as there was no particular age prescribed in the law for a burnt-offering, that is to say, because the seven years which constituted the age of the bullock contained an

inward allusion to the seven years of the Midianitish oppression. For *seven* years had God given Israel into the hands of the Midianites on account of their apostasy; and now, to wipe away this sin, Gideon was to take his father's bullock of *seven* years old, and offer it as a burnt-offering to the Lord. To this end Gideon was first of all to destroy the altar of Baal and of the *asherah* which his father possessed, and which, to judge from vers. 28, 29, was the common altar of the whole family of Abiezer in Ophrah. This altar was dedicated to Baal, but there was also upon it an *asherah*, an idol representing the goddess of nature, which the Canaanites worshipped; not indeed a *statue* of the goddess, but, as we may learn from the word בָּרָת, to *hew down*, simply a wooden pillar (see at Deut. xvi. 21). The altar therefore served for the two principal deities of the Canaanites (see *Movers*, Phönizier, i. pp. 566 sqq.). Jehovah could not be worshipped along with Baal. Whoever would serve the Lord must abolish the worship of Baal. The altar of Baal must be destroyed before the altar of Jehovah could be built. Gideon was to build this altar "*upon the top of this stronghold*," possibly upon the top of the mountain, upon which the fortress belonging to Ophrah was situated. בְּמִעֲרָבָה, "*with the preparation*;" the meaning of this word is a subject of dispute. As בָּנָה occurs in 1 Kings xv. 22 with בָּ, to denote the materials out of which (*i.e.* with which) a thing is built, *Stud.* and *Berth.* suppose that *maaracah* refers to the materials of the altar of Baal that had been destroyed, with which Gideon was to build the altar of Jehovah. *Stud.* refers it to the stone foundation of the altar of Baal; *Bertheau* to the materials that were lying ready upon the altar of Baal for the presentation of sacrifices, more especially the pieces of wood. But this is certainly incorrect, because *maaracah* does not signify either building materials or pieces of wood, and the definite article attached to the word does not refer to the altar of Baal at all. The verb עָרַב is not only very frequently used to denote the preparation of the wood upon the altar (Gen. xxii. 9; Lev. i. 7, etc.), but is also used for the preparation of an altar for the presentation of sacrifice (Num. xxiii. 4). Consequently *maaracah* can hardly be understood in any other way than as signifying the preparation of the altar to be built for the sacrificial act, in the sense of build the altar with the preparation required for the sacrifice. This preparation was to consist, according to what follows, in taking the wood of the *asherah*, that had been hewn down, as the wood for the burnt-offering to be offered to the Lord by Gideon. עָרַב הָאֲשֵׁרָה are not

trees, but pieces of wood from the *asherah* (that was hewn down).—Ver. 27. Gideon executed this command of God with ten men of his servants during the night, no doubt the following night, because he was afraid to do it by day, on account of his family (his father's house), and the people of the town.—Vers. 28, 29. But on the following morning, when the people of the town found the altar of Baal destroyed and the *asherah* upon it hewn down, and the bullock sacrificed upon the (newly) erected altar (the bullock would not be entirely consumed), they asked who had done it, and soon learned that Gideon had done it all. The accusative אֵת הַפֶּהר הַשָּׁנִי is governed by the *Hophal* הֶעֱלָה (for הֶעֱלָה, see *Ges.* s. 63, Anm. 4), according to a construction that was by no means rare, especially in the earlier Hebrew, viz. of the passive with אֵת (see at Gen. iv. 18). “*They asked and sought,*” *sc.* for the person who had done it; “*and they said,*” either those who were making the inquiry, according to a tolerably safe conjecture, or the persons who were asked, and who were aware of what Gideon had done.—Vers. 30, 31. But when they demanded of Joash, “*Bring out (give out) thy son, that he may die,*” he said to all who stood round, “*Will ye, ye, fight for Baal, or will ye save him?*” (‘ye’ is repeated with special emphasis). *Whoever shall fight for him (Baal), shall be put to death till the morning.*” עַד-חֲבָרָה, till the (next) morning, is not to be joined to יוֹמָת, in the sense of “very speedily, before the dawning day shall break” (*Bertheau*),—a sense which is not to be found in the words: it rather belongs to the subject of the clause, or to the whole clause in the sense of, *Whoever shall fight for Baal, and seek to avenge the destruction of his altar by putting the author of it to death, shall be put to death himself; let us wait till to-morrow, and give Baal time to avenge the insult which he has received. “If he be God, let him fight for himself; for they have destroyed his altar,”* and have thereby challenged his revenge. Gideon’s daring act of faith had inspired his father Joash with believing courage, so that he took the part of his son, and left the whole matter to the deity to decide. If Baal were really God, he might be expected to avenge the crime that had been committed against this altar.—Ver. 32. From this fact Gideon received the name of *Jerubbaal*, i.e. “*let Baal fight (or decide),*” since they said, “*Let Baal fight against him, for he has destroyed his altar.*” יִרְבֵּעַל is formed from יָרָב = יָרַב or יָרִיב and בָּעַל. This surname very soon became an honourable title for Gideon. When, for example, it became apparent to the people that Baal could not do him any

harm, *Jerubbaal* became a Baal-fighter, one who had fought against Baal. In 2 Sam. xi. 21, instead of *Jerubbaal* we find the name *Jerubbesheth*, in which *Besheth* = *Bosheth* is a nickname of Baal, which also occurs in other Israelitish names, *e.g.* in *Ishbosheth* (2 Sam. ii. 8 sqq.) for *Eshbaal* (1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39). The name *Jerubbaal* is written Ἰεροβάαλ by the LXX., from which in all probability *Philo* of Byblus, in his revision of *Sanchuniathon*, has formed his Ἰερόμβαλος, a priest of the god Ἰεῦω.

Gideon's Victory over the Midianites.—Chap. vi. 33–viii. 3.

Chap. vi. 33–40. EQUIPMENT OF GIDEON FOR THE BATTLE.—When the Midianites and their allies once more invaded the land of Israel, Gideon was seized by the Spirit of God, so that he gathered together an army from the northern tribes of Israel (vers. 33–35), and entreated God to assure him by a sign of gaining the victory over the enemy (vers. 36–40).—Vers. 33 sqq. The enemy gathered together again, went over (*viz.* across) the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Beisan (see at chap. vii. 24 and viii. 4), and encamped in the valley of Jezreel (see at Josh. xvii. 16). “*And the Spirit of Jehovah came upon Gideon*” (רוּחַ יְהוָה, *clothed*, *i.e.* descended upon him, and laid itself around him as it were like a coat of mail, or a strong equipment, so that he became invulnerable and invincible in its might: see 1 Chron. xii. 18, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, and Luke xxiv. 49). Gideon then blew the trumpet, to call Israel to battle against the foe (see chap. iii. 27); “*and Abiezer let itself be summoned after him.*” His own family, which had recognised the deliverer of Israel in the fighter of Baal, who was safe from Baal’s revenge, was the first to gather round him. Their example was followed by all Manasseh, *i.e.* the Manassites on the west of the Jordan (for the tribes on the east of the Jordan took no part in the war), and the neighbouring tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali on the north, which had been summoned by heralds to the battle. “*They advanced to meet them:*” *i.e.* to meet the Manassites, who were coming from the south to the battle, to make war upon the enemy in concert with them and under the guidance of Gideon. אָוָּץ is used to denote their advance against the enemy (see at Josh. viii. 2), and not in the sense of going up, since the Asherites and Naphtalites would not go up from their mountains into the plain of Jezreel, but could only go down.—Vers. 36 sqq. But before Gideon went into the battle with the assembled army, he asked for a sign from God of the success of his under-

taking. "If Thou," he said to God, "art saving Israel through my hand, as Thou hast said, behold, I lay this fleece of wool upon the floor; if there shall be dew upon the fleece only, and dryness upon all the earth (round about), I know (by this) that Thou wilt save," etc. גִּזְוֹת הַצֶּמֶר, *the shorn of the wool*; i.e. the fleece, the wool that had been shorn off a sheep, and still adhered together as one whole fleece. The sign which Gideon asked for, therefore, was that God would cause the dew to fall only upon a shorn fleece, which he would spread the previous night upon the floor, that is to say, upon some open ground, and that the ground all round might not be moistened by the dew.—Ver. 38. God granted the sign. "And so it came to pass; the next morning, Gideon pressed the fleece together (וּרָ from וָרָ), and squeezed (צָמַץ from מָצָה) dew out of the fleece a vessel full of water" (מֵלֵא as in Num. xxii. 18, and מִפֶּל as in chap. v. 25). So copiously had the dew fallen in the night upon the fleece that was exposed; whereas, as we may supply from the context, the earth all round had remained dry.—Vers. 39, 40. But as this sign was not quite a certain one, since wool generally attracts the dew, even when other objects remain dry, Gideon ventured to solicit the grace of God to grant him another sign with the fleece,—namely, that the fleece might remain dry, and the ground all round be wet with dew. And God granted him this request also. Gideon's prayer for a sign did not arise from want of faith in the divine assurance of a victory, but sprang from the weakness of the flesh, which crippled the strength of the spirit's faith, and often made the servants of God so anxious and despondent, that God had to come to the relief of their weakness by the manifestation of His miraculous power. Gideon knew himself and his own strength, and was well aware that his human strength was not sufficient for the conquest of the foe. But as the Lord had promised him His aid, he wished to make sure of that aid through the desired sign.¹ And "the simple fact that such a man could obtain the most daring victory was to be a special glorification of God" (*O. v. Gerlach*). The sign itself was to manifest the strength of the divine assistance to his weakness of faith. Dew in the Scriptures is a symbol of the

¹ "From all these things, the fact that he had seen and heard the angel of Jehovah, and that he had been taught by fire out of the rock, by the disappearance of the angel, by the vision of the night, and by the words addressed to him there, Gideon did indeed believe that God both could and would deliver Israel through his instrumentality; but this faith was not placed above or away from the conflict of the flesh by which it was tested. And it is not strange that

beneficent power of God, which quickens, revives, and invigorates the objects of nature, when they have been parched by the burning heat of the sun's rays. The first sign was to be a pledge to him of the visible and tangible blessing of the Lord upon His people, the proof that He would grant them power over their mighty foes by whom Israel was then oppressed. The woollen fleece represented the nation of Israel in its condition at that time, when God had given power to the foe that was devastating its land, and had withdrawn His blessing from Israel. The moistening of the fleece with the dew of heaven whilst the land all round continued dry, was a sign that the Lord God would once more give strength to His people from on high, and withdraw it from the nations of the earth. Hence the second sign acquires the more general signification, "that the Lord manifested himself even in the weakness and forsaken condition of His people, while the nations were flourishing all around" (*O. v. Gerl.*); and when so explained, it served to confirm and strengthen the first, inasmuch as it contained the comforting assurance for all times, that the Lord has not forsaken His church, even when it cannot discern and trace His beneficent influence, but rules over it and over the nations with His almighty power.

Chap. vii. 1-8. MUSTERING OF THE ARMY THAT GIDEON HAD COLLECTED.—Ver. 1. When Gideon had been assured of the help of God by this double sign, he went to the battle early the next morning with the people that he had gathered around him. The Israelites encamped above the fountain of *Harod*, i.e. upon a height at the foot of which this fountain sprang; but the camp of Midian was to him (Gideon) to the north of the hill *Moreh* in the valley (of Jezreel: see chap. vi. 33). The geographical situation of these two places cannot be determined with certainty. The fountain of *Harod* is never mentioned again, though there is a place of that name referred to in 2 Sam. xxiii. 25 as the home of two of David's heroes; and it was from this, no doubt, that the fountain was named. The hill *Moreh* is also unknown. As it was by the valley (of Jezreel), we cannot possibly think of the grove of *Moreh* at Shechem

it rose to its greatest height when the work of deliverance was about to be performed. Wherefore Gideon with his faith sought for a sign from God against the more vehement struggle of the flesh, in order that his faith might be the more confirmed, and might resist the opposing flesh with the greater force. And this petition for a sign was combined with prayers for the strengthening of his faith."—*Seb. Schmidt.*

(Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30).¹—Vers. 2, 3. The army of the Israelites amounted to 32,000 men (ver. 4), but that of the Midianites and their allies was about 135,000 (chap. viii. 10), so that they were greatly superior to the Israelites in numbers. Nevertheless the Lord said to Gideon, “*The people that are with thee are too many for me to give Midian into their hands, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, My hand hath helped me.*” רַב followed by מְאֹד is to be understood as a comparative. Gideon was therefore to have a proclamation made before all the people: “*Whosoever is fearful and despondent, let him turn and go back from Mount Gilead.*” The ἀπ. λεγ. צִפּוֹר, judging from the Arabic, which signifies to plait, viz. hair, ropes, etc., and the noun צִפּוֹרֶה, a circle or circuitous orbit, probably signifies to twist one’s self round; hence in this instance to return in windings, to slink away in bypaths. The expression “*from Mount Gilead,*” however, is very obscure. The mountain (or the mountains) of Gilead was on the eastern side of the Jordan; but the Israelitish army was encamped in or near the plain of Jezreel, in the country to the west of the Jordan, and had been gathered from the western tribes alone; so that even the inadmissible rendering, Let him turn and go home to the mountains of Gilead, would not give any appropriate sense. The only course left therefore is either to pronounce it an error of the text, as *Clericus* and *Bertheau* have done, and to regard “Gilead” as a mistake for “Gilboa,” or to conclude that there was also a mountain or mountain range named *Gilead* by the plain of Jezreel in western Palestine, just as, according to Josh. xv. 10, there was a mountain, or range of mountains, called *Seir*, in the territory of Judah, of which nothing further is known. The appeal which Gideon is here directed to make to the army was prescribed in the law (Deut. xx. 8) for every war

¹ *Bertheau* endeavours to settle the position of the place from our knowledge of the country, which is for the most part definite enough. Starting with the assumption that the fountain of *Harod* cannot be any other than the “fountain in Jezreel” mentioned in 1 Sam. xxix. 1, where Saul and the Israelites encamped at Gilboa (1 Sam. xxviii. 4) to fight against the Philistines who were posted at *Shunem*, a place on the western slope of the so-called Little Hermon, he concludes that the fountain of *Harod* must be the present *Ain Jalud*, and the hill of *Moreh* the Little *Hermon* itself. These combinations are certainly possible, for we have nothing definite to oppose to them; still they are very uncertain, as they simply rest upon the very doubtful assumption that the only fountain in the plain of Jezreel was the celebrated fountain called *Ain Jalud*, and are hardly reconcilable with the account given of the route which was taken by the defeated Midianites (vers. 25 sqq. and chap. viii. 4).

in which the Israelites should be engaged, and its general object was to fortify the spirit of the army by removing the cowardly and desponding. But in the case before us the intention of the Lord was to deprive His people of all ground for self-glorification. Hence the result of the appeal was one which Gideon himself certainly did not expect,—namely, that more than two-thirds of the soldiers gathered round him—22,000 men of the people—turned back, and only 10,000 remained.—Ver. 4. But even this number was regarded by the Lord as still too great, so that He gave to Gideon the still further command, “*Bring them (the 10,000 men) down to the water;*” i.e. the waters formed from the fountain of Harod, “*and I will purify them for thee there* (פָּרַץ, separate those appointed for the battle from the rest of the army; the singular suffix refers to הָעָם), *and say to thee, This shall go with thee, and that;*” i.e. show thee each individual who is to go with thee to the battle, and who not.—Vers. 5, 6. Gideon was to divide the people by putting all those who should lick the water with their tongue as a dog licketh into one class, and all those who knelt down to drink into another, and so separating the latter from the former. The number of those who licked the water into their mouth with their hand amounted to 300, and all the rest knelt down to drink. “*To lick with their hand to their mouth;*” i.e. to take the water from the brook with the hollow of their hand, and lap it into the mouth with their tongue as a dog does, is only a more distinct expression for “licking with the tongue.” The 300 men who quenched their thirst in this manner were certainly not the cowardly or indolent who did not kneel down to drink in the ordinary way, either from indolence or fear, as *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and others supposed, but rather the bravest,—namely those who, when they reached a brook before the battle, did not allow themselves time to kneel down and satisfy their thirst in the most convenient manner, but simply took up some water with their hands as they stood in their military accoutrements, to strengthen themselves for the battle, and then proceeded without delay against the foe. By such a sign as this, *Bertheau* supposes that even an ordinary general might have been able to recognise the bravest of his army. No doubt: but if this account had not been handed down, it is certain that it would never have occurred to an ordinary or even a distinguished general to adopt such a method of putting the bravery of his troops to the test; and even Gideon, the hero of God, would never have thought of diminishing still further through such a trial an army which had already become so small,

or of attempting to defeat an army of more than 100,000 men by a few hundred of the bravest men, if the Lord himself had not commanded it.

Whilst the Lord was willing to strengthen the feeble faith of Gideon by the sign with the fleece of wool, and thus to raise him up to full confidence in the divine omnipotence, He also required of him, when thus strengthened, an attestation of his faith, by the purification of his army, that he might give the whole glory to Him, and accept the victory over that great multitude from His hand alone.—Ver. 7. After his fighting men had been divided into a small handful of 300 men on the one hand, and the large host of 9700 on the other, by the fulfilment of the command of God, the Lord required of him that he should send away the latter, “every man to his place,” *i.e.* to his own home, promising that He would save Israel by the 300 men, and deliver the Midianites into their hand. The promise preceded the command, to render it easier to Gideon to obey it. “*All the people,*” after taking out the 300 men, that is to say, the 9700 that remained.—Ver. 8. “*So they* (the 300 picked men) *took the provision of the people in their hand, and their* (the people’s) *trumpets* (the suffix points back to הָעָם, the people); *and all the men of Israel* (the 9700) *he had sent away every one to his tents,* *i.e.* to his home (see at Deut. xvi. 7), *and the three hundred men he had kept by himself; but the camp of the Midianites was below to him in the valley.*” These words bring the preparations for the battle to a close, and the last clause introduces the ensuing conflict and victory. In the first clause הָעָם (the people) cannot be the subject, partly because of the actual sense, since the 300 warriors, who are no doubt the persons intended (cf. ver. 16), cannot be called “the people,” in distinction from “all the men of Israel,” and partly also because of the expression אֶת־צִדָּה, which would be construed in that case without any article in violation of the ordinary rule. We must rather read אֶת־צִדָּה הָעָם, as the LXX. and the Chaldee have done. The 300 men took the provision of the people, *i.e.* provision for the war, from the people who had been sent away, and the war-trumpets; so that every one of the 300 had a trumpet now, and as the provision of the people was also probably kept in vessels or pitchers (*caddim*: ver. 16), a jug as well. The subject to יָקְחִי is to be taken from the first clause of the seventh verse. The sentences which follow from וְאֵת כָּל־אִישׁ are circumstantial clauses, introduced to bring out distinctly the situation in which Gideon was now placed. הִתְחַיֵּק, the opposite of שָׁלַח, to send

away, signifies to hold fast, to keep back or by himself, as in Ex. ix. 2. **וְלִי**, to him, Gideon, who was standing by the fountain of Harod with his 300 men, the situation of Midian was underneath in the valley (see ver. 1, and chap. vi. 33).

Vers. 9-22. GIDEON'S BATTLE AND VICTORY.—Vers. 9-11*a*. The following night the Lord commanded Gideon to go down to the camp of the enemy, as He had given it into his hand (the perfect is used to denote the purpose of God which had already been formed, as in chap. iv. 14). But in order to fill him with confidence for such an enterprise, which to all human appearance was a very rash one, God added, "*If thou art afraid to go down, go thou with thine attendant Purah down to the camp, and thou wilt hear what they say, and thy hands will thereby become strong.*" The meaning of the protasis is not, If thou art afraid to go down into the camp of the enemy alone, or to visit the enemy unarmed, take Purah thine armour-bearer with thee, to make sure that thou hast weapons to use (*Bertheau*); for, apart from the fact that the addition "unarmed" is perfectly arbitrary, the apodosis "thou wilt see," etc., by no means agrees with this explanation. The meaning is rather this: Go with thy 300 men into (**אֶל**) the hostile camp to smite it, for I have given it into thy hand; but if thou art afraid to do this, go down with thine attendant to (**אֶל**) the camp, to ascertain the state and feeling of the foe, and thou wilt hear what they say, *i.e.*, as we gather from what follows, how they are discouraged, have lost all hope of defeating you, and from that thou wilt gather courage and strength for the battle. On the expression "*thine hands shall be strengthened*," see 2 Sam. ii. 7. The expression which follows, **וַיִּרְדֵּף בְּמַחֲנֶה**, is not a mere repetition of the command to go down with his attendant to the hostile camp, but describes the result of the stimulus given to his courage: And then thou wilt go fearlessly into the hostile camp to attack the foe. **וַיִּרְדֵּף בְּמַחֲנֶה** (vers. 9, 11) is to be distinguished from **וַיִּרְדֵּף אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה** in ver. 10. The former signifies to go down into the camp to smite the foe; the latter, to go down to the camp to reconnoitre it, and is equivalent to the following clause: "he went to the outside of the camp."—Vers. 11*b*-14. But when Gideon came with his attendant to the end of the armed men (*chamushim*, as in Josh. i. 14, Ex. xiii. 18) in the hostile camp, and the enemy were lying spread out with their camels in the valley, an innumerable multitude, he heard one (of the fighting men) relate to his fellow (*i.e.* to another) a dream which he

had had : “ *Behold a cake of barley bread was rolling into the camp of Midian, and it came to the tent and smote it, so that it fell and turned upwards, and the tent lay along.*” Then the other replied, “ *This is nothing else than the sword of Gideon the son of Joash the Israelite : God hath given Midian and all the camp into his hand.*” “The end of fighting men” signifies the outermost or foremost of the outposts in the enemy’s camp, which contained not only fighting men, but the whole of the baggage of the enemy, who had invaded the land as nomads, with their wives, their children, and their flocks. In ver. 12, the innumerable multitude of the enemy is described once more in the form of a circumstantial clause, as in chap. vi. 5, not so much to distinguish the fighting men from the camp generally, as to bring out more vividly the contents and meaning of the following dream. The comparison of the enemy to the sand by the sea-side recalls Josh. xi. 4, and is frequently met with (see Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 13 ; 1 Sam. xiii. 5). With the word יִבְנֶה in ver. 13, the thread of the narrative, which was broken off by the circumstantial clause in ver. 12, is resumed and carried further. The ἀπ. λεγ. כֶּרִי (Keri, כֶּרִי) is rendered *cake, placenta*, by the early translators : see *Ges. Thes.* p. 1170. The derivation of the word has been disputed, and is by no means certain, as כֶּרִי does not give any suitable meaning, either in the sense of to ring or to be overshadowed, and the meaning to roll (*Ges. l.c.*) cannot be philologically sustained ; whilst כָּרַח, to roast, can hardly be thought of, since this is merely used to denote the roasting of flesh, and כָּרַח was the word commonly applied to the roasting of grains, and even “the roasted of barley bread” would hardly be equivalent to *subcinericeus panis ex hordeo* (*Vulgate*). “The tent,” with the definite article, is probably the principal tent in the camp, *i.e.* the tent of the general. לָמַעְלָה, upwards, so that the bottom came to the top. “The tent lay along,” or the tent fell, lay in ruins, is added to give emphasis to the words. “This is nothing if not,” *i.e.* nothing but. The cake of bread which had rolled into the Midianitish camp and overturned the tent, signifies nothing else than the sword of Gideon, *i.e.* Gideon, who is bursting into the camp with his sword, and utterly destroying it.

This interpretation of the dream was certainly a natural one under the circumstances. Gideon is especially mentioned simply as the leader of the Israelites ; whilst the loaf of barley bread, which was the food of the poorer classes, is to be regarded as strictly speaking the symbol of Israel, which was so despised among the nations. The rising of the Israelites under Gideon had

not remained a secret to the Midianites, and no doubt filled them with fear; so that in a dream this fear might easily assume the form of the defeat or desolation and destruction of their camp by Gideon. And the peculiar form of the dream is also psychologically conceivable. As the tent is everything to a nomad, he might very naturally picture the cultivator of the soil as a man whose life is all spent in cultivating and baking bread. In this way bread would become almost involuntarily a symbol of the cultivator of the soil, whilst in his own tent he would see a symbol not only of his mode of life, but of his freedom, greatness, and power. If we add to this, that the free pastoral tribes, particularly the Bedouins of Arabia, look down with pride not only upon the poor tillers of the soil, but even upon the inhabitants of towns, and that in Palestine, the land of wheat, none but the poorer classes feed upon barley bread, we have here all the elements out of which the dream of the Midianitish warrior was formed. The Israelites had really been crushed by the Midianites into a poor nation of slaves. But whilst the dream itself admits of being explained in this manner in a perfectly natural way, it acquires the higher supernatural character of a divine inspiration, from the fact that God not only foreknew it, but really caused the Midianite to dream, and to relate the dream to his comrade, just at the time when Gideon had secretly entered the camp, so that he should hear it, and discover therefrom, as God had foretold him, the despondency of the foe. Under these circumstances, Gideon could not fail to regard the dream as a divine inspiration, and to draw the assurance from it, that God had certainly given the Midianites into his hands.—Vers. 15–18. When therefore he had heard the dream related and interpreted, he worshipped, praising the Lord with joy, and returned to the camp to attack the enemy without delay. He then divided the 300 men into three companies, *i.e.* three attacking columns, and gave them all trumpets and empty pitchers, with torches in the pitchers in their hands. The pitchers were taken that they might hide the burning torches in them during their advance to surround the enemy's camp, and then increase the noise at the time of the attack, by dashing the pitchers to pieces (ver. 20), and thus through the noise, as well as the sudden lighting up of the burning torches, deceive the enemy as to the strength of the army. At the same time he commanded them, “*See from me, and do likewise*,”—a short expression for, As ye see me do, so do ye also (יִרְאוּ, without the previous בּ, or בִּיטְאוּ, as in chap. v. 15; see *Ewald*, § 260, a.),—“*I blow the trumpet, I and*

all who are with me; ye also blow the trumpets round about the entire camp;" which the 300 men divided into three companies were to surround, "*and say, To the Lord and Gideon.*" According to ver. 20, this war-cry ran fully thus: "*Sword to (for) the Lord and Gideon.*" This addition in ver. 20, however, does not warrant us in inserting "*chereb*" (sword) in the text here, as some of the early translators and mss. have done.¹—Ver. 19. Gideon then proceeded with the 100 who were with him, *i.e.* the company which was led by himself personally, to the end of the hostile camp, at the beginning of the middle watch, *i.e.* at midnight. שָׁמַר is an accusative defining the time: see *Ges.* § 118, 2, and *Ewald*, § 204, *a*. The only other watch that is mentioned in the Old Testament beside the middle night-watch, is the morning night-watch (*Ex.* xiv. 24; *1 Sam.* xi. 11), from which it has been correctly inferred, that the Israelites divided the night into three night-watches. The division into four watches (*Matt.* xiv. 25; *Mark* vi. 48) was first adopted by the Jews from the Romans. "*They (the Midianites) had only (just) posted the watchmen (of the middle watch),*"—a circumstantial clause, introduced to give greater distinctness to the situation. When the first sentries were relieved, and the second posted, so that they thought they might make quite sure of their night's rest once more, Gideon and his host arrived at the end of the camp, and, as we must supply from the context, the other two hosts at two other ends of the camp, who all blew their trumpets, breaking the pitchers in their hands at the same time. The *inf. abs.* נִפְּחָו, as a continuation of the finite verb נִפְּחָו, indicates that the fact was contemporaneous with the previous one (see *Ewald*, § 351, *c.*).—Ver. 20. According to the command which they had received (ver. 17), the other two tribes followed his example. "*Then the three companies*

¹ Similar stratagems to the one adopted by Gideon here are recorded by *Polyænus* (*Strateg.* ii. c. 37) of *Dicetas*, at the taking of *Heræa*, and by *Plutarch* (*Fabius Max.* c. 6) of *Hannibal*, when he was surrounded and completely shut in by *Fabius Maximus*. An example from modern history is given by *Niebuhr* (*Beschr. von Arabien*, p. 304). About the middle of the eighteenth century two Arabian chiefs were fighting for the *Imamate of Oman*. One of them, *Bel-Arab*, besieged the other, *Achmed ben Said*, with four or five thousand men, in a small castle on the mountain. But the latter slipped out of the castle, collected together several hundred men, gave every soldier a sign upon his head, that they might be able to distinguish friends from foes, and sent small companies to all the passes. Every one had a trumpet to blow at a given signal, and thus create a noise at the same time on every side. The whole of the opposing army was thrown in this way into disorder, since they found all the passes occupied, and imagined the hostile army to be as great as the noise.

blew the trumpets, broke the pitchers, and held the torches in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right to blow, and cried, *Sword to the Lord and Gideon!* And they stood every one in his place round about the camp," *sc.* without moving, so that the Midianites necessarily thought that there must be a numerous army advancing behind the torch-bearers. וַיִּרְצוּ, "*and the whole army ran,*" *i.e.* there began a running hither and thither in the camp of the enemy, who had been frightened out of their night's rest by the unexpected blast of the trumpets, the noise, and the war-cry of the Israelitish warriors; "*and they (the enemy) lifted up a cry (of anguish and alarm), and caused to fly*" (carried off), *sc.* their tents (*i.e.* their families) and their herds, or all their possessions (*cf.* chap. vi. 11, Ex. ix. 20). The *Chethibh* וַיִּסּו is the original reading, and the *Keri* וַיִּנּוּסו a bad emendation.—Ver. 22. Whilst the 300 men blew their trumpets, "*Jehovah set the sword of one against the other, and against the whole camp,*" *i.e.* caused one to turn his sword against the other and against all the camp, that is to say, not merely man against man, but against every one in the camp, so that there arose a terrible slaughter throughout the whole camp. The first clause, "*and the three hundred blew the trumpets,*" simply resumes the statement in ver. 20, "*the three companies blew the trumpets,*" for the purpose of appending to it the further progress of the attack, and the result of the battle. *Bertheau* inserts in a very arbitrary manner the words, "*the second time.*" His explanation of the next clause ("*then the 300 fighting men of Gideon drew the sword at Jehovah's command, every man against his man*") is still more erroneous, since it does violence to the constant usage of the expression אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ (*see* 1 Sam. xiv. 20, 2 Chron. xx. 23, Isa. iii. 5, Zech. viii. 10). "*And all the camp of the Midianites fled to Beth-shittah to Zeredah, to the shore of Abel-meholah, over Tabbath.*" The situation of these places, which are only mentioned here, with the exception of Abel-meholah, the home of Elisha (1 Kings xix. 16, iv. 12), has not yet been determined. According to the Syriac, the Arabic, and some of the mss., we should read *Zeredathah* instead of *Zererathah*, and *Zeredathah* is only another form for *Zarthan* (*comp.* 1 Kings vii. 46 with 2 Chron. iv. 17). This is favoured by the situation of *Zarthan* in the valley of the Jordan, probably near the modern *Kurn Sartabeh* (*see* p. 46), inasmuch as in all probability Beth-shittah and Abel-meholah are to be sought for in the valley of the Jordan; and according to ver. 24, the enemy fled to the Jordan. *Beth-shittah*, *i.e.* acacia-house, is not the same place

as the village of *Shutta* mentioned by *Robinson* (iii. p. 219), since this village, according to *Van de Velde's* map, was to the north of Gilboa. For although *Shutta* is favoured by the circumstance, that from a very ancient time there was a road running from Jezreel along the valley, between the so-called Little Hermon (*Duhy*) and the mountains of Gilboa, and past Beisan to the Jordan; and the valley of Jalud, on the northern side of which *Shutta* was situated, may be regarded as the opening of the plain of Jezreel into the valley of the Jordan (see *v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 41, and *Rob.* iii. p. 176); and *v. Raumer* conjectures from this, that “the flight of the Midianites was apparently directed to Bethsean, on account of the nature of the ground,”—this assumption is rendered very questionable by the fact that the flying foe did not cross the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Beisan, but much farther to the south, viz., according to chap. viii. 4, in the neighbourhood of *Succoth*, which was on the south side of the Nahr Zerka (*Jabbok*). From this we are led to conjecture, that they were not encamped in the north-eastern part of the plain of Jezreel, in the neighbourhood of Jezreel (*Zerin*) and *Shunem* (*Solam*), but in the south-eastern part of this plain, and that after they had been beaten there they fled southwards from Gilboa, say from the district of *Ginæa* (*Jenin*) to the Jordan. In this case we have to seek for *Abel-shittah* on the south-east of the mountains of Gilboa, to the north of *Zeredathah* (*Zarthan*). From this point they fled on still farther to the “*shore of Abel-meholah*.” שֵׁפֶת does not mean boundary, but brink; here the bank of the Jordan, like שֵׁפֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן in 2 Kings ii. 13. The bank or strand of *Abel-meholah* is that portion of the western bank of the Jordan or of the Ghor, above which *Abel-meholah* was situated. According to the *Onom.* (s. v. Ἀβελμαελαί, *Abelmaula*), this place was in the *Aulon* (or Ghor), ten Roman miles to the south of *Scythopolis* (*Beisan*), and was called at that time Βηθμαελαί or *Bethaula*. According to this statement, *Abel-meholah* would have to be sought for near *Churbet es Shuk*, in the neighbourhood of the *Wady Maleh* (see *V. de Velde*, Mem. p. 280). And lastly, *Tabbath* must have been situated somewhere to the south of *Abel-meholah*.

Ver. 23—chap. viii. 3. *Pursuit of the Enemy as far as the Jordan*.—Ver. 23. As soon as the Midianites had been put to flight, the Israelitish men of *Naphtali*, *Asher*, and *Manasseh*, let themselves be convened for the purpose of pursuing them: i.e. the men of these tribes, whom Gideon had sent away before the battle, and who were on their way home, could be summoned back again in

a very short time to join in the pursuit of the flying foe. The omission of Zebulun (chap. vi. 35) is, in all probability, simply to be attributed to the brevity of the account.—Vers. 24, 25. In order to cut off the retreat of the enemy who was flying to the Jordan, Gideon sent messengers into the whole of the mountains of Ephraim with this appeal to the Ephraimites, “*Come down (from your mountains into the lowlands of the Jordan) to meet Midian, and take the waters from them to Bethbarah and the Jordan,*” sc. by taking possession of this district (see chap. iii. 28). “*The waters,*” mentioned before the Jordan and distinguished from it, must have been streams across which the flying foe would have to cross to reach the Jordan, namely, the different brooks and rivers, such as *Wady Maleh, Fyadh, Jamel, Tubás*, etc., which flowed down from the eastern side of the mountains of Ephraim into the Jordan, and ran through the Ghor to Bethbarah. The situation of *Bethbarah* is unknown. Even *Eusebius* could say nothing definite concerning the place; and the conjecture that it is the same as Bethabara, which has been regarded ever since the time of Origen as the place mentioned in John i. 28 where John baptized, throws no light upon the subject, as the situation of Bethabara is also unknown, to say nothing of the fact that the identity of the two names is very questionable. The Ephraimites responded to this appeal and took possession of the waters mentioned, before the Midianites, who could only move slowly with their flocks and herds, were able to reach the Jordan. They then captured two of the princes of the Midianites and put them to death: one of them, *Oreb*, i.e. the raven, at the rock *Oreb*; the other, *Zeeb*, i.e. the wolf, at the winepress of *Zeeb*. Nothing further is known about these two places. The rock of *Oreb* is only mentioned again in Isa. x. 26, when the prophet alludes to this celebrated victory. So much, however, is evident from the verse before us, viz. that the Midianites were beaten by the Ephraimites at both places, and that the two princes fell there, and the places received their names from that circumstance. They were not situated in the land to the east of the Jordan, as *Gesenius* (on Isa. x. 26), *Rosenmüller*, and others infer from the fact that the Ephraimites brought the heads of *Oreb* and *Zeeb* to Gideon מַעְבַּר לַיַּרְדֵּן (ver. 25), but on the western side of the Jordan, where the Ephraimites had taken possession of the waters and the Jordan in front of the Midianites. מַעְבַּר לַיַּרְדֵּן does not mean “from the other side of the Jordan,” but simply “on the other side of (beyond) the Jordan,” as in Josh. xiii. 32, xviii. 7, 1

Kings xiv. 15; and the statement here is not that the Ephraimites brought the heads from the other side to Gideon on the west of the river, but that they brought them to Gideon when he was in the land to the east of the Jordan. This explanation of the words is required by the context, as well as by the foregoing remark, "they pursued Midian," according to which the Ephraimites continued the pursuit of the Midianites after slaying these princes, and also by the complaint brought against Gideon by the Ephraimites, which is not mentioned till afterwards (chap. viii. 1 sqq.), that he had not summoned them to the war. It is true, this is given before the account of Gideon's crossing over the Jordan (chap. viii. 4), but in order of time it did not take place till afterwards, and, as *Bertheau* has correctly shown, the historical sequence is somewhat anticipated.

Chap. viii. 1-3. When the Ephraimites met with Gideon, after they had smitten the Midianites at Oreb and Zeeb, and were pursuing them farther, they said to him, "*What is the thing that thou hast done to us (i.e. what is the reason for your having done this to us), not to call us when thou wentest forth to make war upon Midian? And they did chide with him sharply,*" less from any dissatisfied longing for booty, than from injured pride or jealousy, because Gideon had made war upon the enemy and defeated them without the co-operation of this tribe, which was striving for the leadership. Gideon's reply especially suggests the idea of injured ambition: "*What have I now done like you?*" i.e. as if I had done as great things as you. "*Is not the gleanings of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?*" The gleanings of Ephraim is the victory gained over the flying Midianites. Gideon declares this to be better than the vintage of Abiezer, i.e. the victory obtained by him the Abiezrite with his 300 men, because the Ephraimites had slain two Midianitish princes. The victory gained by the Ephraimites must indeed have been a very important one, as it is mentioned by Isaiah (x. 26) as a great blow of the Lord upon Midian. "*And what could I do like you?*" i.e. could I accomplish such great deeds as you? "*Then their anger turned away from him.*" נָחַם, the breathing of the nose, snorting, hence "*anger,*" as in Isa. xxv. 4, etc.

Pursuit of the Midianites. Other Acts of Gideon; his Appointment as Judge.—Chap. viii. 4-35.

Vers. 4-12. PURSUIT AND COMPLETE OVERTHROW OF THE MIDIANITES.—That the Midianites whom God had delivered into

his hand might be utterly destroyed, Gideon pursued those who had escaped across the Jordan, till he overtook them on the eastern boundary of Gilead and smote them there.—Vers. 4, 5. When he came to the Jordan with his three hundred men, who were exhausted with the pursuit, he asked the inhabitants of Succoth for loaves of bread for the people in his train. So far as the construction is concerned, the words from עָבַר to וְרָדְפִים form a circumstantial clause inserted as a parenthesis into the principal sentence, and subordinate to it: “*When Gideon came to the Jordan, passing over he and the three hundred men . . . then he said to the men of Succoth.*” “*Exhausted and pursuing,*” i.e. exhausted with pursuing. The *vav* is explanatory, *lit.* “and indeed pursuing,” for “because he pursued.” The rendering *πεινῶντες* adopted by the LXX. in the *Cod. Alex.* is merely an arbitrary rendering of the word רָדְפִים, and without any critical worth. Gideon had crossed the Jordan, therefore, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Succoth. Succoth was upon the eastern side of the valley of the Jordan (Josh. xiii. 27), not opposite to Bethshean, but, according to Gen. xxxiii. 17, on the south side of the Jabbok (Zerka).—Ver. 6. The princes of Succoth, however, showed so little sympathy and nationality of feeling, that instead of taking part in the attack upon the enemies of Israel, they even refused to supply bread to refresh their brethren of the western tribes who were exhausted with the pursuit of the foe. They said (the sing. וַיֹּאמֶר may be explained on the ground that one spoke in the name of all: see *Ewald*, § 319, a.), “*Is the fist of Zebah and Zalmunna already in thy hand (power), that we should give thine army bread?*” In these words there is not only an expression of cowardice, or fear of the vengeance which the Midianites might take when they returned upon those who had supported Gideon and his host, but contempt of the small force which Gideon had, as if it were impossible for him to accomplish anything at all against the foe; and in this contempt they manifested their utter want of confidence in God.—Ver. 7. Gideon threatened them, therefore, with severe chastisement in the event of a victorious return. “*If Jehovah give Zebah and Zalmunna into my hand, I will thresh your flesh (your body) with desert thorns and thistles.*” The verb דָּרַשׁ, constructed with a double accusative (see *Ewald*, § 283, a.), is used in a figurative sense: “to thresh,” in other words, to punish severely. “Thorns of the desert” are strong thorns, as the desert is the natural soil for thorn-bushes. The ἀπ. λεγ. בִּרְקִנִים also signifies prickly plants, according to the

early versions and the Rabbins, probably "such as grow upon stony ground" (*Bertheau*). The explanation "threshing machines with stones or flints underneath them," which was suggested by *J. D. Michaelis* and *Celsius*, and adopted by *Gesenius*, cannot be sustained.—Vers. 8, 9. The inhabitants of Pnuel on the north bank of the Jabbok (see at Gen. xxxii. 24 sqq.) behaved in the same churlish manner to Gideon, and for this he also threatened them: "*If I return in peace,*" i.e. unhurt, "*I will destroy this tower*" (probably the castle of Pnuel).—Vers. 10-12. The Midianitish kings were at *Karkor* with all the remnant of their army, about fifteen thousand men, a hundred and twenty thousand having already fallen. Gideon followed them thither by the road of the dwellers in tents on the east of *Nobah* and *Jogbeha*; and falling upon them unawares, smote the whole camp, which thought itself quite secure, and took the two kings prisoners, after discomfiting all the camp. The situation of *Karkor*, which is only mentioned here, cannot be determined with certainty. The statement of *Eusebius* and *Jerome* (*Onom. s. v. Kapkà, Carcar*), that it was the castle of *Carcaria*, a day's journey from *Petra*, is decidedly wrong, since this castle is much too far to the south, as *Gesenius* (*Thes. p. 1210*) has shown. *Karkor* cannot have been very far from *Nobah* and *Jogbeha*. These two places are probably preserved in the ruins of *Nowakis* and *Jebeiha*, on the north-west of *Ammân* (*Rabbath-ammon*; see at Num. xxi. 31). Now, as *Burckhardt* (*Syr. p. 612*) also mentions a ruin in the neighbourhood, called *Karkagheisch*, on the left of the road from Szalt to Ammân, and at the most an hour and a half to the north-west of Ammân, *Knobel* (on Num. xxxii. 42) is inclined to regard this ruin as *Karkor*. If this supposition could be proved to be correct, Gideon would have fallen upon the camp of the enemy from the north-east. For "*the way of the dwellers in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbeha*" cannot well be any other than the way which ran to the east of *Nobah* and *Jogbeha*, past the most easterly frontier city of the Gadites, to the nomads who dwelt in the desert. הַשְׁכֵּנֵי בְּאֵהָלִים has the article attached to the governing noun, which may easily be explained in this instance from the intervening preposition. The passive participle שָׁכֵן has an intransitive force (see *Ewald*, § 149, a.). The verb הִחֲרִיר in the circumstantial clause acquires the force of the pluperfect from the context. When he had startled the camp out of its security, having alarmed it by his unexpected attack, he succeeded in taking the two kings prisoners.

Vers. 13-21. PUNISHMENT OF THE TOWNS OF SUCCOTH AND PNUEL, AND EXECUTION OF THE CAPTURED KINGS OF MIDIAN.—Vers. 13, 14. Gideon returned victorious from the war, מִלְמַעְלָה מִלְמַעְלָה, “from by the ascent (or mountain road) of Hecheres,” a place in front of the town of Succoth, with which we are not acquainted. This is the rendering adopted by the LXX., the Peshito, and the Arabic; but the rest of the early translators have merely guessed at the meaning. The *Chaldee*, which has been followed by the *Rabbins* and *Luther*, has rendered it “before sunset,” in utter opposition to the rules of the language; for although *cheres* is a word used poetically to denote the sun, מִלְמַעְלָה cannot mean the setting of the sun. *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, on the other hand, confound הָרִים with הָרִים.—Gideon laid hold of a young man of the people of Succoth, and got him to write down for him the princes and elders (magistrates and rulers) of the city,—in all seventy-seven men. וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ וַיִּכְתֹּב is a short expression for “he asked him the names of the princes and elders of the city, and the boy wrote them down.” אֵלָיו, *lit.* to him, *i.e.* for him.—Vers. 15, 16. Gideon then reproached the elders with the insult they had offered him (ver. 6), and had them punished with desert thorns and thistles. “Men of Succoth” (vers. 15*a* and 16*b*) is a general expression for “elders of Succoth” (ver. 16*a*); and elders a general term applied to all the representatives of the city, including the princes. אֲשֶׁר חֲרַפְתֶּם אֹתִי, with regard to whom ye have despised me. אֲשֶׁר is the accusative of the more distant or second object, not the subject, as *Stud.* supposes. “And he taught the men of Succoth (*i.e.* caused them to know, made them feel, punished them) with them (the thorns).” There is no good ground for doubting the correctness of the reading יָדַע. The free renderings of the LXX., *Vulg.*, etc., are destitute of critical worth; and *Bertheau's* assertion, that if it were the *Hiphil* it would be written יָדַע, is proved to be unfounded by the defective writing in Num. xvi. 5, Job xxxii. 7.—Ver. 17. Gideon also inflicted upon Pnuel the punishment threatened in ver. 9. The punishment inflicted by Gideon upon both the cities was well deserved in all respects, and was righteously executed. The inhabitants of these cities had not only acted treacherously to Israel as far as they could, from the most selfish interests, in a holy conflict for the glory of the Lord and the freedom of His people, but in their contemptuous treatment of Gideon and his host they had poured contempt upon the Lord, who had shown them to be His own soldiers before the eyes of the whole nation by the victory which He had given them

over the innumerable army of the foe. Having been called by the Lord to be the deliverer and judge of Israel, it was Gideon's duty to punish the faithless cities.—Vers. 18-21. After punishing these cities, Gideon repaid the two kings of Midian, who had been taken prisoners, according to their doings. From the judicial proceedings instituted with regard to them (vers. 18, 19), we learn that these kings had put the brothers of Gideon to death, and apparently not in open fight; but they had murdered them in an unrighteous and cruel manner. And Gideon made them atone for this with their own lives, according to the strict *jus talionis*. אֵיפֶה, in ver. 18, does not mean *where?* but “*in what condition, of what form, were the men whom ye slew at Tabor?*” *i.e.* either in the city of Tabor or at Mount Tabor (see chap. iv. 6, and Josh. xix. 22). The kings replied: “*As thou so they*” (those men), *i.e.* they were all as stately as thou art, “*every one like the form of kings' sons.*” אֶחָד, one, for every one, like אִישׁ אֶחָד in 2 Kings xv. 20, or more frequently אִישׁ alone. As the men who had been slain were Gideon's own brothers, he swore to those who had done the deed, *i.e.* to the two kings, “*As truly as Jehovah liveth, if ye had let them live I should not have put you to death;*” and then commanded his first-born son Jether to slay them, for the purpose of adding the disgrace of falling by the hand of a boy. “*But the boy drew not his sword from fear, because he was yet a boy.*” And the kings then said to Gideon, “*Rise thou and stab us, for as the man so is his strength,*” *i.e.* such strength does not belong to a boy, but to a man. Thereupon Gideon slew them, and took the little moons upon the necks of their camels as booty. “*The little moons*” were crescent-shaped ornaments of silver or gold, such as men and women wore upon their necks (see ver. 26, and Isa. iii. 18), and which they also hung upon the necks of camels,—a custom still prevalent in Arabia (see Schröder, *de vestitu mul. hebr.* pp. 39, 40, and Wellsted, *Reisen in Arab.* i. p. 209).

Vers. 22-32. GIDEON'S REMAINING ACTS, AND DEATH.—Vers. 22, 23. As Gideon had so gloriously delivered Israel from the severe and long oppression on the part of the Midianites, the Israelites offered him an hereditary crown. “*The men of Israel*” were hardly all the twelve tribes, but probably only the northern tribes of the western part of the land already mentioned in chap. vi. 35, who had suffered the most severely from the Midianitish oppression, and had been the first to gather round Gideon to make an attack upon the foe. The temptation to accept the government of Israel was resisted

by this warrior of God. “*Neither I nor my son shall rule over you; Jehovah shall rule over you,*” was his reply to this offer, containing an evident allusion to the destination and constitution of the tribes of Israel as a nation which Jehovah had chosen to be His own possession, and to which He had just made himself known in so conspicuous a manner as their omnipotent Ruler and King. This refusal of the regal dignity on the part of Gideon is not at variance with the fact, that Moses had already foreseen the possibility that at some future time the desire for a king would arise in the nation, and had given them a law for the king expressly designed for such circumstances as these (Deut. xvii. 14 sqq.). For Gideon did not decline the honour because Jehovah was King in Israel, *i.e.* because he regarded an earthly monarchy in Israel as irreconcilable with the heavenly monarchy of Jehovah, but simply because he thought the government of Jehovah in Israel amply sufficient, and did not consider either himself or his sons called to found an earthly monarchy.—Vers. 24 sqq. Gideon resisted the temptation to put an earthly crown upon his head, from true fidelity to Jehovah; but he yielded to another temptation, which this appeal on the part of the people really involved, namely, the temptation to secure to himself for the future the position to which the Lord had called and exalted him. The Lord had called him to be the deliverer of Israel by visibly appearing in His angel, and had not only accepted the gift which he offered Him, as a well-pleasing sacrifice, but had also commanded him to build an altar, and by offering an atoning burnt-sacrifice to re-establish the worship of Jehovah in his family and tribe, and to restore the favour of God to His people once more. Lastly, the Lord had made His will known to him again and again; whilst by the glorious victory which He had given to him and to his small band over the powerful army of the foe, He had confirmed him as His chosen servant to be the deliverer and judge of Israel. The relation which Gideon thus sustained to the Lord he imagined that he ought to preserve; and therefore, after declining the royal dignity, he said to the people, “*I will request of you one request, that ye give me every one the ring that he has received as booty.*” This request the historian explains by adding the remark: “*for they (the enemy) had golden rings, for they were Ishmaelites,*” from whom therefore the Israelites were able to get an abundance of rings as booty. *Ishmaelites* is the general name for the nomad tribes of Arabia, to whom the Midianites also belonged (as in Gen. xxxvii. 25).—Vers. 25, 26. This request of Gideon’s was cheer-

fully fulfilled: “*They spread out the cloth* (brought for collecting the rings), *and threw into it every one the ring that he had received as booty.*” *Simlah*, the upper garment, was for the most part only a large square piece of cloth. The weight of these golden rings amounted to 1700 shekels, *i.e.* about 50 lbs., (לֶבַר מֶן) separate from, *i.e.* beside, the remaining booty, for which Gideon had not asked, and which the Israelites kept for themselves, *viz.* the little moons, the ear-pendants (*netiphoth*, *lit.* little drops, probably pearl-shaped ear-drops: see Isa. iii. 19), and the purple clothes which were worn by the kings of Midian (*i.e.* which they had on), and also apart from the neck-bands upon the necks of their camels. Instead of the *anakoth* or necklaces (ver. 26), the *saharonim*, or little moons upon the necks of the camels, are mentioned in ver. 21 as the more valuable portion of these necklaces. Even at the present day the Arabs are accustomed to ornament the necks of these animals “with a band of cloth or leather, upon which small shells called cowries are strung or sewed in the form of a crescent. The sheiks add silver ornaments to these, which make a rich booty in time of war” (*Wellsted*, *Reise*, i. p. 209). The Midianitish kings had their camels ornamented with golden crescents. This abundance of golden ornaments will not surprise us, when we consider that the Arabs still carry their luxurious tastes for such things to a very great excess. *Wellsted* (i. p. 224) states that “the women in Omân spend considerable amounts in the purchase of silver ornaments, and their children are literally laden with them. I have sometimes counted fifteen ear-rings upon each side; and the head, breast, arms, and ankles are adorned with the same profusion.” As the Midianitish army consisted of 130,000 men, of whom 15,000 only remained at the commencement of the last engagement, the Israelites may easily have collected 5000 golden rings, or even more, which might weigh 1700 shekels.—Ver. 27. “*And Gideon made it into an ephod,*” *i.e.* used the gold of the rings obtained from the booty for making an ephod. There is no necessity, however, to understand this as signifying that 1700 shekels or 50 lbs. of gold had been used for the ephod itself, but simply that the making of the ephod was accomplished with this gold. The word *ephod* does not signify an image of Jehovah, or an idol, as *Gesenius* and others maintain, but the shoulder-dress of the high priest, no doubt including the *choshen* belonging to it, with the Urim and Thummim, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxi. 10, xxiii. 6, 9, etc. The material for this was worked throughout with gold threads; and in addition to that there were

precious stones set in gold braid upon the shoulder-pieces of the ephod and upon the choshen, and chains made of gold twist for fastening the choshen upon the ephod (see Ex. xxviii. 6-30). Now, if 50 lbs. of gold could not be used for these things, there were also fourteen precious stones to be procured, and the work itself to be paid for, so that 50 lbs. of gold might easily be devoted to the preparation of this state dress. The large quantity of gold, therefore, does not warrant us in introducing arbitrarily into the text the establishment of a formal sanctuary, and the preparation of a golden image of Jehovah in the form of a bull, as *Bertheau* has done, since there is no reference to *בַּסֵּל* or *מִסְכָּה*, as in chap. xvii. xviii.; and even the other words of the text do not point to the founding of a sanctuary and the setting up of an image of Jehovah.¹ The expression which follows, *וַיַּצֵּן אֹתוֹ*, does not affirm that "he set it up," but may also mean, "*he kept it in his city of Ophrah.*" *וַיַּצֵּן* is never used to denote the setting up of an image or statue, and signifies not only to put up, but also to lay down (*e.g.* chap. vi. 37), and to let a thing stand, or leave behind (Gen. xxxiii. 15). The further remark of the historian, "*and all Israel went thither a whoring after it, and it became a snare to Gideon and his house,*" does not presuppose the founding of a sanctuary or temple in Ophrah, and the setting up of a golden calf there. In what the whoring of Israel after the ephod, *i.e.* the idolatry of the Israelites with Gideon's ephod which was kept in Ophrah, consisted, cannot be gathered or determined from the use of the ephod in the worship of Jehovah under the Mosaic law. "The breastplate upon the coat, and the holy lot, were no doubt used in connection with idolatry" (*Oehler*), and Gideon had an ephod made in his town of Ophrah, that he might thereby obtain revelations from the Lord. We certainly are not for a moment to think of an exposure of the holy coat for the people to worship. It is far more probable that Gideon put on the ephod and wore it as a priest, when he wished to inquire and learn the will of the Lord. It is possible that he also sacrificed to the Lord upon the altar that was built at Ophrah (chap. vi. 24). The motive by which he was led to do this was certainly not merely ambition,

¹ *Oehler* has correctly observed in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*, that *Bertheau* acts very arbitrarily when he represents Gideon as setting up the image of a bull, as Jeroboam did afterwards, since there is nothing to sustain it in the account itself. Why cannot Gideon have worshipped without any image of Jehovah, with the help of the altar mentioned in chap. vi. 24, which was a symbol of Jehovah's presence, and remained standing till the historian's own time?

as *Bertheau* supposes, impelling the man who, along with his followers, had maintained an independent attitude towards the tribe of Ephraim in the war itself (chap. viii. 1 sqq.), to act independently of the common sanctuary of the congregation which was within the territory of Ephraim, and also of the office of the high priest in the time of peace as well. For there is not the slightest trace to be found of such ambition as this in anything that he did during the conflict with the Midianites. The germs of Gideon's error, which became a snare to him and to his house, lie unquestionably deeper than this, namely, in the fact that the high-priesthood had probably lost its worth in the eyes of the people on account of the worthlessness of its representatives, so that they no longer regarded the high priest as the sole or principal medium of divine revelation; and therefore Gideon, to whom the Lord had manifested himself directly, as He had not to any judge or leader of the people since the time of Joshua, might suppose that he was not acting in violation of the law, when he had an ephod made, and thus provided himself with a substratum or vehicle for inquiring the will of the Lord. His sin therefore consisted chiefly in his invading the prerogative of the *Aaronic* priesthood, drawing away the people from the one legitimate sanctuary, and thereby not only undermining the theocratic unity of Israel, but also giving an impetus to the relapse of the nation into the worship of Baal after his death. This sin became a snare to him and to his house.

The history of Gideon is concluded in vers. 28-32.—Ver. 28. The Midianites had been so humiliated that they lifted up their head no more, and the land of Israel had rest forty years "*in the days of Gideon*," i.e. as long as Gideon lived.—Vers. 29 sqq. Before the account of his death, a few other notices respecting his family are introduced for the purpose of preparing the way for the following history of the doings of his sons, in which the sin of Gideon came to a head, and the judgment burst upon his house. "*And Jerubbaal, the son of Joash, went and dwelt in his house.*" Both the word יֵרֻבְבָּאֵל, which simply serves to bring out the fact more vividly (see the remarks on Ex. ii. 1), and also the choice of the name *Jerubbaal*, merely serve to give greater prominence to the change, from the heat of the war against the Midianites to the quiet retirement of domestic life. Instead of accepting the crown that was offered him and remaining at the head of the nation, the celebrated Baal-fighter retired into private life again. In addition to the seventy sons of his many wives, there was a son born to him by a

concubine, who lived at Shechem and is called his maid-servant in chap. ix. 18, and to this son he gave the name of *Abimelech*, i.e. king's father. יָשָׁם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ is not the same as קָרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ , to give a person a name, but signifies to add a name, or give a surname (see Neh. ix. 7, and Dan. v. 12 in the Chaldee). It follows from this, that Abimelech received this name from Gideon as a cognomen answering to his character, and therefore not at the time of his birth, but when he grew up and manifested such qualities as led to the expectation that he would be a king's father.—Ver. 32. Gideon died at a good old age (see Gen. xv. 15, xxv. 8), and therefore also died a peaceful death (not so his sons; see chap. ix.), and was buried in his father's grave at Ophrah (chap. vi. 11).

Vers. 33–35 form the introduction to the history of Gideon's sons.—Ver. 33. After Gideon's death the Israelites fell once more into the Baal-worship which Gideon had rooted out of his father's city (chap. vi. 25 sqq.), and worshipped *Baal-berith* as their God. *Baal-berith*, the covenant Baal (equivalent to *El-berith*, the covenant god, chap. ix. 46), is not Baal as the god of covenants, but, according to Gen. xiv. 13, Baal as a god in covenant, i.e. Baal with whom they had made a covenant, just as the Israelites had their faithful covenant God in Jehovah (see *Movers*, *Phöniz.* i. p. 171). The worship of Baal-berith, as performed at Shechem according to chap. ix. 46, was an imitation of the worship of Jehovah, an adulteration of that worship, in which Baal was put in the place of Jehovah (see *Hengstenberg*, *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 81).—Vers. 34, 35. In this relapse into the worship of Baal they not only forgot Jehovah, their Deliverer from all their foes, but also the benefits which they owed to Gideon, and showed no kindness to his house in return for all the good which he had shown to Israel. The expression *Jerubbaal-Gideon* is chosen by the historian here, not for the purely outward purpose of laying express emphasis upon the identity of Gideon and Jerubbaal (*Bertheau*), but to point to what Gideon, the Baal-fighter, had justly deserved from the people of Israel.

Judgment upon the House of Gideon, or Abimelech's Sins and End.
—Chap. ix.

After the death of Gideon, Abimelech, his bastard son, opened a way for himself to reign as king over Israel, by murdering his brethren with the help of the Shechemites (vers. 1–6). For this grievous wrong Jotham, the only one of Gideon's seventy sons who

escaped the massacre, reproached the citizens of Shechem in a parable, in which he threatened them with punishment from God (vers. 7-21), which first of all fell upon Shechem within a very short time (vers. 22-49), and eventually reached Abimelech himself (vers. 50-57).

Vers. 1-6. Having gone to Shechem, the home of his mother (chap. viii. 31), Abimelech applied to his mother's brothers and the whole family (all the relations) of the father's house of his mother, and addressed them thus: "*Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the lords of Shechem,*" *i.e.* speak to them publicly and solemnly. בַּעֲלֵי שֵׁכֶם, the lords, *i.e.* the possessors or citizens of Shechem (compare ver. 46 with ver. 49, where בַּעֲלֵי מִנְדַל is interchangeable with אֲנָשֵׁי מִנְדַל; also chap. xx. 5, and Josh. xxiv. 11): they are not merely Canaanitish citizens, of whom there were some still living in Shechem according to ver. 28, but all the citizens of the town; therefore chiefly Israelites. "*What is better for you, that seventy men rule over you, all the sons of Jerubbaal, or (only) one man (i.e. Abimelech)? and remember that I am your flesh and bone*" (blood relation, Gen. xxix. 14). The name "sons of Jerubbaal," *i.e.* of the man who had destroyed the altar of Baal, was just as little adapted to commend the sons of Gideon to the Shechemites, who were devoted to the worship of Baal, as the remark that seventy men were to rule over them. No such rule ever existed, or was even aspired to by the seventy sons of Gideon. But Abimelech assumed that his brothers possessed the same thirst for ruling as he did himself; and the citizens of Shechem might be all the more ready to put faith in his assertions, since the distinction which Gideon had enjoyed was thoroughly adapted to secure a prominent place in the nation for his sons.—Ver. 3. When his mother's brethren spake to the citizens of Shechem concerning him, *i.e.* respecting him and his proposal, their heart turned to Abimelech.—Ver. 4. They gave him seventy shekels of silver from the house of Baal-berith, *i.e.* from the treasury of the temple that was dedicated to the covenant Baal at Shechem, as temple treasures were frequently applied to political purposes (see 1 Kings xv. 18). With this money Abimelech easily hired light and desperate men, who followed him (attached themselves to him); and with their help he murdered his brethren at Ophrah, seventy men, with the exception of Jotham the youngest, who had hidden himself. The number seventy, the total number of his brethren, is reduced by the exception mentioned immediately afterwards to sixty-nine who were

really put to death. פֶּן, *empty*, i.e. without moral restraint. פִּתּוּ, *lit.* gurgling up, boiling over; figuratively, *hot, desperate men*. "Upon (against) one stone," that is to say, by a formal execution: a bloody omen of the kingdom of the ten tribes, which was afterwards founded at Shechem by the Ephraimite Jeroboam, in which one dynasty overthrew another, and generally sought to establish its power by exterminating the whole family of the dynasty that had been overthrown (see 1 Kings xv. 27 sqq., 2 Kings x. 1 sqq.). Even in Judah, Athaliah the worshipper of Baal sought to usurp the government by exterminating the whole of the descendants of her son (2 Kings xi.). Such fratricides have also occurred in quite recent times in the Mohammedan countries of the East.—Ver. 6. "Then all the citizens of Shechem assembled together, and all the house of Millo, and made Abimelech king at the memorial terebinth at Shechem." Millo is unquestionably the name of the castle or citadel of the town of Shechem, which is called the tower of Shechem in vers. 46–49. The word *Millo* (Chaldee מִלְתָּה) signifies primarily a rampart, inasmuch as it consisted of two walls, with the space between them filled with rubbish. There was also a *Millo* at Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15). "All the house of *Millo*" are all the inhabitants of the castle, the same persons who are described in ver. 46 as "all the men (*baale*) of the tower." The meaning of אֵלֶּן מִצֵּב is doubtful. מִצֵּב, the thing set up, is a military post in Isa. xxix. 3; but it may also mean a monument or memorial, and here it probably denotes the large stone set up as a memorial at Shechem under the oak or terebinth (see Gen. xxxv. 4). The inhabitants of Shechem, the worshippers of Baal-berith, carried out the election of Abimelech as king in the very same place in which Joshua had held the last national assembly, and had renewed the covenant of Israel with Jehovah the true covenant God (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25, 26). It was there in all probability that the temple of Baal-berith was to be found, namely, according to ver. 46, near the tower of Shechem or the citadel of Millo.

Vers. 7–21. When Jotham, who had escaped after the murder, was told of the election which had taken place, he went to the top of Mount Gerizim, which rises as a steep wall of rock to the height of about 800 feet above the valley of Shechem on the south side of the city (*Rob.* iii. p. 96), and cried with a loud voice, "Hearken to me, ye lords of Shechem, and God will also hearken to you." After this appeal, which calls to mind the language of the prophets, he uttered aloud a fable of the trees which wanted to anoint a king

over them,—a fable of true prophetic significance, and the earliest with which we are acquainted (vers. 8-15). To the appeal which is made to them in succession to become king over the trees, the olive tree, the fig tree, and the vine all reply: Shall we give up our calling, to bear valuable fruits for the good and enjoyment of God and men, and soar above the other trees? The briar, however, to which the trees turn last of all, is delighted at the unexpected honour that is offered it, and says, “*Will ye in truth anoint me king over you? Then come and trust in my shadow; but if not, let fire go out of the briar and consume the cedars of Lebanon.*” The rare form מְלוּכָה (*Chethib*, vers. 8, 12) also occurs in 1 Sam. xxviii. 8, Isa. xxxii. 11, Ps. xxvi. 2: see *Ewald*, § 228, *b.*). מְלִי (ver. 10) is also rare (see *Ewald*, § 226, *b.*). The form הֶחָלֵתִי (vers. 9, 11, 13), which is quite unique, is not “*Hophal* or *Hiphil*, compounded of ‘הֶחָחַר’ or ‘הֶחָחַר’” (*Ewald*, § 51, *c.*), for neither the *Hophal* nor the *Hiphil* of חָל occurs anywhere else; but it is a simple *Kal*, and the obscure *o* sound is chosen instead of the *a* sound for the sake of euphony, *i.e.* to assist the pronunciation of the guttural syllables which follow one after another. The meaning of the fable is very easy to understand. The olive tree, fig tree, and vine do not represent different historical persons, such as the judges Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, as the Rabbins affirm, but in a perfectly general way the nobler families or persons who bring forth fruit and blessing in the calling appointed them by God, and promote the prosperity of the people and kingdom in a manner that is well-pleasing to God and men. Oil, figs, and wine were the most valuable productions of the land of Canaan, whereas the briar was good for nothing but to burn. The noble fruit-trees would not tear themselves from the soil in which they had been planted and had borne fruit, to soar (נִיַּץ, float about) above the trees, *i.e.* not merely to rule over the trees, but *obire et circumagi in rebus eorum curandis*. נִיַּץ includes the idea of restlessness and insecurity of existence. The explanation given in the *Berleb. Bible*, “We have here what it is to be a king, to reign or be lord over many others, namely, very frequently to do nothing else than float about in such restlessness and distraction of thoughts, feelings, and desires, that very little good or sweet fruit ever falls to the ground,” if not a truth without exception so far as royalty is concerned, is at all events perfectly true in relation to what Abimelech aimed at and attained, to be a king by the will of the people and not by the grace of God. Wherever the Lord does not found the

monarchy, or the king himself does not lay the foundations of his government in God and the grace of God, he is never anything but a tree, moving about above other trees without a firm root in a fruitful soil, utterly unable to bear fruit to the glory of God and the good of men. The expression "*all the trees*" is to be carefully noticed in ver. 14. "*All the trees*" say to the briar, Be king over us, whereas in the previous verse only "*the trees*" are mentioned. This implies that of all the trees not one was willing to be king himself, but that they were unanimous in transferring the honour to the briar. The briar, which has nothing but thorns upon it, and does not even cast sufficient shadow for any one to lie down in its shadow and protect himself from the burning heat of the sun, is an admirable simile for a worthless man, who can do nothing but harm. The words of the briar, "*Trust in my shadow*," seek refuge there, contain a deep irony, the truth of which the Shechemites were very soon to discover. "*And if not*," i.e. if ye do not find the protection you expect, fire will go out of the briar and consume the cedars of Lebanon, the largest and noblest trees. Thorns easily catch fire (see Ex. xxii. 5). The most insignificant and most worthless man can be the cause of harm to the mightiest and most distinguished.

In vers. 16-20 Jotham gives the application of his fable, for there was no necessity for any special explanation of it, since it was perfectly clear and intelligible in itself. These verses form a long period, the first half of which is so extended by the insertion of parentheses introduced as explanations (vers. 17, 18), that the commencement of it (ver. 16) is taken up again in ver. 19a for the purpose of attaching the apodosis. "*If ye have acted in truth and sincerity, and (i.e. when ye) made Abimelech king; if ye have done well to Jerubbaal and his house, and if ye have done to him according to the doing of his hands . . . as my father fought for you . . . but ye have risen up to-day against my father's house, and have slain . . . if (I say) ye have acted in truth and sincerity to Jerubbaal and his house this day: then rejoice in Abimelech. . .*" הַשְׁלִיךְ נַפְשׁוֹ, to throw away his life, i.e. expose to death. מִפְּנֵי, "from before him," serves to strengthen the הַשְׁלִיךְ. Jotham imputes the slaying of his brothers to the citizens of Shechem, as a crime which they themselves had committed (ver. 18), because they had given Abimelech money out of their temple of Baal to carry out his designs against the sons of Jerubbaal (ver. 4). In this reproach he had, strictly speaking, already pronounced sentence upon their doings. When, therefore,

he proceeds still further in ver. 19, "If ye have acted in truth towards Jerubbaal . . . then rejoice," etc., this turn contains the bitterest scorn at the faithlessness manifested towards Jerubbaal. In that case nothing could follow but the fulfilment of the threat and the bursting forth of the fire. In carrying out this point the application goes beyond the actual meaning of the parable itself. Not only will fire go forth from Abimelech and consume the lords of Shechem and the inhabitants of Millo, but fire will also go forth from them and devour Abimelech himself. The fulfilment of this threat was not long delayed, as the following history shows (vers. 23 sqq.).—Ver. 21. But Jotham fled to *Beer*, after charging the Shechemites with their iniquity, and dwelt there before his brother Abimelech ("before," i.e. "for fear of."—*Jerome*). *Beer* in all probability is not the same place as *Beeroth* in the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. ix. 17), but, according to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Βηρά*), a place eight Roman miles to the north of Eleutheropolis, situated in the plain; at present a desolate village called *el Bîreh*, near the mouth of the Wady es Surâr, not far from the former Beth-shemesh (*Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 132).

Vers. 22-24. Abimelech's reign lasted three years. וַיִּשָּׁר, from שָׁר, to govern, is used intentionally, as it appears, in the place of וַיְמַלֵּךְ, because Abimelech's government was not a monarchical reign, but simply a tyrannical despotism. "*Over Israel*," that is to say, not over the whole of the twelve tribes of Israel, but only over a portion of the nation, possibly the tribes of Ephraim and half Manassah, which acknowledged his sway.—Vers. 23, 24. Then God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the citizens of Shechem, so that they became treacherous towards him. "*An evil spirit*" is not merely "an evil disposition," but an evil demon, which produced discord and strife, just as an evil spirit came upon Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 14, 15, xviii. 10); not Satan himself, but a supernatural spiritual power which was under his influence. This evil spirit God sent to punish the wickedness of Abimelech and the Shechemites. *Elohim*, not *Jehovah*, because the working of the divine justice is referred to here. "*That the wickedness to the seventy sons of Jerubbaal might come, and their blood* (the blood of these sons that had been shed), *to lay it upon Abimelech.*" "*And their blood*" is only a more precise definition of "the wickedness to the seventy sons;" and "*to lay it*" is an explanation of the expression "might come." The introduction of שָׂם, however, brings an *anakolouthon* into the construction, since the transitive שָׂם presupposes *Elohim* as the

subject and דָּמָם as the object, whereas the parallel הָמָם is the subject to the intransitive לָבוֹא: that the wickedness might come, and that God might lay the blood not only upon Abimelech, the author of the crime, but also upon the lords of Shechem, who had strengthened his hands to slay his brethren; had supported him by money, that he might be able to hire worthless fellows to execute his crime (vers. 4, 5).

Vers. 25-29. The faithlessness of the Shechemites towards Abimelech commenced by their placing liers in wait for him (לוֹ, *dat. incomm.*, to his disadvantage) upon the tops of the mountains (Ebal and Gerizim, between which Shechem was situated), who plundered every one who passed by them on the road. In what way they did harm to Abimelech by sending out liers in wait to plunder the passers-by, is not very clear from the brevity of the narrative. The general effect may have been, that they brought his government into discredit with the people by organizing a system of robbery and plunder, and thus aroused a spirit of discontent and rebellion. Possibly, however, these highway robbers were to watch for Abimelech himself, if he should come to Shechem, not only to plunder him, but, if possible, to despatch him altogether. This was made known to Abimelech. But before he had put down the brigandage, the treachery broke out into open rebellion.—Ver. 26. Gaal, the son of Ebed, came to Shechem with his brethren. עָבֵר with אֵל, to pass over into a place. Who Gaal was, and whence he came, we are not informed. Many of the MSS. and early editions, *e.g.* the Syriac and Arabic, read “son of Eber,” instead of “son of Ebed.” Judging from his appearance in Shechem, he was a knight-errant, who went about the country with his brethren, *i.e.* as captain of a company of freebooters, and was welcomed in Shechem, because the Shechemites, who were dissatisfied with the rule of Abimelech, hoped to find in him a man who would be able to render them good service in their revolt from Abimelech. This may be gathered from the words “*and the lords of Shechem trusted in him.*”—Ver. 27. At the vintage they prepared הַלְלִים, “praise-offerings,” with the grapes which they had gathered and pressed, eating and drinking in the house of their god, *i.e.* the temple of Baal-berith, and cursing Abimelech at these sacrificial meals, probably when they were excited with wine. הַלְלִים signifies, according to Lev. xix. 24, praise-offerings of the fruits which newly-planted orchards or vineyards bore in the fourth year. The presentation of these fruits, by which the vineyard or orchard was sanctified to

the Lord, was associated, as we may learn from the passage before us, with sacrificial meals. The Shechemites held a similar festival in the temple of their covenant Baal, and in his honour, to that which the law prescribes for the Israelites in Lev. xix. 23-25.—Vers. 28, 29. At this feast Gaal called upon the Shechemites to revolt from Abimelech. “*Who is Abimelech,*” he exclaimed, “*and who Shechem, that we serve him? Is he not the son of Jerubbaal, and Zebul his officer? Serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem! and why should we, we serve him (Abimelech)?*” The meaning of these words, which have been misinterpreted in several different ways, is very easily seen, if we bear in mind (1) that *מִי* (who is?) in this double question cannot possibly be used in two different and altogether opposite senses, such as “how insignificant or contemptible is Abimelech,” and “how great and mighty is Shechem,” but that in both instances it must be expressive of disparagement and contempt, as in 1 Sam. xxv. 10; and (2) that Gaal answers his own questions. Abimelech was regarded by him as contemptible, not because he was the son of a maid-servant or of very low birth, nor because he was ambitious and cruel, a parricide and the murderer of his brethren (*Rosenmüller*), but because he was a son of Jerubbaal, a son of the man who destroyed the altar of Baal at Shechem and restored the worship of Jehovah, for which the Shechemites themselves had endeavoured to slay him (chap. vi. 27 sqq.). So also the meaning of the question, *Who is Shechem?* may be gathered from the answer, “and Zebul his officer.” The use of the personal *מִי* (who) in relation to Shechem may be explained on the ground that Gaal is speaking not so much of the city as of its inhabitants. The might and greatness of Shechem did not consist in the might and authority of its prefect, Zebul, who had been appointed by Abimelech, and whom the Shechemites had no need to serve. Accordingly there is no necessity either for the arbitrary paraphrase of Shechem, given in the *Sept.*, viz. *υἱὸς Συχέμ* (son of Shechem); or for the perfectly arbitrary assumption of *Bertheau*, that Shechem is only a second name for Abimelech, who was a descendant of Shechem; or even for the solution proposed by *Rosenmüller*, that Zebul was “a man of low birth and obscure origin,” which is quite incapable of proof. To Zebul, that one man whom Abimelech had appointed prefect of the city, Gaal opposes “*the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem,*” as those whom the Shechemites should serve (*i.e.* whose followers they should be). *Hamor* was the name of the Hivite prince who had founded the city of

Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 2 ; compare Josh. xxiv. 32). The "men of Hamor" were the patricians of the city, who "derived their origin from the noblest and most ancient stock of Hamor" (*Rosenmüller*). Gaal opposes them to Abimelech and his representative Zebul.¹ In the last clause, "*why should we serve him*" (Abimelech or his officer Zebul)? Gaal identifies himself with the inhabitants of Shechem, that he may gain them fully over to his plans.—Ver. 29. "*O that this people,*" continued Gaal, "*were in my hand,*" i.e. could I but rule over the inhabitants of Shechem, "*then would I remove* (drive away) *Abimelech.*" He then exclaimed with regard to Abimelech (אִמֶּלֶךְ, as in ver. 54b, Gen. xx. 13, etc.), "*Increase thine army and come out!*" Heated as he was with wine, Gaal was so certain of victory that he challenged Abimelech boldly to make war upon Shechem. רָבָה, imper. *Piel* with *Seghol*. צֹאָה, imperative, with הֵ— of motion or emphasis.

Vers. 30–45. This rebellious speech of Gaal was reported to Abimelech by the town-prefect Zebul, who sent messengers to him בְּתַרְמָה, either with deceit (תַּרְמָה from רָמָה), i.e. employing deceit, inasmuch as he had listened to the speech quietly and with apparent assent, or "*in Tormah,*" the name of a place, תַּרְמָה being a misspelling for אֶרְמָה = אֶרְמָה (ver. 41). The *Sept.* and *Chaldee* take the word as an appellative = ἐν κρυφῇ, secretly ; so also do *Rashi* and most of the earlier commentators, whilst *R. Kimchi* the elder has decided in favour of the second rendering as a proper name. As the word only occurs here, it is impossible to decide with certainty in favour of either view. הִנֵּם צָרִים, behold they stir up the city against thee (צָרִים from צָר in the sense of צָרָה).—Ver. 32. At the same time he called upon Abimelech to draw near, with the people that he had with him, during the night, and to lie in wait in the field (אָרַב, to place one's self in ambush), and the next morning to spread out with his army against the town ; and when Gaal went out with his followers, he was to do to him "as his hand should find," i.e. to deal with him as he best could and would under the circumstances. (On this formula, see at 1 Sam. x. 7, xxv. 8.)—

¹ *Bertheau* maintains, though quite erroneously, that serving the men of Hamor is synonymous with serving Abimelech. But the very opposite of this is so clearly implied in the words, that there cannot be any doubt on the question. All that can be gathered from the words is that there were remnants of the Hivite (or Canaanitish) population still living in Shechem, and therefore that the Canaanites had not been entirely exterminated,—a fact which would sufficiently explain the revival of the worship of Baal there.

Ver. 34. On receiving this intelligence, Abimelech rose up during the night with the people that were with him, *i.e.* with such troops as he had, and placed four companies ("heads" as in chap. vii. 16) in ambush against Shechem.—Vers. 35, 36. When Gaal went out in the morning with his retinue upon some enterprise, which is not more clearly defined, and stood before the city gate, Abimelech rose up with his army out of the ambush. On seeing this people, Gaal said to Zebul (who must therefore have come out of the city with him): "*Behold, people come down from the tops of the mountains.*" Zebul replied, for the purpose of deceiving him and making him feel quite secure, "*Thou lookest upon the shadow of the mountains as men.*"—Ver. 37. But Gaal said again, "*Behold, people come down from the navel of the land,*" *i.e.* from the highest point of the surrounding country, "*and a crowd comes by the way of the wizard's terebinths,*"—a place in the neighbourhood of Shechem that is not mentioned anywhere else, and therefore is not more precisely known.—Ver. 38. Then Zebul declared openly against Gaal, and reproached him with his foolhardy speech, whilst Abimelech was drawing nearer with his troops: "*Where is thy mouth now with which thou saidst, Who is Abimelech? Is not this the people that thou hast despised? Go out now and fight with him!*"—Vers. 39 sqq. Then Gaal went out "before the citizens of Shechem;" *i.e.* not at their head as their leader, which is the meaning of לִפְנֵי in Gen. xxxiii. 3, Ex. xiii. 21, Num. x. 35, etc.,—for, according to vers. 33-35, Gaal had only gone out of the town with his own retinue, and, according to vers. 42, 43, the people of Shechem did not go out till the next day,—but "in the sight of the lords of Shechem," so that they looked upon the battle. But the battle ended unfortunately for him. Abimelech put him to flight (הִרְגָה as in Lev. xxvi. 36), and there fell many slain up to the gate of the city, into which Gaal had fled with his followers.—Ver. 41. Abimelech did not force his way into the city, but remained (שָׁבַת, *lit.* sat down) with his army in *Arumah*, a place not mentioned again, which was situated, according to ver. 42, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Shechem. It cannot possibly have been the place called *Ῥουμὰ ἡ καὶ Ἀριμὰ* in the *Onom.* of Eusebius, which was named *Ῥέμφις* in his day, and was situated in the neighbourhood of Diospolis (or Lydda). Zebul, however, drove Gaal and his brethren (*i.e.* his retinue) out of Shechem.—Vers. 42-45. The next day the people of Shechem went into the field, apparently not to make war upon Abimelech, but to work in the field, possibly to continue the

vintage. But when Abimelech was informed of it, he divided the people, *i.e.* his own men, into three companies, which he placed in ambush in the field, and then fell upon the Shechemites when they had come out of the city, and slew them.—Ver. 44. That is to say, Abimelech and the companies with him spread themselves out and took their station by the city gate to cut off the retreat of the Shechemites into the city, whilst the other two companies fell upon all who were in the field, and slew them.—Ver. 45. Thus Abimelech fought all that day against the city and took it; and having slain all the people therein, he destroyed the city and strewed salt upon it. Strewing the ruined city with salt, which only occurs here, was a symbolical act, signifying that the city was to be turned for ever into a barren salt desert. Salt ground is a barren desert (see Job xxxix. 6, Ps. cvii. 34).

Vers. 46–49. When the inhabitants of the castle of Shechem (“lords of the tower of Shechem” = “all the house of Millo,” ver. 6) heard of the fate of the town of Shechem, they betook themselves to the hold of the house (temple) of the covenant god (Baal-berith), evidently not for the purpose of defending themselves there, but to seek safety at the sanctuary of their god from fear of the vengeance of Abimelech, towards whom they also had probably acted treacherously. The meaning of the word צִרְיָה, which answers to an Arabic word signifying *arc, palatium, omnis structura elatior*, cannot be exactly determined, as it only occurs again in 1 Sam. xiii. 6 in connection with caves and clefts of the rock. According to ver. 49, it had a roof which could be set on fire. The meaning “tower” is only a conjecture founded upon the context, and does not suit, as צִרְיָה is distinguished from מִגְדָּל.—Ver. 47. As soon as this was announced to Abimelech, he went with all his men to Mount Zalmon, took hatchets in his hand, cut down branches from the trees, and laid them upon his shoulders, and commanded his people to do the same. These branches they laid upon the hold, and set the hold on fire over them (the inhabitants of the tower who had taken refuge there), so that all the people of the tower of Shechem (about one thousand persons) perished, both men and women. Mount *Zalmon*, which is mentioned again in Ps. lxxviii. 15, was a dark, thickly-wooded mountain near Shechem,—a kind of “Black Forest,” as *Luther* has rendered the name. The plural *kardumoth*, “axes,” may be explained on the ground that Abimelech took axes not only for himself but for his people also. כִּי in a relative sense, as in Num. xxiii. 3 (see *Ewald*, § 331, b.).

Vers. 50-57. At length the fate predicted by Jotham (ver. 20) overtook Abimelech.—Vers. 50, 51. He went from Shechem to Thebez, besieged the town, and took it. *Thebez*, according to the *Onom.* thirteen miles from Neapolis (Shechem) on the road to Scythopolis (Beisan), has been preserved in the large village of *Tubás* on the north of Shechem (see *Rob. Pal.* iii. p. 156, and *Bibl. Res.* p. 305). This town possessed a strong tower, in which men and women and all the inhabitants of the town took refuge and shut themselves in. But when Abimelech advanced to the tower and drew near to the door to set it on fire, a woman threw a millstone down upon him from the roof of the tower and smashed his skull, whereupon he called hastily to the attendant who carried his weapons to give him his death-blow with his sword, that men might not say of him “a woman slew him.” פָּלַח רֶכֶב, the upper millstone which was turned round, *lapis vector* (see *Deut.* xxiv. 6). וְתָרִין : from רָצִין, with a toneless *i*, possibly to distinguish it from וְתָרִין (from רָרִין). גָּלְגָּלְתוֹ, an unusual form for גָּלְגָּלְתוֹ, which is found in the edition of *Norzi* (Mantua, 1742).—Ver. 55. After the death of Abimelech his army was dissolved. אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל are the Israelites who formed Abimelech's army. In vers. 56, 57, the historian closes this account with the remark, that in this manner God recompensed Abimelech and the citizens of Shechem, who had supported him in the murder of his brothers (ver. 2), according to their doings. After the word “*rendered*” in ver. 56 we must supply “upon his head,” as in ver. 57. Thus Jotham's curse was fulfilled upon Abimelech and upon the Shechemites, who had made him king.

The Judges Tola and Jair.—Chap. x. 1-5.

Of these two judges no particular deeds are mentioned, no doubt because they performed none.—Vers. 1, 2. *Tola* arose after Abimelech's death to deliver Israel, and judged Israel twenty-three years until his death, though certainly not all the Israelites of the twelve tribes, but only the northern and possibly also the eastern tribes, to the exclusion of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, as these southern tribes neither took part in Gideon's war of freedom nor stood under Abimelech's rule. To explain the clause “*there arose to defend (or save) Israel,*” when nothing had been said about any fresh oppression on the part of the foe, we need not assume, as *Rosenmüller* does, “that the Israelites had been constantly harassed by their neighbours, who continued to suppress the liberty of the

Israelites, and from whose stratagems or power the Israelites were delivered by the acts of Tola;” but Tola rose up as the deliverer of Israel, even supposing that he simply regulated the affairs of the tribes who acknowledged him as their supreme judge, and succeeded by his efforts in preventing the nation from falling back into idolatry, and thus guarded Israel from any fresh oppression on the part of hostile nations. *Tola* was the son of *Puah*, the son of *Dodo*, of the tribe of Issachar. The names *Tola* and *Puah* are already met with among the descendants of Issachar, as founders of families of the tribe of Issachar (see Gen. xli. 13, Num. xxvi. 23, where the latter name is written פִּיָּה), and they were afterwards repeated in the different households of these families. *Dodo* is not an appellative, as the *Sept.* translators supposed (υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ), but a proper name, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 9 (*Keri*), 24, and 1 Chron. xi. 12. The town of *Shamir*, upon the mountains of Ephraim, where Tola judged Israel, and was afterwards buried, was a different place from the *Shamir* upon the mountains of Judah, mentioned in Josh xv. 48, and its situation (probably in the territory of Issachar) is still unknown.—Vers. 3 sqq. After him *Jair* the Gileadite (born in Gilead) judged Israel for twenty-two years. Nothing further is related of him than that he had thirty sons who rode upon thirty asses, which was a sign of distinguished rank in those times when the Israelites had no horses. They had thirty cities (the second עִירִים in ver. 4 is another form for עָרִים, from a singular עִיר = עִיר, a city, and is chosen because of its similarity in sound to עִירִים, asses). These cities they were accustomed to call *Havroth-jair* unto this day (the time when our book was written), in the land of Gilead. The לָהֶם before יִקְרָאוּ is placed first for the sake of emphasis, “*even these they call*,” etc. This statement is not at variance with the fact, that in the time of Moses the Manassite *Jair* gave the name of *Havroth-jair* to the towns of Bashan which had been conquered by him (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14); for it is not affirmed here, that the thirty cities which belonged to the sons of *Jair* received this name for the first time from the judge *Jair*, but simply that this name was brought into use again by the sons of *Jair*, and was applied to these cities in a peculiar sense. (For further remarks on the *Havroth-jair*, see at Deut. iii. 14.) The situation of *Canon*, where *Jair* was buried, is altogether uncertain. *Josephus* (Ant. v. 6, 6) calls it a city of Gilead, though probably only on account of the assumption, that it would not be likely that *Jair* the Gileadite, who possessed so many cities in Gilead, should

be buried outside Gilead. But this assumption is a very questionable one. As Jair judged Israel after Tola the Issacharite, the assumption is a more natural one, that he lived in Canaan proper. Yet *Reland* (Pal. ill. p. 679) supports the opinion that it was in Gilead, and adduces the fact that *Polybius* (Hist. v. 70, 12) mentions a town called *Καμοῦν*, by the side of Pella and Gefrun, as having been taken by Antiochus. On the other hand, *Eusebius* and *Jerome* (in the *Onom.*) regard our *Camon* as being the same as the *κόμη Καμμωνά ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ*, six Roman miles to the north of *Legio* (*Lejun*), on the way to Ptolemais, which would be in the plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon. This is no doubt applicable to the *Κναμών* of Judith vii. 3; but whether it also applies to our *Camon* cannot be decided, as the town is not mentioned again.

III. PERIOD OF OPPRESSION BY THE AMMONITES AND PHILISTINES.

—CHAP. X. 6-XVI.

The third stage in the period of the judges, which extended from the death of Jair to the rise of Samuel as a prophet, was a time of deep humiliation for Israel, since the Lord gave up His people into the hands of two hostile nations at the same time, on account of their repeated return to idolatry; so that the Ammonites invaded the land from the east, and oppressed the Israelites severely for eighteen years, especially the tribes to the east of the Jordan; whilst the Philistines came from the west, and extended their dominion over the tribes on this side, and brought them more and more firmly under their yoke. It is true that Jephthah delivered his people from the oppression of the Ammonites, in the power of the Spirit of Jehovah, having first of all secured the help of God through a vow, and not only smote the Ammonites, but completely subdued them before the Israelites. But the Philistine oppression lasted forty years; for although Samson inflicted heavy blows upon the Philistines again and again, and made them feel the superior power of the God of Israel, he was nevertheless not in a condition to destroy their power and rule over Israel. This was left for Samuel to accomplish, after he had converted the people to the Lord their God.

Israel's renewed Apostasy and consequent Punishment.—

Chap. x. 6-18.

As the Israelites forsook the Lord their God again, and served the gods of the surrounding nations, the Lord gave them up to the

power of the Philistines and Ammonites, and left them to groan for eighteen years under the severe oppression of the Ammonites, till they cried to Him in their distress, and He sent them deliverance through Jephthah, though not till He had first of all charged them with their sins, and they had put away the strange gods. This section forms the introduction, not only to the history of Jephthah (chap. xi. 1-xii. 7) and the judges who followed him, viz. Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (chap. xii. 8-15), but also to the history of Samson, who began to deliver Israel out of the power of the Philistines (chap. xiii.-xvi.). After the fact has been mentioned in the introduction (in ver. 7), that Israel was given up into the hands of the Philistines and the Ammonites at the same time, the Ammonitish oppression, which lasted eighteen years, is more particularly described in vers. 8, 9. This is followed by the reproof of the idolatrous Israelites on the part of God (vers. 10-16); and lastly, the history of Jephthah is introduced in vers. 17, 18, the fuller account being given in chap. xi. Jephthah, who judged Israel for six years after the conquest and humiliation of the Ammonites (chap. xii. 7), was followed by the judges Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, who judged Israel for seven, ten, and eight years respectively, that is to say, for twenty-five years in all; so that Abdon died forty-nine years ($18+6+25$) after the commencement of the Ammonitish oppression, *i.e.* nine years after the termination of the forty years' rule of the Philistines over Israel, which is described more particularly in chap. xiii. 1, for the purpose of introducing the history of Samson, who judged Israel twenty years under that rule (chap. xv. 20, xvi. 31), without bringing it to a close, or even surviving it. It was only terminated by the victory which Israel achieved under Samuel at Ebenezer, as described in 1 Sam. vii.

Vers. 6-16. In the account of the renewed apostasy of the Israelites from the Lord contained in ver. 6, seven heathen deities are mentioned as being served by the Israelites: viz., in addition to the *Canaanitish Baals* and *Astartes* (see at chap. ii. 11, 13), the gods of *Aram*, *i.e.* *Syria*, who are never mentioned by name; of *Sidon*, *i.e.*, according to 1 Kings xi. 5, principally the Sidonian or Phœnician Astarte; of the *Moabites*, *i.e.* Chemosh (1 Kings xi. 33), the principal deity of that people, which was related to Moloch (see at Num. xxi. 29); of the *Ammonites*, *i.e.* Milcom (1 Kings xi. 5, 33) or Moloch (see at Lev. xviii. 21); and of the *Philistines*, *i.e.* Dagon (see at chap. xvi. 23). If we compare the list of these seven deities with vers. 11 and 12, where we find seven nations mentioned out

of whose hands Jehovah had delivered Israel, the correspondence between the number seven in these two cases and the significant use of the number are unmistakeable. Israel had balanced the number of divine deliverances by a similar number of idols which it served, so that the measure of the nation's iniquity was filled up in the same proportion as the measure of the delivering grace of God. The number *seven* is employed in the Scriptures as the stamp of the works of God, or of the perfection created, or to be created, by God on the one hand, and of the actions of men in their relation to God on the other. The foundation for this was the creation of the world in seven days.—On ver. 7, see chap. ii. 13, 14. The Ammonites are mentioned after the Philistines, not because they did not oppress the Israelites till afterwards, but for purely formal reasons, viz. because the historian was about to describe the oppression of the Ammonites first. In ver. 8 the subject is the “children of Ammon,” as we may see very clearly from ver. 9. “*They (the Ammonites) ground and crushed the Israelites in the same year,*” i.e. the year in which God sold the Israelites into their hands, or in which they invaded the land of Israel. רָצַץ and רָצְצוּ are synonymous, and are simply joined together for the sake of emphasis, whilst the latter calls to mind Deut. xxviii. 33. The duration of this oppression is then added: “*Eighteen years (they crushed) all the Israelites, who dwelt on the other side of the Jordan in the land of the Amorites,*” i.e. of the two Amoritish kings Sihon and Og, who (dwelt) in Gilead. *Gilead*, being a more precise epithet for the land of the Amorites, is used here in a wider sense to denote the whole of the country on the east of the Jordan, so far as it had been taken from the Amorites and occupied by the Israelites (as in Num. xxxii. 29, Deut. xxxiv. 1: see at Josh. xxii. 9).—Ver. 9. They also crossed the Jordan, and made war even upon Judah, Benjamin, and the house of Ephraim (the families of the tribe of Ephraim), by which Israel was brought into great distress. וַיַּצֵּר, as in chap. ii. 15.—Vers. 10-14. When the Israelites cried in their distress to the Lord, “*We have sinned against Thee, namely, that we have forsaken our God and served the Baals,*” the Lord first of all reminded them of the manifestations of His grace (vers. 11, 12), and then pointed out to them their faithless apostasy and the worthlessness of their idols (vers. 13, 14). וְכִי, “*and indeed that,*” describes the sin more minutely, and there is no necessity to remove it from the text,—an act which is neither warranted by its absence from several mss. nor by its omission from the Sept., the Syriac, and the Vulgate. *Baalim*

is a general term used to denote all the false gods, as in chap. ii. 11. This answer on the part of God to the prayer of the Israelites for help is not to be regarded as having been given through an extraordinary manifestation (theophany), or through the medium of a prophet, for that would certainly have been recorded; but it was evidently given in front of the tabernacle, where the people had called upon the Lord, and either came through the high priest, or else through an inward voice in which God spoke to the hearts of the people, *i.e.* through the voice of their own consciences, by which God recalled to their memories and impressed upon their hearts first of all His own gracious acts, and then their faithless apostasy. There is an *anakolouthon* in the words of God. The construction which is commenced with מְצַרִּים is dropped at וְצִירוֹנִים וגו' in ver. 12; and the verb הוֹשַׁעְתִּי, which answers to the beginning of the clause, is brought up afterwards in the form of an apodosis with וְאֹשִׁיעָה אֶתְכֶם. “*Did I not deliver you* (1) *from the Egyptians* (cf. Ex. i.–xiv.); (2) *from the Amorites* (cf. Num. xxi. 3); (3) *from the Ammonites* (who oppressed Israel along with the Moabites in the time of Ehud, chap. iii. 12 sqq.); (4) *from the Philistines* (through Shamgar: see 1 Sam. xii. 9, where the Philistines are mentioned between Sisera and Moab); (5) *from the Sidonians* (among whom probably the northern Canaanites under Jabin are included, as Sidon, according to chap. xviii. 7, 28, appears to have exercised a kind of principality or protectorate over the northern tribes of Canaan); (6) *from the Amalekites* (who attacked the Israelites even at Horeb, Ex. xvii. 8 sqq., and afterwards invaded the land of Israel both with the Moabites, chap. iii. 13, and also with the Midianites, chap. vi. 3); and (7) *from the Midianites?*” (see chap. vi. vii.). The last is the reading of the LXX. in *Cod. Al.* and *Vat.*, viz. Μαδίαμ; whereas *Ald.* and *Compl.* read Χαδαμ, also the *Vulgate*. In the Masoretic text, on the other hand, we have *Maon*. Were this the original and true reading, we might perhaps think of the *Mehunim*, who are mentioned in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7 along with Philistines and Arabians (cf. 1 Chron. iv. 41), and are supposed to have been inhabitants of the city of *Maan* on the Syrian pilgrim road to the east of Petra (*Burckhardt*, *Syr.* pp. 734 and 1035: see *Ewald*, *Gesch.* i. pp. 321, 322). But there is very little probability in this supposition, as we cannot possibly see how so small a people could have oppressed Israel so grievously at that time, that the deliverance from their oppression could be mentioned here; whilst it would be very strange that nothing should be said

about the terrible oppression of the Midianites and the wonderful deliverance from that oppression effected by Gideon. Consequently the Septuagint (*Μαδιάμ*) appears to have preserved the original text.—Ver. 13. Instead of thanking the Lord, however, for these deliverances by manifesting true devotedness to Him, Israel had forsaken Him and served other gods (see chap. ii. 13).—Vers. 14 sqq. Therefore the Lord would not save them any more. They might get help from the gods whom they had chosen for themselves. The Israelites should now experience what Moses had foretold in his song (Deut. xxxii. 37, 38). This divine threat had its proper effect. The Israelites confessed their sins, submitted thoroughly to the chastisement of God, and simply prayed for salvation; nor did they content themselves with merely promising, they put away the strange gods and served Jehovah, *i.e.* they devoted themselves again with sincerity to His service, and so were seriously converted to the living God. “*Then was His (Jehovah’s) soul impatient (תִּקְצַף, as in Num. xxi. 4) because of the troubles of Israel;*” *i.e.* Jehovah could no longer look down upon the misery of Israel; He was obliged to help. The change in the purpose of God does not imply any changeableness in the divine nature; it simply concerns the attitude of God towards His people, or the manifestation of the divine love to man. In order to bend the sinner at all, the love of God must withdraw its helping hand and make men feel the consequences of their sin and rebelliousness, that they may forsake their evil ways and turn to the Lord their God. When this end has been attained, the same divine love manifests itself as pitying and helping grace. Punishments and benefits flow from the love of God, and have for their object the happiness and well-being of men.

Vers. 17, 18. These verses form the introduction to the account of the help and deliverance sent by God, and describe the preparation made by Israel to fight against its oppressors. The Ammonites “*let themselves be called together,*” *i.e.* assembled together (קָרְעוּ, as in chap. vii. 23), and encamped in Gilead, *i.e.* in that portion of Gilead of which they had taken possession. For the Israelites, *i.e.* the tribes to the east of the Jordan (according to ver. 18 and chap. xi. 29), also assembled together in Gilead and encamped at *Mizpeh*, *i.e.* Ramath-mizpeh or Ramoth in Gilead (Josh. xiii. 26, xx. 8), probably on the site of the present *Szalt* (see at Deut. iv. 43, and the remarks in the Commentary on the Pent. vol. i. p. 300), and resolved to look round for a man who could begin the war, and to make him the head over all the inhabitants of Gilead (the tribes of

Israel dwelling in Perea). The "*princes of Gilead*" are in apposition to "*the people*." "The people, namely, the princes of Gilead," i.e. the heads of tribes and families of the Israelites to the east of the Jordan. "*Head*" is still further defined in chap. xi. 6, 11, as "*captain*," or "*head and captain*."

*Jephthah elected as Prince; Negotiations with the Ammonites; Victory, Vow, and Office of Judge.*¹—Chap. xi.—xii. 7.

Vers. 1–11. ELECTION OF JEPHTHAH AS PRINCE AND JUDGE OF ISRAEL.—Vers. 1–3. The account begins with his descent and early mode of life. "*Jephthah* (LXX. Ἰεφθά) the Gileadite was a brave hero" (see chap. vi. 12, Josh. i. 14, etc.); but he was the son of a harlot, and was begotten by Gilead, in addition to other sons who were born of his wife. *Gilead* is not the name of the country, as *Bertheau* supposes, so that the land is mythically personified as the forefather of Jephthah. Nor is it the name of the son of Machir and grandson of Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 29), so that the celebrated ancestor of the Gileadites is mentioned here instead of the unknown father of Jephthah. It is really the proper name of the father himself; and just as in the case of Tola and Puah, in chap. x. 1, the name of the renowned ancestor was repeated in his descendant. We are forced to this conclusion by the fact that the wife of Gilead, and his other sons by that wife, are mentioned in ver. 2. These sons drove their half-brother Jephthah out

¹ On the nature of the sources from which the author drew this tolerably elaborate history of Jephthah, all that can be determined with certainty is, that they sprang from some contemporary of this judge, since they furnish so clear and striking a picture of his life and doings. *Bertheau's* hypothesis, that the section extending from chap. xi. 12 to ver. 28 is founded upon some historical work, which is also employed in Num. xxi., Deut. ii. iii., and here and there in the book of Joshua, has really no other foundation than the unproved assumption that the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua were written towards the close of the period of the kings. For the marked agreement between Jephthah's negotiations with the king of the Ammonites concerning the possession of the land to the east of the Jordan, and the account given in the Pentateuch, especially in Num. xx. xxi., may be explained very simply and very perfectly, on the supposition that the author possessed the Pentateuch itself. And the account which is wanting in the Pentateuch, namely, that Israel petitioned the king of Moab also for permission to go through his land (ver. 17), may have been added from oral tradition, as those glorious victories gained by Israel under Moses were celebrated in verse by contemporaneous poets (see Num. xxi. 14, 17, 27); and this certainly contributed not a little to keep alive the memory of those events in the nation for centuries long.

of the house because of his inferior birth, that he might not share with them in the paternal inheritance; just as Ishmael and the sons of Keturah were sent away by Abraham, that they might not inherit along with Isaac (Gen. xxi. 10 sqq., xxv. 6).—Ver. 3. Jephthah departed from his brothers into the land of *Tob*, *i.e.*, according to 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, a district in the north-east of Perea, on the border of Syria, or between Syria and Ammonitis, called *Τῶβιον* in 1 Macc. v. 13, or more correctly *Τουβίν*, according to 2 Macc. xii. 17, where loose men gathered round him (cf. chap. ix. 4), and “went out with him,” viz. upon warlike and predatory expeditions like the Bedouins.—Vers. 4-6. But when the Ammonites made war upon Israel some time afterwards, the elders of Gilead (= “the princes of Gilead,” chap. x. 18) went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of Tob, to make this brave warrior their leader. In ver. 4 the account of the war between the Ammonites and Israel, which is mentioned in chap. x. 17, is resumed, and its progress under Jephthah is then more fully described. “*In process of time*” (בְּיָמַיִם, *a diebus*, *i.e.* after the lapse of a long period, which cannot be more precisely defined), *sc.* after the expulsion of Jephthah from his home (see chap. xiv. 8, xv. 1, Josh. xxiii. 1). יָצָן signifies a leader in war (Josh. x. 24), and is therefore distinguished in ver. 11 from רָאָה, a chief in peace and war.—Ver. 7. Jephthah expressed to the elders his astonishment that they had formerly hated and expelled him, and now came to him in their distress, *sc.* to make him their leader in time of war. Thus he lays his expulsion upon the shoulders of the elders of Gilead, although it was only by his brethren that he had been driven away from his father’s house, inasmuch as they had either approved of it, or at all events had not interfered as magistrates to prevent it. We cannot indeed infer from this reproach, that the expulsion and disinheriting of Jephthah was a legal wrong; but so much at all events is implied, namely, that Jephthah looked upon the thing as a wrong that had been done to him, and found the reason in the hatred of his brethren. The Mosaic law contained no regulation upon this matter, since the rule laid down in Deut. xxi. 15-17 simply applied to the sons of different wives, and not to a son by a harlot.—Ver. 8. The elders replied, “*Therefore* (לָכֵן, because we have formerly done thee wrong) *we have now come to thee again to make thee our head, if thou comest with us and fightest against the Ammonites.*” The clauses וְנִלְחָמָהּ, וְהִלָּכְתָּ, and וְהָיָה, which are formally co-ordinate, are logically to be subordinated to one another, the first two expressing the condition, the third the

consequence, in this sense, "*If thou go with us and fight, . . . thou shalt be head to us, namely, to all the inhabitants of Gilead,*" i.e. to the two tribes and a half on the east of the Jordan.—Ver. 9. Jephthah assented to this: "*If ye will take me back to make war upon the Ammonites, and Jehovah shall give them up to me (lit. 'before me,' as in Josh. x. 12, Deut. ii. 31, etc.), I will be your head.*" "*I*" is emphatic as distinguished from *ye*; and there is no necessity to regard the sentence as a question, with which the expression in ver. 10, "according to thy words," which presuppose an affirmative statement on the part of Jephthah, and not a question, would be altogether irreconcilable.—Ver. 10. The elders promised this on oath. "*Jehovah be hearing between us,*" i.e. be hearer and judge of the things concerning which we are negotiating; "*truly according to thy word so will we do*" (אֱלֹהִים, a particle used in connection with an oath).—Ver. 11. Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, "*and the people (i.e. the inhabitants of Gilead) made him head and captain, and Jephthah spoke all his words before Jehovah at Mizpeh:*" i.e. he repeated in a solemn assembly of the people, before God at Mizpeh, the conditions and obligations under which he would accept the honour conferred upon him. "*Before Jehovah*" does not necessarily presuppose the presence of the ark at Mizpeh; nor can we possibly assume this, since the war was resolved upon primarily by the eastern tribes alone, and they had no ark at all. It merely affirms that Jephthah performed this act, looking up to God, the omnipresent head of Israel. Still less do the words warrant the assumption that there was an altar in Mizpeh, and that sacrifices were offered to confirm the treaty, of which there is not the slightest indication in the text. "'Before Jehovah' implies nothing more than that Jephthah confirmed all his words by an oath" (*Hengstenberg*, Diss. ii. pp. 35, 36).

Vers. 12–28. JEPHTHAH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING OF THE AMMONITES.—Ver. 12. Before Jephthah took the sword, he sent messengers to the king of the Ammonites, to make complaints to him of his invasion of the land of the Israelites. "*What have we to do with one another ('what to me and thee?' see Josh. xxii. 24, 2 Sam. xvi. 10), that thou hast come to me to fight against my land?*" Jephthah's ambassadors speak in the name of the nation; hence the singulars "*me*" and "*my land.*"—Ver. 13. The king of the Ammonites replied, that when Israel came up out of Egypt, they had taken away his land from the Arnon to the Jabbok (on

the north), and to the Jordan (on the west), and demanded that they should now restore these lands in peace. The plural אֲרָמֹתָם (them) refers *ad sensum* to the cities and places in the land in question. The claim raised by the king of the Ammonites has one feature in it, which appears to have a certain colour of justice. The Israelites, it is true, had only made war upon the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, and defeated them, and taken possession of their kingdoms and occupied them, without attacking the Ammonites and Moabites and Edomites, because God had forbidden their attacking these nations (Deut. ii. 5, 9, 19); but one portion of the territory of Sihon had formerly been Moabitish and Ammonitish property, and had been conquered by the Amorites and occupied by them. According to Num. xxi. 26, Sihon had made war upon the previous king of Moab, and taken away all his land as far as the Arnon (see the comm. on this passage). And although it is not expressly stated in the Pentateuch that Sihon had extended his conquests beyond Moabitis into the land of the Ammonites, which was situated to the east of Moab, and had taken a portion of it from them, this is pretty clearly indicated in Josh. xiii. 25, since, according to that passage, the tribe of Gad received in addition to Jazer and all the towns of Gilead, half the land of the children of Ammon, namely, the land to the east of Gilead, on the western side of the upper Jabbok (Nahr Ammân: see at Josh. xiii. 26).¹—Vers. 14, 15. Jephthah then sent ambassadors again to explain to him the true state of the case, namely, that Israel had neither taken away the land of Moab nor the land of the Ammonites. As a proof of this, Jephthah adduced the leading facts connected with the journey of the Israelites through the desert of Arabia to Canaan, by

¹ The explanation which *Masius* gives of this passage (*Eatenus modo sursum in Galaaditidem exporrectum jacuisse Gaditarum hæreditatem, quatenus dinidia Ammonitarum ditio Galaaditidem ab oriente ambiebat*) is not sufficiently in keeping with the words, and too unnatural, to be regarded as correct, as it is by *Reland* (Pal. ill. p. 105) and *Hengstenberg* (Dissertations on the Pentateuch, ii. p. 29); and the reasons assigned by *Masius*, viz. "that the Israelites were prohibited from occupying the land of the Ammonites," and "the Ammonites are not mentioned in Num. xxi. 26," are too weak to establish anything. The latter is an *argumentum e silentio*, which loses all significance when we bear in mind, that even the allusion to the land of the Moabites in Num. xxi. 26 is only occasioned by the prominence given to Heshbon, and the poetical saying founded upon its fall. But the prohibition against taking the land of the Ammonites from them had just as much force in relation to the land of the Moabites, and simply referred to such land as these tribes still possessed in the time of Moses, and not to that which the Amorites had taken from them.

which this assertion was confirmed, in exact agreement with the accounts of the Pentateuch respecting the matter in dispute.—Vers. 16, 17. On leaving Egypt, Israel passed through the desert to the Red Sea, and came to Kadesh (Num. xx. 1). They then sent messengers to the king of Edom, to obtain permission to pass through his land; and this the king of Edom refused (Num. xx. 14–21). They also sent to the king of Moab, who sent back a similar refusal. The embassy to the king of Moab is not mentioned in the Pentateuch, as it had no direct bearing upon the further course of the Israelites (see Pentateuch, vol. iii. p. 132, note 2). “*And Israel abode in Kadesh*” (word for word, as in Num. xx. 1*b*), and “*then passed through the desert,*” namely to Mount Hor, then down the Arabah to the Red Sea, and still farther past Obboth to Ijje-abarim in the desert (Num. xx. 22–xxi. 11). In this way they went round the land of Edom and the land of Moab (יִבְ, like כִּבְ in Num. xxi. 4); and came from the east to the land of Moab (*i.e.* along the eastern boundary, for Ijje-abarim was situated there, according to Num. xxi. 11); and encamped on the other side of the Arnon (Num. xxi. 13), *i.e.* on the upper course of the Arnon where it still flows through the desert (see Pent. iii. p. 144). On this march, therefore, they did not enter the territory of Moab, as the Arnon formed the boundary of Moab, *i.e.* the boundary between Moab and the territory of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 13).—Vers. 19–22 are almost *verbatim* the same as Num. xxi. 21–25. Israel then sent messengers to Sihon the king of the Amorites at Heshbon, to ask permission to pass through his land. “*Into my place,*” *i.e.* into the land of Canaan, that Jehovah has appointed for me. But Sihon “*trusted not Israel to pass through his land,*” *i.e.* he did not trust to the assurance of Israel that they only wanted to pass peaceably through his land, but supposed the petition to cover an intention to take forcible possession of it. (In Num. xxi. 23 we have לֹא נָתַן instead of לֹא הֶאֱמַן.) He did not confine himself, therefore, to a refusal of the permission they asked for, but collected his men of war, and marched against the Israelites to the desert as far as Jahza, on the east of Medeba and Dibon (see at Num. xxi. 23), and fought with them. But he was defeated, and lost all his land, from the Arnon (Mojeb) on the south to the Jabbok (Zerka) on the north, and from the desert on the east to the Jordan on the west, of which the Israelites took possession.—Vers. 23, 24. From these facts Jephthah drew this simple but indisputable conclusion: “*Jehovah the God of Israel has rooted out the Amorites before His*

people Israel, and thou wilt take possession of it (viz. the land of the Amorites).” The suffix to תִּירְשֶׁנִּי refers to הָאֲמֹרִי, the Amorites, i.e. their land. The construction of יִרְשׁ with the accusative of the people (as in Deut. ii. 12, 21, 22, ix. 1) may be explained on the simple ground, that in order to take possession of a country, it is necessary first of all to get the holders of it into your power. Jephthah then proved still further how unwarrantable the claim of the king of the Ammonites was, and said to him (ver. 24), “*Is it not the fact (הֲלֹא, nonne), that what thy god Chemosh gives thee for a possession, of that thou takest possession; and all that Jehovah makes ownerless before us, of that we take possession?*”—an appeal the validity of which could not be disputed. For *Chemosh*, see at Num. xxi. 29. The verb הוֹרִישׁ combines the three meanings: to drive out of a possession, to deprive of a possessor, and to give for a possession; inasmuch as it is impossible to give a land for a possession without driving away or exterminating its former possessor.—Ver. 25. But not contenting himself with this conclusive deduction, Jephthah endeavoured to remove the lost appearance of right from the king’s claim by a second and equally conclusive argument. “*And now art thou better than Balak son of Zippor, the king of Moab? Did he strive (רֹבַח, inf. abs. of רִיב or רִיב) with Israel, or did he fight against them?*” By the repetition of וַעֲתָה (ver. 25, cf. ver. 23), the new argument is attached to the previous one, as a second deduction from the facts already described. Balak, the king of the Moabites, had indeed bribed Balaam to destroy Israel by his curses; but he did so not so much with the intention of depriving them of the territory of the Amorites which they had conquered, as from the fear that the powerful Israelites might also conquer his still remaining kingdom. Balak had neither made war upon Israel on account of the territory which they had conquered from the Amorites, nor had he put forward any claim to it as his own property, which he certainly might have done with some appearance of justice, as a large portion of it had formerly belonged to the Moabites (see Num. xxi. 26 and the comm. on this passage). If therefore Balak the king of the Moabites never thought of looking upon this land as being still his property, or of asking it back from the Israelites, the king of the Ammonites had no right whatever to lay claim to the land of Gilead as belonging to him, or to take it away from the Israelites by force, especially after the lapse of 300 years. “*As Israel dwells in Heshbon, . . . and in all the cities by the side of the Arnon for three hundred years, why have ye*

not taken away (these towns and lands) *within that time*" (*i.e.* during these 300 years)? If the Ammonites had had any right to it, they ought to have asserted their claim in Moses' time. It was much too late now, after the expiration of 300 years. For "if no prescriptive right is to be admitted on account of length of time, and if long possession gives no title, nothing would ever be held in safety by any people, and there would be no end to wars and dissension" (*Clericus*). On Heshbon and its daughters, see at Num. xxi. 25. *Aroër* (עֲרֹעַר, another form for עֲרֵעַר, or possibly only a copyist's error) is *Aroër* of Gad, before *Rabbah* (Josh. xiii. 25), and is to be sought for in the Wady Nahr Ammân, on the north-east of Ammân (see at Josh. l. c.), not *Aroër* of Reuben, on the border of the valley of Arnon (Num. xxxii. 34; Deut. ii. 36, iv. 48; Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 9). This is evident from the fact, that it is distinguished from "all the cities on the side" (עַל הַיַּרְדֵּן, see at Num. xxxiv. 3) of the Arnon," which included *Aroër* of Reuben. *Aroër* of Gad, with its daughter towns, was probably Ammonitish territory before the time of Sihon. On the 300 years, a round number that comes very near the reality, see the *Chronol.* p. 285.—Ver. 27. After Jephthah had adduced all that could be said, to prove that the Israelites were the rightful possessors of the land of Gilead,¹ he closed with these words: "*I (i.e. Israel, whose cause Jephthah was pleading) have not sinned against thee, but thou doest me wrong in that thou makest war against me. Let Jehovah the Judge be judge this day (now) between the children of Israel and the children of Ammon.*" God should decide between the two nations, by giving the victory in war to the side whose cause was the just one.—Ver. 28. But the king of the Ammonites did not hearken to the words of Jephthah "which he had sent to him," *i.e.* had instructed his messengers to address to him; so that it was necessary that Jehovah should decide for Israel in battle.

Vers. 29–33. JEPHTHAH'S VICTORY OVER THE AMMONITES.
—As the negotiations with the king of the Ammonites were fruitless, Jephthah had no other course left than to appeal to the sword.
—Ver. 29. In the power of the Spirit of Jehovah which came upon him (see chap. iii. 10), he passed through Gilead (the land of the tribes of Reuben and Gad between the Arnon and the Jabbok)

¹ "Jephthah urged everything that could be pleaded in support of their prescriptive right: possession, length of time, the right of conquest, and undisputed occupation."—*Rosenmüller*.

and Manasseh (northern Gilead and Bashan, which the half tribe of Manasseh had received for a possession), to gather together an army to battle, and then went with the assembled army to Mizpeh-Gilead, *i.e.* Ramoth-mizpeh, where the Israelites had already encamped before his call (chap. x. 17), that he might thence attack the Ammonites. עָבַר (to pass over) with an accusative signifies to come over a person in a hostile sense.—Vers. 30, 31. Before commencing the war, however, he vowed a vow to the Lord: “*If Thou givest the Ammonites into my hand, he who cometh to meet me out of the doors of my house, when I return safely (in peace, shalom) from the Ammonites, shall belong to the Lord, and I will offer him for a burnt-offering.*” By the words הַיֹּצֵא אִשָּׁר, “he that goeth out,” even if Jephthah did not think “only of a man, or even more definitely still of some one of his household,” he certainly could not think in any case of a head of cattle, or one of his flock. “Going out of the doors of his house to meet him” is an expression that does not apply to a herd or flock driven out of the stall just at the moment of his return, or to any animal that might possibly run out to meet him. For the phrase יָצָא לִקְרֹאת is only applied to men in the other passages in which it occurs.¹ Moreover, Jephthah no doubt intended to impose a very difficult vow upon himself. And that would not have been the case if he had merely been thinking of a sacrificial animal. Even without any vow, he would have offered, not one, but many sacrifices after obtaining a victory.² If therefore he had had an animal sacrifice in his mind, he would certainly have vowed the best of his flocks. From all this there can be no doubt that Jephthah must have been thinking of some human being as at all events included in his vow; so that when he declared that he would dedicate that which came out of his house to meet him, the meaning of the vow cannot

¹ *Augustine* observes in his *Quæst. xlix. in l. Jud.*: “He did not vow in these words that he would offer some *sheep*, which he might present as a holocaust, according to the law. For it is not, and was not, a customary thing for sheep to come out to meet a victorious general returning from the war. Nor did he say, I will offer as a holocaust *whatever* shall come out of the doors of my house to meet me; but he says, ‘*Whoever* comes out, I will offer *him*,’ so that there can be no doubt whatever that he had then a human being in his mind.”

² “What kind of vow would it be if some great prince or general should say, ‘O God, if Thou wilt give me this victory, the first calf that meets me shall be Thine!’ *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!*”—*Pfeiffer, dubia ver.* p. 356.

have been any other than that he would leave the choice of the sacrifice to God himself. "In his eagerness to smite the foe, and to thank God for it, Jephthah could not think of any particular object to name, which he could regard as great enough to dedicate to God; he therefore left it to accident, *i.e.* to the guidance of God, to determine the sacrifice. He shrank from measuring what was dearest to God, and left this to God himself" (*P. Cassel in Herzog's Real-encycl.*). Whomsoever God should bring to meet him, he would dedicate to Jehovah, and indeed, as is added afterwards by way of defining it more precisely, he would offer him to the Lord as a burnt-offering. The ו before הַעֲלִיתִי is to be taken as explanatory, and not as disjunctive in the sense of "or," which ו never has. But whether Jephthah really thought of his daughter at the time, cannot be determined either in the affirmative or negative. If he did, he no doubt hoped that the Lord would not demand this hardest of all sacrifices.—Vers. 32, 33. After seeking to ensure the help of the Lord by this vow, he went against the Ammonites to fight against them; and the Lord delivered them into his hand, so that Jephthah smote them in a very great slaughter "from Aroër (or Nahr Ammân; see ver. 26) to the neighbourhood of ('till thou come to; see at Gen. x. 19) *Minnith*, (conquering and taking) twenty cities, and to *Abel Keramim* (of the vineyards)." *Minnith*, according to the *Onom.* (*s. v. Mennith*), was a place called *Manith* in the time of *Eusebius*, four Roman miles from Heshbon on the road to Philadelphia, with which the account given by *Buckingham* of the ruins of a large city a little to the east of Heshbon may be compared (see *v. Raum. Pal.* p. 265). The situation of *Abel Keramim* (plain of the vineyards: *Luther* and *Eng. Ver.*) cannot be determined with the same certainty. *Eusebius* and *Jerome* mention two places of this name (*Onom. s. v. Abel vinearum*), a *villa Abela vinetis consita* (κώμη ἀμπελοφόρος Ἀβελ) seven Roman miles from Philadelphia, and a *civitas nomine Abela vini fertilis* twelve Roman miles to the east of Gadara, and therefore in the neighbourhood of the Mandhur. Which of the two is referred to here remains uncertain, as we have no precise details concerning the battle. If the northern *Abela* should be meant, Jephthah would have pursued the foe first of all towards the south to the neighbourhood of Heshbon, and then to the north to the border of Bashan. Through this victory the Ammonites were completely subdued before the Israelites.

Vers. 34-40. JEPHTHAH'S VOW.—Vers. 34, 35. When the victorious hero returned to Mizpeh, his daughter came out to meet him “*with timbrels and in dances*,” i.e. at the head of a company of women, who received the conqueror with joyous music and dances (see at Ex. xv. 20): “*and she was the only one; he had neither son nor daughter beside her*.” כַּמְּנָה cannot mean *ex se*, no other child of his own, though he may have had children that his wives had brought him by other husbands; but it stands, as the greater Masora has pointed it, for כַּמְּנָה, “besides her,” the daughter just mentioned,—the masculine being used for the feminine as the nearest and more general gender, simply because the idea of “child” was floating before the author’s mind. At such a meeting Jephthah was violently agitated. Tearing his clothes (as a sign of his intense agony; see at Lev. x. 6), he exclaimed, “*O my daughter! thou hast brought me very low; it is thou who troublest me*” (lit. thou art among those who trouble me, thou belongest to their class, and indeed in the fullest sense of the word; this is the meaning of the so-called *essentia*: see *Ges. Lehrgeb.* p. 838, and such passages as 2 Sam. xv. 31, Ps. liv. 6, lv. 19, etc.): “*I have opened my mouth to the Lord* (i.e. have uttered a vow to Him: compare Ps. lxvi. 14 with Num. xxx. 3 sqq., Deut. xxiii. 23, 24), *and cannot turn it*,” i.e. revoke it.—Ver. 36. The daughter, observing that the vow had reference to her (as her father in fact had, no doubt, distinctly told her, though the writer has passed this over because he had already given the vow itself in ver. 31), replied, “*Do to me as has gone out of thy mouth* (i.e. do to me what thou hast vowed), *since Jehovah has procured the vengeance upon thine enemies the Ammonites*.” She then added (ver. 37), “*Let this thing be done for me* (equivalent to, Let this only be granted me); *let me alone two months and I will go*,” i.e. only give me two months to go, “*that I may go down to the mountains* (i.e. from Mizpeh, which stood upon an eminence, to the surrounding mountains and their valleys) *and bewail my virginity, I and my friends*.” בְּתוּלִים does not mean “youth” (נְעָרִים), but the condition of virginity (see Lev. xxi. 13). The *Kethibh* רְעוּתִי is a less common form of רְעוּתִי (*Keri*).—Ver. 38. The father granted this request.—Ver. 39. At the end of two months she returned to her father again, “*and he did to her the vow that he had vowed, and she knew no man*.” In consequence of this act of Jephthah and his daughter, “*it became an ordinance* (a standing custom) *in Israel: from year to year* (see Ex. xiii. 10) *the daughters of Israel go to praise the daughter of Jephthah the*

Gileadite four days in the year." תָּנַח does not mean *θρηνεῖν*, to lament or bewail (LXX., Chald., etc.), but to praise, as *R. Tanchum* and others maintain.

With regard to *Jephthah's vow*, the view expressed so distinctly by *Josephus* and the Chaldee was the one which generally prevailed in the earlier times among both Rabbins and fathers of the church, viz. that Jephthah put his daughter to death and burned her upon the altar as a bleeding sacrifice to Jehovah. It was not till the middle ages that *Mos.* and *Dav. Kimchi* and certain other Rabbins endeavoured to establish the view, that Jephthah merely dedicated his daughter to the service of the sanctuary of Jehovah in a lifelong virginity. And lastly, *Ludov. Cappellus*, in his *Diatriba de voto Jephthæ*, Salm. 1683 (which has been reprinted in his *Notæ critic.* in Jud. xi., and the *Critici Sacri*, tom. i.), has expressed the opinion that Jephthah put his daughter to death in honour of the Lord according to the law of the ban, because human beings were not allowed to be offered up as burnt-sacrifices. Of these different opinions the third has no foundation in the text of the Bible. For supposing that Jephthah had simply vowed that on his return he would offer to the Lord whatever came to meet him out of his house, with such restrictions only as were involved in the very nature of the case,—viz. offering it as a burnt-offering if it were adapted for this according to the law; and if it were not, then proceeding with it according to the law of the ban,—the account of the fulfilment of this vow would certainly have defined with greater precision the manner in which he fulfilled the vow upon his daughter. The words "he did to her his vow which he had vowed," cannot be understood in any other way than that he offered her as *עֹלָה*, i.e. as a *burnt-offering*, to the Lord. Moreover, the law concerning the ban and a vow of the ban could not possibly give any individual Israelite the right to ban either his own child or one of his household to the Lord, without opening a very wide door to the crime of murder. The infliction of the ban upon any man presupposed notorious wickedness, so that burnt-offering and ban were diametrically opposed the one to the other. Consequently the other two views are the only ones which can be entertained, and it is not easy to decide between them. Although the words "and I offer him as a burnt-offering" appear to favour the actual sacrifice so strongly, that *Luther's* marginal note, "some affirm that he did not sacrifice her, but the text is clear enough," is perpetually repeated with peculiar emphasis; yet, on looking more closely into

the matter, we find insuperable difficulties in the way of the literal interpretation of the words. Since *הַיּוֹצֵא אִשָּׁר יִצֵּא* cannot be taken impersonally, and therefore when Jephthah uttered his vow, he must at any rate have had the possibility of some human being coming to meet him in his mind; and since the two clauses "*he shall be the Lord's*," and "*I will offer him up for a burnt-offering*," cannot be taken disjunctively in such a sense as this, it shall *either* be dedicated to the Lord, *or*, if it should be a sacrificial animal, I will offer it up as a burnt-offering, but the second clause simply contains a more precise definition of the first,—Jephthah must at the very outset have contemplated the possibility of a human sacrifice. Yet not only were human sacrifices prohibited in the law under pain of death as an abomination in the sight of Jehovah (Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2-5; Deut. xii. 31, xviii. 10), but they were never heard of among the Israelites in the early times, and were only transplanted to Jerusalem by the godless kings Ahaz and Manasseh.¹ If Jephthah therefore vowed that he would offer a human sacrifice to Jehovah, he must either have uttered his vow without any reflection, or else have been thoroughly depraved in a moral and religious sense. But what we know of this brave hero by no means warrants any such assumptions. His acts do not show the slightest trace of impetuosity and rashness. He does not take to the sword at once, but waits till his negotiations with the king of the Ammonites have been without effect. Nor does he utter his vow in the midst of the confusion of battle, so that we might fancy he had made a vow in the heat of the conflict without fully weighing his words, but he uttered it before he set out against the Ammonites (see vers. 30 and 32). So far as the religious training of Jephthah was concerned, it is true that he had led the life of a freebooter during his exile from his country and home, and before his election as the leader of the Israelites; but the analogous circumstances connected with David's life preclude us from in-

¹ "Human sacrifices do not even belong to heathenism generally, but to the darkest night of heathenism. They only occur among those nations which are the most thoroughly depraved in a moral and religious sense." This remark of *Hengstenberg* (Diss. iii. p. 118) cannot be set aside by a reference to *Euseb. præp. ev.* iv. 16; *Baur*, *Symb.* ii. 2, pp. 293 sqq.; *Lasaulx*, *Sühnopfer der Griechen und Römer*, 1841, pp. 8-12; *Ghillany*, *die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, 1842, pp. 107 sqq., as *Kurtz* supposes, since the uncritical character of the proofs collected together in these writings is very obvious on a closer inspection, and *Eusebius* has simply taken his examples from Porphyry, and other writings of a very recent date.

ferring either moral depravity or religious barbarism from this. When David was obliged to fly from his country to escape from Saul, he also led a life of the same kind, so that all sorts of people came to him, not pious and virtuous people, but all who were in distress and had creditors, or were embittered in spirit (1 Sam. xxii. 2); and yet, even under these circumstances, David lived in the law of the Lord. Moreover, Jephthah was not destitute of the fear of God. This is proved first of all by the fact, that when he had been recalled from his exile he looked to Jehovah to give him the victory over the Ammonites, and made a treaty with the elders of Gilead "before Jehovah" (vers. 9 and 10); and also by the fact, that he sought to ensure the help of God in war through the medium of a vow. And again, we have no right to attribute to him any ignorance of the law. Even if *Kurtz* is correct in his opinion, that the negotiations with the king of the Ammonites, which show the most accurate acquaintance with the Pentateuch, were not carried on independently and from his own knowledge of the law, and that the sending of messengers to the hostile king was resolved upon in the national assembly at Mizpeh, with the priests, Levites, and elders present, so that the Levites, who knew the law, may have supplied any defects in his own knowledge of the law and of the early history of his people; a private Israelite did not need to study the whole of the law of the Pentateuch, and to make himself master of the whole, in order to gain the knowledge and conviction that a human sacrifice was irreconcilable with the substance and spirit of the worship of Jehovah, and that Jehovah the God of Israel was not a Moloch. And again, even if we do not know to what extent the men and fathers of families in Israel were acquainted and familiar with the contents of the Mosaic law, the opinion is certainly an erroneous one, that the Israelites derived their knowledge of the law exclusively from the public reading of the law at the feast of tabernacles in the sabbatical year, as enjoined in Deut. xxxi. 10 sqq.; so that if this public reading, which was to take place only once in seven years, had been neglected, the whole nation would have been left without any instruction whatever in the law. The reason for this Mosaic precept was a totally different one from that of making the people acquainted with the contents of the law (see the commentary on this passage). And again, though we certainly do not find the law of the Lord so thoroughly pervading the religious consciousness of the people, received as it were *in succum et sanguinem*, in

the time of the judges, that they were able to resist the bewitching power of nature-worship, but, on the contrary, we find them repeatedly falling away into the worship of Baal; yet we discover no trace whatever of human sacrifices even in the case of those who went a whoring after Baalim. And although the theocratical knowledge of the law seems to have been somewhat corrupted even in the case of such men as Gideon, so that this judge had an unlawful ephod made for himself at Ophrah; the opinion that the Baal-worship, into which the Israelites repeatedly fell, was associated with human sacrifices, is one of the many erroneous ideas that have been entertained as to the development of the religious life not only among the Israelites, but among the Canaanites, and which cannot be supported by historical testimonies or facts. That the Canaanitish worship of Baal and Astarte, to which the Israelites were addicted, required no human sacrifices, is indisputably evident from the fact, that even in the time of Ahab and his idolatrous wife Jezebel, the daughter of the Sidonian king Ethbaal, who raised the worship of Baal into the national religion in the kingdom of the ten tribes, persecuting the prophets of Jehovah and putting them to death, there is not the slightest allusion to human sacrifices. Even at that time human sacrifices were regarded by the Israelites as so revolting an abomination, that the two kings of Israel who besieged the king of the Moabites—not only the godly Jehoshaphat, but Jehoram the son of Ahab and Jezebel—withdrew at once and relinquished the continuance of the war, when the king of the Moabites, in the extremity of his distress, sacrificed his son as a burnt-offering upon the wall (2 Kings iii. 26, 27). With such an attitude as this on the part of the Israelites towards human sacrifices before the time of Ahaz and Manasseh, who introduced the worship of Moloch into Jerusalem, we cannot, without further evidence, impute to Jephthah the offering of a bloody human sacrifice, the more especially as it is inconceivable, with the diametrical opposition between the worship of Jehovah and the worship of Moloch, that God should have chosen a worshipper of Moloch to carry out His work, or a man who was capable of vowing and offering a human-being sacrifice. The men whom God chose as the recipients of His revelation of mercy and the executors of His will, and whom He endowed with His Spirit as judges and leaders of His people, were no doubt affected with infirmities, faults, and sins of many kinds, so that they could fall to a very great depth; but nowhere is it stated that the Spirit of

God came upon a worshipper of Moloch and endowed him with His own power, that he might be the helper and saviour of Israel.

We cannot therefore regard Jephthah as a servant of Moloch, especially when we consider that, in addition to what has already been said, the account of the actual fulfilment of his vow is apparently irreconcilable with the literal interpretation of the words *והעֲלִיתִיהָ עֹלָה*, as signifying a bleeding burnt-offering. We cannot infer anything with certainty as to the mode of the sacrifice, from the grief which Jephthah felt and expressed when his only daughter came to meet him. For this is quite as intelligible, as even the supporters of the literal view of these words admit, on the supposition that Jephthah was compelled by his vow to dedicate his daughter to Jehovah in a lifelong virginity, as it would be if he had been obliged to put her to death and burn her upon the altar as a burnt-offering. But the entreaty of the daughter, that he would grant her two months' time, in order that she might lament her virginity upon the mountains with her friends, would have been marvellously out of keeping with the account that she was to be put to death as a sacrifice. To mourn one's virginity does not mean to mourn because one has to die a virgin, but because one has to live and remain a virgin. But even if we were to assume that mourning her virginity was equivalent to mourning on account of her youth (which is quite untenable, as *בְּתוּלִים* is not synonymous with *נְעוּרִים*), "it would be impossible to understand why this should take place *upon the mountains*. It would be altogether opposed to human nature, that a child who had so soon to die should make use of a temporary respite to forsake her father altogether. It would no doubt be a reasonable thing that she should ask permission to enjoy life for two months longer before she was put to death; but that she should only think of bewailing her virginity, when a sacrificial death was in prospect, which would rob her father of his only child, would be contrary to all the ordinary feelings of the human heart. Yet, inasmuch as the history lays special emphasis upon her bewailing her virginity, this must have stood in some peculiar relation to the nature of the vow. When a maiden *bewails* her virginity, the reason for this can only be that she will have to remain a bud that has not been allowed to unfold itself, prevented, too, not by death, but by life" (*P. Cassel*, p. 473). And this is confirmed by the expression, to bewail her virginity "*upon the mountains*." "If life had been in question, the same tears might have been shed at home. But her lamentations were devoted to her virginity, and

such lamentations could not be uttered in the town, and in the presence of men. Modesty required the solitude of the mountains for these. The virtuous heart of the maiden does not open itself in the ears of all; but only in sacred silence does it pour out its lamentations of love" (*P. Cassel*, p. 476). And so, again, the still further clause in the account of the fulfilment of the vow, "and she knew no man," is not in harmony with the assumption of a sacrificial death. This clause would add nothing to the description in that case, since it was already known that she was a virgin. The words only gain their proper sense if we connect them with the previous clause, he "did with her according to the vow which he had vowed," and understand them as describing what the daughter did in fulfilment of the vow. The father fulfilled his vow upon her, and she knew no man; *i.e.* he fulfilled the vow through the fact that she knew no man, but dedicated her life to the Lord, as a spiritual burnt-offering, in a lifelong chastity. It was this willingness of the daughter to sacrifice herself which the daughters of Israel went every year to celebrate,—namely, upon the mountains whither her friends had gone with her to lament her virginity, and which they commemorated there four days in the year. And the idea of a spiritual sacrifice is supported not only by the words, but also most decisively by the fact that the historian describes the fulfilment of the vow in the words "he did to her according to his vow," in such a manner as to lead to the conclusion that he regarded the act itself as laudable and good. But a prophetic historian could never have approved of a human sacrifice; and it is evident that the author of the book of Judges does not conceal what was blameable even in the judges themselves, from his remarks concerning the conduct of Gideon (chap. viii. 27), which was only a very small offence in comparison with the abomination of a human sacrifice. To this we have to add the difficulties connected with such an act. The words "he did to her according to his vow" presuppose undoubtedly that Jephthah offered his daughter as עֹלָה to Jehovah. But burnt-offerings, that is to say bleeding burnt-offerings, in which the victim was slaughtered and burnt upon the altar, could only be offered upon the lawful altar at the tabernacle, or before the ark, through the medium of the Levitical priests, unless the sacrifice itself had been occasioned by some extraordinary manifestation of God; and that we cannot for a moment think of here. But is it credible that a priest or the priesthood should have consented to offer a sacrifice upon the altar of Jehovah which was denounced in

the law as the greatest abomination of the heathen? This difficulty cannot be set aside by assuming that Jephthah put his daughter to death, and burned her upon some secret altar, without the assistance and mediation of a priest; for such an act would not have been described by the prophetic historian as a fulfilment of the vow that he would offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, simply because it would not have been a sacrifice offered to Jehovah at all, but a sacrifice slaughtered to Moloch.¹

All these circumstances, when rightly considered, almost compel us to adopt the spiritual interpretation of the words "offer as a burnt-offering." It is true that no exactly corresponding parallels can be adduced from the Old Testament in support of the spiritual view; but the germs of this view, as met with in the Psalms and the writings of the prophets, are contained in the demand of God addressed to Abraham to offer Him his only son Isaac as a burnt-offering, when compared with the issue of Abraham's temptation,—namely, that God accepted his willingness to offer up his son as a completed sacrifice, and then supplied him with a ram to offer up as a bleeding sacrifice in the place of his son. As this fact teaches that what God demands is not a corporeal but a spiritual sacrifice, so the rules laid down in the law respecting the redemption of the first-born belonging to the Lord, and of persons vowed to Him (Ex. xiii. 1, 13; Num. xviii. 15, 16; Lev. xxvii. 1 sqq.), show clearly how the Israelites could dedicate themselves and those who belonged to them to the Lord, without burning upon the altar the persons who were vowed to Him. And lastly, it is evident, from the perfectly casual reference to the women who

¹ *Auberlen's* remarks upon this subject are very good. "The history of Jephthah's daughter," he says, "would hardly have been thought worth preserving in the Scriptures if the maiden had been really offered in sacrifice; for, in that case, the event would have been reduced, at the best, into a mere family history, without any theocratic significance, though in truth it would rather have been an anti-theocratic *abomination*, according to Deut. xii. 31 (cf. chap. xviii. 9, Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 1-5). Jephthah's action would in that case have stood upon the same platform as the incest of Lot (Gen. xix. 30 sqq.), and would owe its adoption into the canon simply to genealogical considerations, or others of a similar kind. But the very opposite is the case here; and if, from the conclusion of the whole narrative in chap. xi. 39, 40, the object of it is supposed to be simply to explain the origin of the feast that was held in honour of Jephthah's daughter, even this would tell against the ordinary view. In the eye of the law the whole thing would still remain an abomination, and the canonical Scriptures would not stoop to relate and beautify an institution so directly opposed to the law."

ministered at the tabernacle (Ex. xxxviii. 8 ; 1 Sam. ii. 22), that there were persons in Israel who dedicated their lives to the Lord at the sanctuary, by altogether renouncing the world. And there can be no doubt that Jephthah had such a dedication as this in his mind when he uttered his vow ; at all events in case the Lord, to whom he left the appointment of the sacrifice, should demand the offering up of a human being. The word עֹלָה does not involve the idea of burning, like our word burnt-offering, but simply that of going up upon the altar, or of complete surrender to the Lord. עֹלָה is a whole offering, as distinguished from the other sacrifices, of which only a part was given up to the Lord. When a virgin, therefore, was set apart as a spiritual עֹלָה, it followed, as a matter of course, that henceforth she belonged entirely to the Lord : that is to say, was to remain a virgin for the remainder of her days. The fact that Nazarites contracted marriages, even such as were dedicated by a vow to be Nazarites all their lives, by no means warrants the conclusion that virgins dedicated to the Lord by a vow were also free to marry if they chose. It is true that we learn nothing definite from the Old Testament with regard to this spiritual sacrificial service ; but the absence of any distinct statements upon the subject by no means warrants our denying the fact. Even with regard to the spiritual service of the women at the tabernacle we have no precise information ; and we should not have known anything about this institution, if the women themselves had not offered their mirrors in the time of Moses to make the holy laver, or if we had not the account of the violation of such women by the sons of Eli. In this respect, therefore, the remarks of *Clericus*, though too frequently disregarded, are very true : " It was not to be expected, as I have often observed, that so small a volume as the Old Testament should contain all the customs of the Hebrews, and a full account of all the things that were done among them. There are necessarily many things alluded to, therefore, which we do not fully understand, simply because they are not mentioned elsewhere."

Chap. xii. 1-7. JEPHTHAH'S WAR WITH THE EPHRAIMITES, AND OFFICE OF JUDGE.—Ver. 1. The jealousy of the tribe of Ephraim, which was striving after the leadership, had already shown itself in the time of Gideon in such a way that nothing but the moderation of that judge averted open hostilities. And now that the tribes on the east of the Jordan had conquered the

Ammonites under the command of Jephthah without the co-operation of the Ephraimites, Ephraim thought it necessary to assert its claim to take the lead in Israel in a very forcible manner. The Ephraimites gathered themselves together, and went over צָפוֹנָה. This is generally regarded as an appellative noun (*northward*); but in all probability it is a proper name, "to *Zaphon*," the city of the Gadites in the Jordan valley, which is mentioned in Josh. xiii. 27 along with Succoth, that is to say, according to a statement of the *Gemara*, though of a very uncertain character no doubt, Ἀμαθούς (*Joseph. Ant.* xiii. 13, 5, xiv. 5, 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4, 2; *Reland, Pal.* pp. 308 and 559-60), the modern ruins of *Amata* on the Wady *Rajīb* or *Ajlun*, the situation of which would suit this passage very well. They then threatened Jephthah, because he had made war upon the Ammonites without them, and said, "*We will burn thy house over thee with fire.*" This arrogance and threat Jephthah opposed most energetically. He replied (vers. 2, 3), "*A man of strife have I been, I and my people on the one hand, and the children of Ammon on the other, very greatly,*" i.e. I and my people had a severe conflict with the Ammonites. "*Then I called you, but ye did not deliver me out of their hand; and when I saw that thou (Ephraim) didst not help me, I put my life in my hand*" (i.e. I risked my own life: see 1 Sam. xix. 5, xxviii. 21, Job xiii. 14. The *Kethibh* קִטְּלָהּ comes from קָטַל: cf. Gen. xxiv. 33), "*and I went against the Ammonites, and Jehovah gave them into my hand.*" Jephthah's appeal to the Ephraimites to fight against the Ammonites is not mentioned in chap. xi., probably for no other reason than because it was without effect. The Ephraimites, however, had very likely refused their co-operation simply because the Gileadites had appointed Jephthah as commander without consulting them. Consequently the Ephraimites had no ground whatever for rising up against Jephthah and the Gileadites in this haughty and hostile manner; and Jephthah had a perfect right not only to ask them, "*Wherefore are ye come up against me now (lit. 'this day'), to fight against me?*" but to resist such conduct with the sword.—Ver. 4. He therefore gathered together all the men (men of war) of Gilead and smote the Ephraimites, because they had said, "*Ye Gileadites are fugitives of Ephraim in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh.*" The meaning of these obscure words is probably the following: Ye Gileadites are a mob gathered together from Ephraimites that have run away; "ye are an obscure set of men, men of no name, dwelling in the midst of two most noble and illustrious tribes"

(*Rosenmüller*). This contemptuous speech did not apply to the tribes of Reuben and Gad as such, but simply to the warriors whom Jephthah had gathered together out of Gilead. For the words are not to be rendered *erepti Ephraim*, "the rescued of Ephraim," as they are by *Seb. Schmidt* and *Stud.*, or to be understood as referring to the fact that the Gileadites had found refuge with the Ephraimites during the eighteen years of oppression on the part of the Ammonites, since such an explanation is at variance with the use of the word פִּלָּט, which simply denotes a fugitive who has escaped from danger, and not one who has sought and found protection with another. The Ephraimites had to pay for this insult offered to their brethren by a terrible defeat.—Ver. 5. When the Gileadites had beaten the Ephraimites, they took the fords of the Jordan before the Ephraimites (or towards Ephraim: see chap. iii. 28, vii. 24), to cut off their retreat and prevent their return to their homes. And "*when fugitives of Ephraim wanted to cross, the men of Gilead asked them, Art thou Ephrathi,*" i.e. an Ephraimite? And if he said no, they made him pronounce the word *Shibboleth* (a stream or flood, as in Ps. lxix. 3, 16; not an ear of corn, which is quite unsuitable here); "*and if he said, Sibboleth, not taking care to pronounce it correctly, they laid hold of him and put him to death at the fords of the Jordan.*" In this manner there fell at that time, i.e. during the whole war, 42,000 Ephraimites. The "*fugitives of Ephraim*" were the Ephraimites who had escaped from the battle and wished to return home. The expression is used here in its ordinary sense, and not with the contemptuous sense in which the Ephraimites had used it in ver. 4. From this history we learn quite casually that the Ephraimites generally pronounced *sh* (shin) like *s* (samech). הִכִּין is used elliptically for הִכִּין לֵב, to direct his heart to anything, pay heed (compare 1 Sam. xxiii. 22, 1 Chron. xxviii. 2, with 2 Chron. xii. 14, xxx. 19).—Ver. 7. Jephthah judged Israel six years, though most probably only the tribes on the east of the Jordan. When he died, he was buried in one of the towns of Gilead. The plural בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד is used quite indefinitely, as in Gen. xiii. 12, Neh. vi. 2, etc. (see *Ges. Lehrgeb.* p. 665), simply because the historian did not know the exact town.

The Judges Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon.—Chap. xii. 8-15.

Of these three judges no particular deeds are related, just as in the case of Tola and Jair (see the remarks on chap. x. 1). But it certainly follows from the expression וַיִּשְׁפֹּט אֲחֵרָיו (vers. 8, 11, 13)

that they were one after another successors of Jephthah, and therefore that their office of judge also extended simply over the tribes on the east of the Jordan, and perhaps the northern tribes on this side.—Vers. 8, 9. *Ibzan* sprang from *Bethlehem*,—hardly, however, the town of that name in the tribe of Judah, as *Josephus* affirms (*Ant.* v. 7, 13), for that is generally distinguished either as *Bethlehem* “of Judah” (*chap.* xvii. 7, 9; *Ruth* i. 2; 1 *Sam.* xvii. 12), or *Bethlehem Ephratah* (*Micah* v. 1), but probably *Bethlehem* in the tribe of Zebulun (*Josh.* ix. 15). He had thirty sons and thirty daughters, the latter of whom he sent away *הַחֲנֻכָּה* (out of his house), *i.e.* gave them in marriage, and brought home thirty women in their places from abroad as wives for his sons. He judged Israel seven years, and was buried in *Bethlehem*.—Vers. 11, 12. His successor was *Elon* the Zebulunite, who died after filling the office of judge for ten years, and was buried at *Aijalon*, in the land of Zebulun. This *Aijalon* has probably been preserved in the ruins of *Jalûn*, about four hours’ journey to the east of Akka, and half an hour to the s.s.w. of Mejdél Kerun (see *V. de Velde*, *Mem.* p. 283).—Vers. 13–15. He was followed by the judge *Abdon*, the son of *Hillel* of *Pirathon*. This place, where *Abdon* died and was buried after holding the office of judge for eight years, was in the land of Ephraim, on the mountains of the Amalekites (*ver.* 15). It is mentioned in 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 30 and 1 *Chron.* xi. 31 as the home of *Benaiah* the hero; it is the same as *Φαραθώ* (read *Φαραθών*) in 1 *Macc.* ix. 50, and *Joseph.* *Ant.* xiii. 1, 3, and has been preserved in the village of *Feráta*, about two hours and a half to the s.s.w. of Nabulus (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* p. 134, and *V. de Velde*, *Mem.* p. 340). On the riding of his sons and daughters upon asses, see at *chap.* x. 4.

Samson’s Life, and Conflicts with the Philistines.—*Chap.* xiii.–xvi.

Whilst Jephthah, in the power of God, was delivering the tribes on the east of the Jordan from the oppression of the Ammonites, the oppression on the part of the Philistines continued uninterruptedly for forty years in the land to the west of the Jordan (*chap.* xiii. 1), and probably increased more and more after the disastrous war during the closing years of the high-priesthood of *Eli*, in which the Israelites suffered a sad defeat, and even lost the ark of the covenant, which was taken by the Philistines (1 *Sam.* iv.). But even during this period, *Jehovah* the God of Israel did not leave himself without witness, either in the case of His enemies the Philistines, or in that of His people Israel. The triumphant

delight of the Philistines at the capture of the ark was soon changed into great and mortal terror, when Dagon their idol had fallen down from its place before the ark of God and was lying upon the threshold of its temple with broken head and arms; and the inhabitants of Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron, to which the ark was taken, were so severely smitten with boils by the hand of Jehovah, that the princes of the Philistines felt constrained to send the ark, which brought nothing but harm to their people, back into the land of the Israelites, and with it a trespass-offering (1 Sam. v. vi.). At this time the Lord had also raised up a hero for His people in the person of *Samson*, whose deeds were to prove to the Israelites and Philistines that the God of Israel still possessed the power to help His people and smite His foes.

The life and acts of *Samson*, who was to begin to deliver Israel out of the hands of the Philistines, and who judged Israel for twenty years under the rule of the Philistines (chap. xiii. 5 and xv. 20), are described in chap. xiii.—xvi. with an elaborate fulness which seems quite out of proportion to the help and deliverance which he brought to his people. His birth was foretold to his parents by an appearance of the angel of the Lord, and the boy was set apart as a Nazarite from his mother's womb. When he had grown up, the Spirit of Jehovah began to drive him to seek occasions for showing the Philistines his marvellous strength, and to inflict severe blows upon them in a series of wonderful feats, until at length he was seduced by the bewitching Delilah to make known to her the secret of his supernatural strength, and was betrayed by her into the power of the Philistines, who deprived him of the sight of his eyes, and compelled him to perform the hardest and most degraded kinds of slave-labour. From this he was only able to escape by bringing about his own death, which he did in such a manner that his enemies were unable to triumph over him, since he killed more of them at his death than he had killed during the whole of his life before. And whilst the small results that followed from the acts of this hero of God do not answer the expectations that might naturally be formed from the miraculous announcement of his birth, the nature of the acts which he performed appears still less to be such as we should expect from a hero impelled by the Spirit of God. His actions not only bear the stamp of adventure, foolhardiness, and wilfulness, when looked at outwardly, but they are almost all associated with love affairs; so that it looks as if Samson had dishonoured and fooled away the gift entrusted to him, by

making it subservient to his sensual lusts, and thus had prepared the way for his own ruin, without bringing any essential help to his people. "The man who carried the gates of Gaza up to the top of the mountain was the slave of a woman, to whom he frivolously betrayed the strength of his Nazarite locks. These locks grew once more, and his strength returned, but only to bring death at the same time to himself and his foes" (*Ziegler*). Are we to discern in such a character as this a warrior of the Lord? Can Samson, the promised son of a barren woman, a Nazarite from his birth, be the head and flower of the judges? We do not pretend to answer these questions in the affirmative; and to justify this view we start from the fact, which *Ewald* and *Diestel* both admit to be historical, that the deep earnest background of Samson's nature is to be sought for in his Nazarite condition, or rather that it is in this that the distinctive significance of his character and of his life and deeds as judge all culminates. The Nazarite was not indeed what *Bertheau* supposes him to have been, "a man separated from human pursuits and turmoil;" but the significance of the Nazarite condition was to be found in a consecration of the life to God, which had its roots in living faith, and its outward manifestations negatively, in abstinence from everything unclean, from drinking wine, and even from fruit of the vine of every description, and positively, in wearing the hair uncut. In the case of Samson this consecration of the life to God was not an act of his own free will, or a vow voluntarily taken; but it was imposed upon him by divine command from his conception and birth. As a Nazarite, *i.e.* as a person vowed to the Lord, he was to begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines; and the bodily sign of his Nazarite condition—namely, the hair of his head that had never been touched by the scissors—was the vehicle of his supernatural strength with which he smote the Philistines. In Samson the Nazarite, however, not only did the Lord design to set before His people a man towering above the fallen generation in heroic strength, through his firm faith in and confident reliance upon the gift of God committed to him, opening up before it the prospect of a renewal of its own strength, that by this type he might arouse such strength and ability as were still slumbering in the nation; but Samson was to exhibit to his age generally a picture on the one hand of the strength which the people of God might acquire to overcome their strongest foes through faithful submission to the Lord their God, and on the other hand of the weakness into which they had sunk

through unfaithfulness to the covenant and intercourse with the heathen. And it is in this typical character of Samson and his deeds that we find the head and flower of the institution of judge in Israel.

The judges whom Jehovah raised up in the interval between Joshua and Samuel were neither military commanders nor governors of the nation ; nor were they authorities instituted by God and invested with the government of the state. They were not even chosen from the heads of the nation, but were called by the Lord out of the midst of their brethren to be the deliverers of the nation, either through His Spirit which came upon them, or through prophets and extraordinary manifestations of God ; and the influence which they exerted, after the conquest and humiliation of the foe and up to the time of their death, upon the government of the nation and its affairs in general, was not the result of any official rank, but simply the fruit and consequence of their personal ability, and therefore extended for the most part only to those tribes to whom they had brought deliverance from the oppression of their foes. The tribes of Israel did not want any common secular ruler to fulfil the task that devolved upon the nation at that time (see p. 240). God therefore raised up even the judges only in times of distress and trouble. For their appearance and work were simply intended to manifest the power which the Lord could confer upon His people through His Spirit, and were designed, on the one hand, to encourage Israel to turn seriously to its God, and by holding fast to His covenant to obtain the power to conquer all its foes ; and, on the other hand, to alarm their enemies, that they might not attribute to their idols the power which they possessed to subjugate the Israelites, but might learn to fear the omnipotence of the true God. This divine power which was displayed by the judges culminated in Samson. When the Spirit of God came upon him, he performed such mighty deeds as made the haughty Philistines feel the omnipotence of Jehovah. And this power he possessed by virtue of his condition as a Nazarite, because he had been vowed or dedicated to the Lord from his mother's womb, so long as he remained faithful to the vow that had been imposed upon him.

But just as his strength depended upon the faithful observance of his vow, so his weakness became apparent in his natural character, particularly in his intrigues with the daughters of the Philistines ; and in this weakness there was reflected the natural character of the nation generally, and of its constant disposition to fraternize with the heathen. Love to a Philistine woman in

Timnath not only supplied Samson with the first occasion to exhibit his heroic strength to the Philistines, but involved him in a series of conflicts in which he inflicted severe blows upon the uncircumcised. This impulse to fight against the Philistines came from Jehovah (chap. xiv. 4), and in these conflicts Jehovah assisted him with the power of His Spirit, and even opened up a fountain of water for him at Lehi in the midst of his severe fight, for the purpose of reviving his exhausted strength (chap. xv. 19). On the other hand, in his intercourse with the harlot at Gaza, and his love affair with Delilah, he trod ways of the flesh which led to his ruin. In his destruction, which was brought about by his forfeiture of the pledge of the divine gift entrusted to him, the insufficiency of the judgeship in itself to procure for the people of God supremacy over their foes became fully manifest; so that the weakness of the judgeship culminated in Samson as well as its strength. The power of the Spirit of God, bestowed upon the judges for the deliverance of their people, was overpowered by the might of the flesh lusting against the spirit.

This special call received from God will explain the peculiarities observable in the acts which he performed,—not only the smallness of the outward results of his heroic acts, but the character of adventurous boldness by which they were distinguished. Although he had been set apart as a Nazarite from his mother's womb, he was not to complete the deliverance of his people from the hands of the Philistines, but simply to commence it, *i.e.* to show to the people, by the manifestation of supernatural heroic power, the possibility of deliverance, or to exhibit the strength with which a man could slay a thousand foes. To answer this purpose, it was necessary that the acts of Samson should differ from those of the judges who fought at the head of military forces, and should exhibit the stamp of confidence and boldness in the full consciousness of possessing divine and invincible power.

But whilst the spirit which prevailed in Israel during the time of the judges culminated in the nature and deeds of Samson both in its weakness and strength, the miraculous character of his deeds, regarded simply in themselves, affords no ground for pronouncing the account a mere legend which has transformed historical acts into miracles, except from a naturalistic point of view, which rejects all miracles, and therefore denies *a priori* the supernatural working of the living God in the midst of His people. The formal character of the whole of the history of Samson, which the oppo-

nents of the biblical revelation adduce for the further support of this view, does not yield any tenable evidence of its correctness. The external rounding off of the account proves nothing more than that Samson's life and acts formed in themselves a compact and well-rounded whole. But the assertion, that "well-rounded circumstances form a suitable framework for the separate accounts, and that precisely twelve acts are related of Samson, which are united into beautiful pictures and narrated in artistic order" (*Bertheau*), is at variance with the actual character of the biblical account. In order to get exactly twelve heroic acts, *Bertheau* has to fix the stamp of a heroic act performed by Samson himself upon the miraculous help which he received from God through the opening up of a spring of water (chap. xv. 18, 19), and also to split up a closely connected event, such as his breaking the bonds three times, into three different actions.¹ If we simply confine ourselves to the biblical account, the acts of Samson may be divided into two parts. The *first* (chap. xiv. and xv.) contains those in which Samson smote the Philistines with gradually increasing severity; the *second* (chap. xvi.) those by which he brought about his own fall and ruin. These are separated from one another by the account of the time that his judgeship lasted (chap. xv. 20), and this account is briefly repeated at the close of the whole account (chap. xvi. 31). The *first* part includes six distinct acts which are grouped together in twos: viz. (1 and 2) the killing of the lion on the way to Timnath, and the slaughter of the thirty Philistines for the purpose of paying for the solution of his riddle with the clothes that he took off them (chap. xiv.); (3 and 4) his revenge upon the Philistines by burning their crops, because his wife had been given to a Philistine, and also by the great slaughter with which he punished them for having

¹ On these grounds, *L. Diestel*, in the article *Samson* in *Herzog's Cycl.*, has rejected *Bertheau's* enumeration as unsatisfactory; and also the division proposed by *Ewald* into five acts with three turns in each, because, in order to arrive at this grouping, *Ewald* is not only obliged to refer the general statement in chap. xiii. 25, "the Spirit of God began to drive Samson," to some heroic deed which is not described, but has also to assume that in the case of one act (the carrying away of the gates of Gaza) the last two steps of the legend are omitted from the present account, although in all the rest *Diestel* follows *Ewald's* view almost without exception. The views advanced by *Ewald* and *Bertheau* form the foundation of *Roskoff's* Monograph, "the legend of Samson in its origin, form, and signification, and the legend of Hercules," in which the legend of Samson is regarded as an Israelitish form of that of Hercules.

burned his father-in-law and wife (chap. xv. 1-8); (5 and 6) the bursting of the cords with which his countrymen had bound him for the purpose of delivering him up to the Philistines, and the slaying of 1000 Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass (chap. xv. 9-19). The *second* part of his life comprises only three acts: viz. (1) taking off the town gates of Gaza, and carrying them away (chap. xvi. 1-3); (2) breaking the bonds with which Delilah bound him three separate times (chap. xvi. 4-14); and (3) his heroic death through pulling down the temple of Dagon, after he had been delivered into the power of the Philistines through the treachery of Delilah, and had been blinded by them (chap. xvi. 15-31). In this arrangement there is no such artistic shaping or rounding off of the historical materials apparent, as could indicate any mythological decoration. And lastly, the popular language of Samson in proverbs, rhymes, and a play upon words, does not warrant us in maintaining that the popular legend invented this mode of expressing his thoughts, and put the words into his mouth. All this leads to the conclusion, that there is no good ground for calling in question the historical character of the whole account of Samson's life and deeds.¹

Chap. xiii. BIRTH OF SAMSON.—Ver. 1. The oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines, which is briefly hinted at in chap. x. 7, is noticed again here with the standing formula, "*And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord,*" etc. (cf. chap. x. 6, iv. 1, iii. 12), as an introduction to the account of the life and acts of *Samson*, who began to deliver Israel from the hands of these enemies. Not only the birth of Samson, but the prediction of his birth, also fell, according to ver. 5, within the period of the rule of the Philistines over Israel. Now, as their oppression lasted forty years, and Samson judged Israel for twenty years during that

¹ No safe or even probable conjecture can be drawn from the character of the history before us, with reference to the first written record of the life of Samson, or the sources which the author of our book of Judges made use of for this portion of his work. The recurrence of such expressions as יָהָל followed by an infinitive (chap. xiii. 5, 25, xvi. 19, 22), פָּתִי (chap. xiv. 15, xvi. 5), הִצִּיץ (chap. xiv. 17, xvi. 16, etc.), upon which *Bertheau* lays such stress, arises from the actual contents of the narrative itself. The same expressions also occur in other places where the thought requires them, and therefore they form no such peculiarities of style as to warrant the conclusion that the life of Samson was the subject of a separate work (*Ewald*), or that it was a fragment taken from a larger history of the wars of the Philistines (*Bertheau*).

oppression (chap. xv. 20, xvi. 31), he must have commenced his judgeship at an early age, probably before the completion of his twentieth year; and with this the statement in chap. xiv., that his marriage with a Philistine woman furnished the occasion for his conflicts with these enemies of his people, fully agrees. The end of the forty years of the supremacy of the Philistines is not given in this book, which closes with the death of Samson. It did not terminate till the great victory which the Israelites gained over their enemies under the command of Samuel (1 Sam. vii.). Twenty years before this victory the Philistines had sent back the ark which they had taken from the Israelites, after keeping it for seven months in their own land (1 Sam. vii. 2, and vi. 1). It was within these twenty years that most of the acts of Samson occurred. His first affair with the Philistines, however, namely on the occasion of his marriage, took place a year or two before this defeat of the Israelites, in which the sons of Eli were slain, the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines, and the high priest Eli fell from his seat and broke his neck on receiving the terrible news (1 Sam. iv. 18). Consequently Eli died a short time after the first appearance of Samson (see p. 282).

Vers. 2-7. Whilst the Israelites were given into the hands of the Philistines on account of their sins, and were also severely oppressed in Gilead on the part of the Ammonites, the angel of the Lord appeared to the wife of Manoah, a Danite from Zorea, *i.e.* *Sur'a*, on the western slope of the mountains of Judah (see at Josh. xv. 33). *Mishpachath Dani* (the family of the Danites) is used interchangeably with *shebet Dani* (the tribe of the Danites: see chap. xviii. 2, 11, and xviii. 1, 30), which may be explained on this ground, that according to Num. xxvi. 42, 43, all the Danites formed but one family, *viz.* the family of the Shuhamites. The angel of the Lord announced to this woman, who was barren, "*Thou wilt conceive and bear a son. And now beware, drink no wine or strong drink, and eat nothing unclean: for, behold, thou wilt conceive and bear a son, and no razor shall come upon his head; for a rowed man of God (Nazir) will the boy be from his mother's womb,*" *i.e.* his whole life long, "*to the day of his death,*" as the angel expressly affirmed, according to ver. 7. The three prohibitions which the angel of the Lord imposed upon the woman were the three things which distinguished the condition of a Nazarite (see at Num. vi. 1-8, and the explanation given there of the Nazarite vow). The only other thing mentioned in the Mosaic law is the warning against

defilement from contact with the dead, which does not seem to have been enforced in the case of Samson. When the angel added still further, "*And he (the Nazarite) will begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines,*" he no doubt intended to show that his power to effect this deliverance would be closely connected with his condition as a Nazarite. The promised son was to be a Nazarite all his life long, because he was to begin to deliver Israel out of the power of his foes. And in order that he might be so, his mother was to share in the renunciations of the Nazarite vow during the time of her pregnancy. Whilst the appearance of the angel of the Lord contained the practical pledge that the Lord still acknowledged His people, though He had given them into the hands of their enemies; the message of the angel contained this lesson and warning for Israel, that it could only obtain deliverance from its foes by seeking after a life of consecration to the Lord, such as the Nazarites pursued, so as to realize the idea of the priestly character to which Israel had been called as the people of Jehovah, by abstinence from the *delicie carnis*, and everything that was unclean, as being emanations of sin, and also by a complete self-surrender to the Lord (see Pentateuch, vol. iii. p. 38).—Vers. 6, 7. The woman told her husband of this appearance: "*A man of God,*" she said (*lit. the man of God*, viz. the one just referred to), "*came to me, and his appearance was like the appearance of the angel of God, very terrible; and I asked him not whence he was, neither told he me his name,*" etc. "*Man of God*" was the expression used to denote a prophet, or a man who stood in immediate intercourse with God, such as Moses and others (see at Deut. xxxiii. 1). "*Angel of God*" is equivalent to "angel of the Lord" (chap. ii. 1, vi. 11), the angel in whom the invisible God reveals himself to men. The woman therefore imagined the person who appeared to her to have been a prophet, whose majestic appearance, however, had produced the impression that he was a superior being; consequently she had not ventured to ask him either his name or where he came from.

Vers. 8–20. Being firmly convinced of the truth of this announcement, and at the same time reflecting upon the obligation which it imposed upon the parents, Manoah prayed to the Lord that He would let the man of God whom He had sent come to them again, to teach them what they were to do to the boy that should be born, *i.e.* how they should treat him. הַיְיָ, according to the *Keri* הַיְיָ, is a participle *Pual* with the ם dropped (see Ewald, § 169, *b.*). This prayer was heard. The angel of God appeared

once more to the woman when she was sitting alone in the field without her husband.—Vers. 10, 11. Then she hastened to fetch her husband, who first of all inquired of the person who had appeared, “*Art thou the man who said to the woman*” (sc. what has been related in vers. 3-5)? And when this was answered in the affirmative, he said still further (ver. 12), “*Should thy word then come to pass, what will be the manner of the boy, and his doing?*” The plural **יְבָרִיךְ** is construed *ad sensum* with a singular verb, because the words form one promise, so that the expression is not to be taken distributively, as *Rosenmüller* supposes. This also applies to ver. 17. *Mishpat*, the right belonging to the boy, i.e. the proper treatment of him.—Vers. 13, 14. The angel of the Lord then repeated the instructions which he had already given to the woman in ver. 4, simply adding to the prohibition of wine and strong drink the caution not to eat of anything that came from the vine, in accordance with Num. vi. 3.—Ver. 15. As Manoah had not yet recognised in the man the angel of the Lord, as is observed by way of explanation in ver. 16, he wished, like Gideon (chap. vi. 18), to give a hospitable entertainment to the man who had brought him such joyful tidings, and therefore said to him, “*Let us detain thee, and prepare a kid for thee.*” The construction **נַעֲשֶׂה לְפָנֶיךָ** is a pregnant one: “prepare and set before thee.” On the fact itself, see chap. vi. 19.—Ver. 16. The angel of the Lord replied, “*If thou wilt detain me (sc. that I may eat), I will not eat of thy food* (**אֶכְלֶה** with **אֶ**, to eat thereat, i.e. thereof, as in Ex. xii. 43, Lev. xxii. 11); *but if thou wilt prepare a burnt-offering for Jehovah, then offer it.*”—Ver. 17. Manoah then asked his name: **מִי שְׁמֶךָ**, lit. “*Who is thy name?*” **מִי** inquires after the person; **מָה**, the nature or quality (see *Ewald*, § 325, a.). “*For if thy word come to pass, we will do thee honour.*” This was the reason why he asked after his name. **כְּבִיר**, to honour by presents, so as to show one’s self grateful (see Num. xxii. 17, 37, xxiv. 11).—Ver. 18. The angel replied, “*Why askest thou then after my name? truly it is wonderful.*” The *Kethibh* **פֶּלְאִי** is the adjectival form **פֶּלְאִי** from **פֶּלֶא**, for which the *Keri* has **פָּלִי**, the pausal form of **פֶּלֶא** (from the radical **פֶּלֶה** = **פֶּלֶא**). The word therefore is not the proper name of the angel of the Lord, but expresses the character of his name; and as the name simply denotes the nature, it expresses the peculiarity of his nature also. It is to be understood in an absolute sense—“absolutely and supremely wonderful” (*Seb. Schmidt*)—as a predicate belonging to God alone (compare the term “Wonderful” in Isa. ix. 6), and not to be toned down as it is by *Bertheau*,

who explains it as signifying “neither easy to utter nor easy to comprehend.”—Vers. 19, 20. Manoah then took the kid and the *minchah*, i.e., according to Num. xv. 4 sqq., the meat-offering belonging to the burnt-offering, and offered it upon the rock, which is called an altar in ver. 20, because the angel of the Lord, who is of one nature with God, had sanctified it as an altar through the miraculous acceptance of the sacrifice. מַפְלָא לַעֲשׂוֹת, “and wonderfully (miraculously) did he act” (הַפְלִיא followed by the infinitive with לַ as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 15). These words form a circumstantial clause, which is not to be attached, however, to the subject of the principal clause, but to לַיהוָה: “Manoah offered the sacrifice to the Lord, whereupon He acted to do wonderfully, i.e. He performed a wonder or miracle, and Manoah and his wife saw it” (see *Ewald*, *Lehrb.* § 341, *b.*, p. 724, note). In what the miracle consisted is explained in ver. 20, in the words, “when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar;” that is to say, in the fact that a flame issued from the rock, as in the case of Gideon’s sacrifice (chap. vi. 21), and consumed the sacrifice. And the angel of the Lord ascended in this flame. When Manoah and his wife saw this, they fell upon their faces to the earth (*sc.* in worship), because they discovered from the miracle that it was the angel of the Lord who had appeared to them.

Vers. 21–25. From that time forward the Lord did not appear to them again. But Manoah was afraid that he and his wife should die, because they had seen God (on this belief, see the remarks on Gen. xvi. 13 and Ex. xxxiii. 20). His wife quieted his fears, however, and said, “*Jehovah cannot intend to kill us, as He has accepted our sacrifice, and has shown us all this*” (the twofold miracle). “*And at this time He has not let us see such things as these.*” בָּעֵת, at the time in which we live, even if such things may possibly have taken place in the hoary antiquity.—Ver. 24. The promise of God was fulfilled. The boy whom the woman bare received the name of *Samson*. שָׁמְשׁוֹן (LXX., Σαμψών) does not mean sun-like, hero of the sun, from שֶׁשׁ (the sun), but, as *Josephus* explains it (*Ant.* v. 8, 4), ἰσχυρός, the strong or daring one, from שִׁמְשׁוֹם, from the intensive form שִׁמְשֵׁם, from שָׁמַם, in its original sense to be strong or daring, not “to devastate.” שָׁרַר is an analogous word: *lit.* to be powerful, then to act powerfully, to devastate. The boy grew under the blessing of God (see 1 Sam. ii. 21).—Ver. 25. When he had grown up, the Spirit of Jehovah began to thrust him in the camp of Dan. פָּעַם, to thrust, denoting the operation of the Spirit

of God within him, which took possession of him suddenly, and impelled him to put forth supernatural powers. *Mahaneh-Dan*, the camp of Dan, was the name given to the district in which the Danites who emigrated, according to chap. xviii. 12, from the inheritance of their tribe, had pitched their encampment *behind*, *i.e.* to the west of, *Kirjath-jearim*, or according to this verse, between Zorea and Eshtaol. The situation cannot be determined precisely, as the situation of Eshtaol itself has not been discovered yet (see at Josh. xv. 33). It was there that Samson lived with his parents, judging from chap. xvi. 31. The meaning of this verse, which forms the introduction to the following account of the acts of Samson, is simply that Samson was there seized by the Spirit of Jehovah, and impelled to commence the conflict with the Philistines.

Chap. xiv. SAMSON'S FIRST TRANSACTIONS WITH THE PHILISTINES.—Vers. 1-9. At Tibnath, the present *Tibne*, an hour's journey to the south-west of Sur'a (see at Josh. xv. 10), to which Samson had gone down from Zorea or Mahaneh-Dan, he saw a daughter of the Philistines who pleased him; and on his return he asked his parents to take her for him as a wife (תָּקַח, to take, as in Ex. xxi. 9).—Vers. 3, 4. His parents expressed their astonishment at the choice, and asked him whether there was not a woman among the daughters of his brethren (*i.e.* the members of his own tribe), or among all his people, that he should want to fetch one from the Philistines, the uncircumcised. But Samson repeated his request, because the daughter of the Philistines pleased him. The aversion of his parents to the marriage was well founded, as such a marriage was not in accordance with the law. It is true that the only marriages expressly prohibited in Ex. xxxiv. 16 and Deut. vii. 3, 4, are marriages with Canaanitish women; but the reason assigned for this prohibition was equally applicable to marriages with daughters of the Philistines. In fact, the Philistines are reckoned among the Canaanites in Josh. xiii. 3 upon the very same ground. But Samson was acting under a higher impulse, whereas his parents did not know that it was from Jehovah, *i.e.* that Jehovah had so planned it; "*for Samson was seeking an opportunity on account of the Philistines,*" *i.e.* an occasion to quarrel with them, because, as is afterwards added in the form of an explanatory circumstantial clause, the Philistines had dominion over Israel at that time. תָּאֲנִי, ἄπ. λεγ., an opportunity (cf. הִתְאֲנִיָּה, 2 Kings v. 7).—Vers. 5, 6.

When Samson went down with his parents to Timnath, a young lion came roaring towards him at the vineyards of that town. Then the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him, so that he tore the lion in pieces as a kid is torn (*lit.* "like the tearing in pieces of the kid"), although he had nothing, *i.e.* no weapon, in his hand. David, when a shepherd, and the hero Benaiah, also slew lions (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20); and even at the present day Arabs sometimes kill lions with a staff (see *Winer*, *Bibl. R. W. Art. Löwe*). Samson's supernatural strength, the effect of the Spirit of Jehovah, which came upon him, was simply manifested in the fact that he tore the lion in pieces without any weapon whatever in his hand. But he said nothing about it to his parents, who were not eye-witnesses of the deed. This remark is introduced in connection with what follows.—Ver. 7. When he came to Timnath he talked with the girl, and she pleased him. He had only *seen* her before (ver. 1); but now that his parents had asked for her, he talked with her, and found the first impression that he had received of her fully confirmed.—Ver. 8. When some time had elapsed after the betrothal, he came again to fetch her (take her home, marry her), accompanied, as we learn from ver. 9, by his parents. On the way "*he turned aside (from the road) to see the carcass of the lion; and behold a swarm of bees was in the body of the lion, also honey.*" The word מַפְלֵת, which only occurs here, is derived from נָפַל, like πτώμα from πίπτω, and is synonymous with נִבְלָה, *cadaver*, and signifies not the mere skeleton, as bees would not form their hive in such a place, but the carcass of the lion, which had been thoroughly dried up by the heat of the sun, without passing into a state of putrefaction. "In the desert of Arabia the heat of a sultry season will often dry up all the moisture of men or camels that have fallen dead, within twenty-four hours of their decease, without their passing into a state of decomposition and putrefaction, so that they remain for a long time like mummies, without change and without stench" (*Rosenmüller*, *Bibl. Althk.* iv. 2, p. 424). In a carcass dried up in this way, a swarm of bees might form their hive, just as well as in the hollow trunks of trees, or clefts in the rock, or where wild bees are accustomed to form them, notwithstanding the fact that bees avoid both dead bodies and carrion (see *Bochart*, *Hieroz. ed. Ros.* iii. p. 355).—Ver. 9. Samson took it (the honey) in his hands, ate some of it as he went, and also gave some to his father and mother to eat, but did not tell them that he had got the honey out of the dead body of the lion; for in that case they would not only have refused to

eat it as being unclean, but would have been aware of the fact, which Samson afterwards took as the subject of the riddle that he proposed to the Philistines. רָרָה, to tread, to tread down; hence to get forcible possession of, not to break or to take out, neither of which meanings can be established. The combination of רָרָה and אֶל-כַּפָּי is a pregnant construction, signifying to obtain possession of and take into the hands.

Vers. 10-20. *Samson's Wedding and Riddle*.—Ver. 10. When his father had come down to the girl (*sc.* to keep the wedding, not merely to make the necessary preparations for his marriage), Samson prepared for a feast there (in Timnath), according to the usual custom (for so used the young men to do).—Ver. 11. “*And when they saw him, they fetched thirty friends, and they were with him.*” The parents or relations of the bride are the subject of the first clause. They invited thirty of their friends in Timnath to the marriage feast, as “children of the bride-chamber” (Matt. ix. 15), since Samson had not brought any with him. The reading פָּרָאוֹתָם from רָאוּהָ needs no alteration, though *Bertheau* would read פָּרָאוֹתָם from יָרָא, in accordance with the rendering of the LXX. (*Cod. AL*) and of *Josephus*, ἐν τῷ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτούς. Fear of Samson would neither be in harmony with the facts themselves, nor with the words וַיִּהְיוּ אִתּוֹ, “*they were with him*,” which it is felt to be necessary to paraphrase in the most arbitrary manner “*they watched him.*”—Ver. 12. At the wedding feast Samson said to the guests, “*I will give you a riddle. If you show it to me during the seven days of the meal (the wedding festival), and guess it, I will give you thirty sedinim (σινδόνες, tunicae, i.e. clothes worn next to the skin) and thirty changes of garments (costly dresses, that were frequently changed: see at Gen. xlv. 22); but if ye cannot show it to me, ye shall give me the same number of garments.*” The custom of proposing riddles at banquets by way of entertainment is also to be met with among the ancient Grecians. (For proofs from *Athenæus*, *Pollux*, *Gellius*, see *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* P. ii. l. ii. c. 12; and *K. O. Müller*, *Doric*, ii. p. 392). As the guests consented to this proposal, Samson gave them the following riddle (ver. 14): “*Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.*” This riddle they could not show, *i.e.* solve, for three days. That is to say, they occupied themselves for three days in trying to find the solution; after that they let the matter rest until the appointed term was drawing near.—Ver. 15. On the seventh day they said to Samson’s wife, “*Persuade thy husband to show us*

the riddle," sc. through thee, without his noticing it, "*lest we burn thee and thy father's house with fire. Have ye invited us to make us poor; is it not so?*" In this threat the barbarism and covetousness of the Philistines came openly to light. הִלִּירְשֵׁנוּ without *Metheg* in the י is the *inf. Kal* of יָרַשׁ, to make poor,—a meaning derived from inheriting, not the *Piel* of יָרַשׁ = רָשָׁ, to be poor. הֵלֵא, *nonne*, strengthens the interrogative clause, and has not the signification "here" = הֵלֵם. Samson's wife, however, wept over him, *i.e.* urged him with tears in her eyes, and said, "*Thou dost but hate me, and lovest me not; thou hast put forth a riddle unto the children of my people (my countrymen), and hast not shown it to me.*" הִרְתָּהּ is from הוֹדָה. Samson replied, that he had not even shown it to his father and mother, "*and shall I show it to thee?*"—Ver. 17. "*Thus his wife wept before him the seven days of the banquet.*" This statement is not at variance with that in ver. 15, to the effect that it was only on the seventh day that the Philistine young men urged her with threats to entice Samson to tell the riddle, but may be explained very simply in the following manner. The woman had already come to Samson every day with her entreaties from simple curiosity; but Samson resisted them until the seventh day, when she became more urgent than ever, in consequence of this threat on the part of the Philistines. And "*Samson showed it to her, because she lay sore upon him;*" whereupon she immediately betrayed it to her countrymen.—Ver. 18. Thus on the seventh day, before the sun went down (הָרַס = חָרַס, chap. viii. 13; Job. ix. 7, with a toneless *ah*, a softening down of the feminine termination: see *Ewald*, § 173, *h.*), the men of the city (*i.e.* the thirty young men who had been invited) said to Samson, "What is sweeter than honey, and what stronger than a lion?" But Samson saw through the whole thing, and replied, "*If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not hit upon (guessed) my riddle,*"—a proverbial saying, the meaning of which is perfectly clear.—Ver. 19. Nevertheless he was obliged to keep his promise (ver. 12). Then the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him. He went down to Ashkelon, slew thirty men of them, *i.e.* of the Ashkelonites, took their clothes (הִלְצוֹת, *exuvie*: see 2 Sam. ii. 21), and gave the changes of garments to those who had shown the riddle. This act is described as the operation of the Spirit of Jehovah which came upon Samson, because it showed to the Philistines the superior power of the servants of Jehovah. It was not carnal revenge that had impelled Samson to the deed. It was not till the deed itself was done that his anger

was kindled; and even then it was not against the Philistines, to whom he had been obliged to pay or give the thirty garments, but against his wife, who had betrayed his secret to her countrymen, so that he returned to his father's house, viz. without his wife.—Ver. 20. “*And Samson's wife was given to his friend, whom he had chosen as a friend.*” מִיָּד is no doubt to be understood here in the sense of “the friend of the bridegroom” (John iii. 29), ὁ νυμφαγωγός (LXX.), the conductor of the bride,—namely, one of the thirty companions (ver. 10), whom Samson had entrusted with this office at the marriage festival. The faithlessness of the Philistines towards the Israelites was no doubt apparent here; for even if Samson went home enraged at the treacherous behaviour of his wife, without taking her with him, he did not intend to break the marriage tie, as chap. xv. 1, 2 clearly shows. So that instead of looking at the wrong by which Samson felt himself aggrieved, and trying to mitigate his wrath, the parents of the woman made the breach irreparable by giving their daughter as a wife to his companion.

Chap. xv. FURTHER ACTS OF SAMSON.—Vers. 1-8. *His revenge upon the Philistines.*—Ver. 1. Some time after, Samson visited his wife in the time of the wheat harvest with a kid,—a customary present at that time (Gen. xxxviii. 17),—and wished to go into the chamber (the women's apartment) to her; but her father would not allow him, and said, “*I thought thou hatedst her, and therefore gave her to thy friend* (chap. xiv. 20): *behold her younger sister is fairer than she; let her be thine in her stead.*”—Ver. 3. Enraged at this answer, Samson said to them (*i.e.* to her father and those around him), “*Now am I blameless before the Philistines, if I do evil to them.*” נָקִי with בְּ, to be innocent away from a person, *i.e.* before him (see Num. xxxii. 22). Samson regarded the treatment which he had received from his father-in-law as but one effect of the disposition of the Philistines generally towards the Israelites, and therefore resolved to avenge the wrong which he had received from one member of the Philistines upon the whole nation, or at all events upon the whole of the city of Timnath.—Vers. 4, 5. He therefore went and caught three hundred *shualim*, *i.e.* jackals, animals which resemble foxes and are therefore frequently classed among the foxes even by the common Arabs of the present day (see Niebuhr, *Beschr. v. Arab.* p. 166). Their European name is derived from the Persian *schaghal*. These animals, which are still found in great quantities at Joppa, Gaza, and in Galilee, herd

together, and may easily be caught (see *Rosenmüller*, *Bibl. Althk.* iv. 2, pp. 155 sqq.). He then took torches, turned tail to tail, *i.e.* coupled the jackals together by their tails, putting a torch between the two tails, set the torches on fire, and made the animals run into the fields of standing corn belonging to the Philistines. Then he burned “*from the shocks of wheat to the standing grain and to the olive gardens*,” *i.e.* the shocks of wheat as well as the standing corn and the olive plantations. **וַיִּתְּנוּ** are joined together in the construct state.—Ver. 6. The Philistines found out at once, that Samson had done them this injury because his father-in-law, the Timnite, had taken away his wife and given her to his companion. They therefore avenged themselves by burning her and her father,—probably by burning his house down to the ground, with its occupants within it,—an act of barbarity and cruelty which fully justified Samson’s war upon them.—Ver. 7. Samson therefore declared to them, “*If ye do such things, truly (כֵּן) when I have avenged myself upon you, then will I cease*,” *i.e.* I will not cease till I have taken vengeance upon you.—Ver. 8. “*Then he smote them hip and thigh (lit. ‘thigh upon hip;’ עַל as in Gen. xxxii. 12), a great slaughter*.” **שִׁק**, thigh, strengthened by **עַל-יָרֵךְ**, is a second accusative governed by the verb, and added to define the word **אֶחָדָם** more minutely, in the sense of “on hip and thigh;” whilst the expression which follows, **מִכָּפָה גְּדֹלָה**, is added as an adverbial accusative to strengthen the verb **וַיִּךְ**. Smiting hip and thigh is a proverbial expression for a cruel, unsparing slaughter, like the German “cutting arm and leg in two,” or the Arabic “war in thigh fashion” (see *Bertheau in loc.*). After smiting the Philistines, Samson went down and dwelt in the cleft of the rock *Etam*. There is a town of *Etam* mentioned in 2 Chron. xi. 6, between Bethlehem and Tekoah, which was fortified by Rehoboam, and stood in all probability to the south of Jerusalem, upon the mountains of Judah. But this *Etam*, which *Robinson* (*Pal.* ii. 168) supposes to be the village of *Urtas*, a place still inhabited, though lying in ruins, is not to be thought of here, as the Philistines did not go up to the mountains of Judah (ver. 9), as *Bertheau* imagines, but simply came forward and encamped in Judah. The *Etam* of this verse is mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 32, along with Ain Rimmon and other Simeonitish towns, and is to be sought for on the border of the Negeb and of the mountains of Judah, in the neighbourhood of *Khuweilifeh* (see *V. de Velde*, *Mem.* p. 311). The expression “he went down” suits this place very well, but not the *Etam* on the

mountains of Judah, to which he would have had to go up, and not down, from Timnath.

Vers. 9-17. *Samson is delivered up to the Philistines, and smites them with the jaw-bone of an Ass.*—Ver. 9. The Philistines came (“went up,” denoting the advance of an army: see at Josh. viii. 1) to avenge themselves for the defeat they had sustained from Samson; and having encamped in Judah, spread themselves out in *Lechi* (*Lehi*). *Lechi* (לְחִי, in pause לֶחִי, i.e. a jaw), which is probably mentioned again in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, and, according to ver. 17, received the name of *Ramath-lechi* from Samson himself, cannot be traced with any certainty, as the early church tradition respecting the place is utterly worthless. *Van de Velde* imagines that it is to be found in the flattened rocky hill *el Lechieh*, or *Lekieh*, upon which an ancient fortification has been discovered, in the middle of the road from *Tell Khewelfeh* to *Beersheba*, at the south-western approach of the mountains of Judah.—Vers. 10 sqq. When the Judæans learned what was the object of this invasion on the part of the Philistines, three thousand of them went down to the cleft in the rock Etam, to bind Samson and deliver him up to the Philistines. Instead of recognising in Samson a deliverer whom the Lord had raised up for them, and crowding round him that they might smite their oppressors with his help and drive them out of the land, the men of Judah were so degraded, that they cast this reproach at Samson: “*Knowest thou not that the Philistines rule over us? Wherefore hast thou done this* (the deed described in ver. 8)? *We have come down to bind thee, and deliver thee into the hand of the Philistines.*” Samson replied, “*Swear to me that ye will not fall upon me yourselves.*” פָּנַע with אֵ, to thrust at a person, fall upon him, including in this case, according to ver. 13, the intention of killing.—Ver. 13. When they promised him this, he let them bind him with two new cords and lead him up (into the camp of the Philistines) out of the rock (i.e. the cleft of the rock).—Ver. 14. But when he came to Lechi, and the Philistines shouted with joy as they came to meet him, the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him, “*and the cords on his arms became like tow that had been burnt with fire, and his fetters melted from his hands.*” The description rises up to a poetical parallelism, to depict the triumph which Samson celebrated over the Philistines in the power of the Spirit of Jehovah.—Ver. 15. As soon as he was relieved of his bands, he seized upon a fresh jaw-bone of an ass, which he found there, and smote therewith a thousand men. He himself commemorated this victory in a

short poetical strain (ver. 16): "*With the ass's jaw-bone a heap, two heaps; with the ass's jaw-bone I smote a thousand men.*" The form of the word $\text{הָמֹר} = \text{הָמָר}$ is chosen on account of the resemblance to הָמֹר , and is found again at 1 Sam. xvi. 20. How Samson achieved this victory is not minutely described. But the words "a heap, two heaps," point to the conclusion that it did not take place in one encounter, but in several. The supernatural strength with which Samson rent asunder the fetters bound upon him, when the Philistines thought they had him safely in their power, filled them with fear and awe as before a superior being, so that they fled, and he pursued them, smiting one heap after another, as he overtook them, with an ass's jaw-bone which he found in the way. The number given, viz. a thousand, is of course a round number signifying a very great multitude, and has been adopted from the song into the historical account.—Ver. 17. When he had given utterance to his saying, he threw the jaw-bone away, and called the place *Ramath-lechi*, i.e. the jaw-bone height. This seems to indicate that the name *Lechi* in ver. 9 is used proleptically, and that the place first received its name from this deed of Samson.

Vers. 18–20. The pursuit of the Philistines, however, and the conflict with them, had exhausted Samson, so that he was very thirsty, and feared that he might die from exhaustion; for it was about the time of the wheat-harvest (ver. 1), and therefore hot summer weather. Then he called to the Lord, "*Thou hast through (יְיָ) Thy servant given this great deliverance; and now I shall die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised!*" From this prayer we may see that Samson was fully conscious that he was fighting for the cause of the Lord. And the Lord helped him out of this trouble. God split the hollow place at Lechi, so that water came out of it, as at Horeb and Kadesh (Ex. xvii. 6, and Num. xx. 8, 11). The word מִקְחָשׁ , which is used in Prov. xxvii. 22 to signify a mortar, is explained by rabbinical expositors as denoting the socket of the teeth, or the hollow place in which the teeth are fixed, like the Greek $\delta\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, *mortariolum*, according to *Pollux*, *Onom.* ii. c. 4, § 21. Accordingly many have understood the statement made here, as meaning that God caused a fountain to flow miraculously out of the socket of a tooth in the jaw-bone which Samson had thrown away, and thus provided for his thirst. This view is the one upon which Luther's rendering, "God split a tooth in the jaw, so that water came out," is founded, and it has been voluminously defended by *Bochart* (*Hieroz.* l. ii. c. 15). But the

expression אֵשֶׁר בִּלְחִי, “the *maktesh* which is at *Lechi*,” is opposed to this view, since the tooth-socket in the jaw-bone of the ass would be simply called מִכְתֵּשׁ הַלְחִי or מִכְתֵּשׁ בִּלְחִי; and so is also the remark that this fountain was still in existence in the historian’s own time. And the article proves nothing to the contrary, as many proper names are written with it (see *Ewald*, § 277, c.). Consequently we must follow *Josephus* (*Ant.* v. 8), who takes הַמִּכְתֵּשׁ as the name given to the opening of the rock, which was cleft by God to let water flow out. “If a rocky precipice bore the name of jaw-bone (*lechi*) on account of its shape, it was a natural consequence of this figurative epithet, that the name *tooth-hollow* should be given to a hole or gap in the rock” (*Studer*). Moreover, the same name, *Maktesh*, occurs again in *Zeph.* i. 11, where it is applied to a locality in or near Jerusalem. The hollow place was split by *Elohim*, although it was to *Jehovah* that Samson had prayed, to indicate that the miracle was wrought by God as the Creator and Lord of nature. Samson drank, and his spirit returned, so that he revived again. Hence the fountain received the name of *En-hakkore*, “the crier’s well which is at *Lechi*,” unto this day. According to the accents, the last clause does not belong to בִּלְחִי (in *Lechi*), but to וַיִּקְרָא (he called, etc.). It received the name given to it unto this day. This *implies*, of course, that the spring itself was in existence when our book was composed.—In ver. 20 the account of the judicial labours of Samson are brought to a close, with the remark that Samson judged Israel in the days of the Philistines, *i.e.* during their rule, for twenty years. What more is recorded of him in chap. xvi. relates to his fall and ruin; and although even in this he avenged himself upon the Philistines, he procured no further deliverance for Israel. It is impossible to draw any critical conclusions from the position in which this remark occurs, as to a plurality of sources for the history of Samson.

Chap. xvi. SAMSON’S FALL AND DEATH.—Samson’s judicial labours reached their highest point when he achieved his great victory over the Philistines at *Lechi*. Just as his love to the daughter of a Philistine had furnished him with the occasion designed by God for the manifestation of his superiority to the uncircumcised enemies of Israel, so the degradation of that love into sensual lust supplied the occasion for his fall which is related in this chapter. “Samson, when strong and brave, strangled a lion; but he could not strangle his own love. He burst the fetters

of his foes, but not the cords of his own lusts. He burned up the crops of others, and lost the fruit of his own virtue when burning with the flame enkindled by a single woman." (*Ambros. Apol. ii., David. c. iii.*)

Vers. 1-3. *His heroic deed at Gaza.*—Samson went to Gaza in the full consciousness of his superiority in strength to the Philistines, and there went in unto a harlot whom he saw. For Gaza, see Josh. xiii. 3. **בֹּזֵא** is used in the same sense as in Gen. vi. 4 and xxxviii. 16. It is not stated in this instance, as in chap. xiv. 4, that it was of the Lord.—Ver. 2. When this was told to the Gazites, they surrounded him (the object to the verb is to be supplied from the following word **לוֹ**) and laid wait for him all night at the city gate, but they kept themselves quiet during the night, saying, "*Till the dawning* (**אֶרֶב**, *infin.*) *of the morning,*" *sc.* we can wait, "*then will we kill him.*" For this construction, see 1 Sam. i. 22. The verb **וַיִּגַּד**, "it was told" (according to the LXX. and *Chald.*: cf. Gen. xxii. 20), or **וַיֹּאמְרוּ**, "they said," is wanting before **לְעֵתִים**, and must have fallen out through a copyist's error. The verb **הִתְחַרְשׁוּ** has evidently the subordinate idea of giving themselves up to careless repose; for if the watchmen who were posted at the city gate had but watched in a regular manner, Samson could not have lifted out the closed gates and carried them away. But as they supposed that he would not leave the harlot before daybreak, they relied upon the fact that the gate was shut, and probably fell asleep.—Ver. 3. But at midnight Samson got up, and "laying hold of the folding wings of the city gate, as well as the two posts, tore them out of the ground with his herculean strength, together with the bar that fastened them, and carried them up to the top of the mountain which stands opposite to Hebron." **עַל-פָּנָיו** merely means in the direction towards, as in Gen. xviii. 16, and does not signify that the mountain was in the front of Hebron or in the immediate neighbourhood (see Deut. xxxii. 49, where Mount Nebo, which was on the other side of the Jordan, and at least four geographical miles from Jericho, is said to have been over against it, and the same expression is employed). The distance from Gaza to Hebron was about nine geographical miles. To the east of Gaza there is a range of hills which runs from north to south. The highest of them all is one which stands somewhat isolated, about half an hour to the south-east of the town, and is called *el Montar* from a wely which is found upon the top of it. From this hill there is a splendid prospect over the whole of the

surrounding country. Hebron itself is not visible from this hill, but the mountains of Hebron are. According to an ancient tradition, it was to the summit of this hill that Samson carried the city gates; and both *Robinson* (Pal. ii. 377) and *V. de Velde* regard this tradition as by no means improbable, although the people of Gaza are not acquainted with it. "The city gate of the Gaza of that time was probably not less than three-quarters of an hour from the hill *el Montar*; and to climb this peak with the heavy gates and their posts and bar upon his shoulders through the deep sand upon the road, was a feat which only a Samson could perform" (*V. de Velde*).

Vers. 4-21. *Samson and Delilah*.—Ver. 4. After this successful act, Samson gave himself up once more to his sensual lusts. He fell in love with a woman in the valley of *Sorek*, named *Delilah* (*i.e.* the weak or pining one), to whose snares he eventually succumbed. With reference to the valley of *Sorek*, *Eusebius* affirms in the *Onom.* (*s. v.* Σωρήχ), that there was a village called Βαρήχ (*l.* Καφὰρ σωρήχ according to *Jerome*) near Zorea, and ἐν ὀρίοις (*l.* Βορείοις according to *Jerome*, who has *ad septentrionalem plagam*); and also (*s. v.* Σωρήκ) that this place was near to Eshtaol. Consequently the *Sorek* valley would have to be sought for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Samson's birthplace (chap. xiii. 1), and the dwelling-place of his family (ver. 31).—Ver. 5. The princes of the Philistines offered Delilah a considerable sum (they would give her one thousand and one hundred shekels of silver each, *i.e.* a thousand shekels or more: cf. chap. xvii. 2) if she would persuade Samson, and bring out from him "whereby his strength was great," and whereby they could overpower and bind him, חַבְלֵי עֲצָוָה, to bend him, *i.e.* to oppress him. The Philistine princes thought that Samson's supernatural strength arose from something external, which he wore or carried about with him as an amulet. There was a certain truth at the foundation of this heathen superstition, inasmuch as this gift of divine grace was really bound up with the possession of a corporeal pledge, the loss of which was followed by the immediate loss of the gift of God (see at ver. 17).—Ver. 6. Allured by the reward in prospect, Delilah now sought to get from him the secret of his strength. But he deceived her three times by false statements. He first of all said to her (ver. 7), "*If they bound me with strings that have not been dried, I should be weak and like one of the men*" (*i.e.* like any other man). חֵטֶן signifies a sinew or string, *e.g.* a bow-string, Ps. xi. 2, and in the different dialects

either a bow-string or the string of a harp or guitar. As a distinction is made here between the יָתָרִים and the עֵבֻתִים in ver. 11, the strings intended here are those of catgut or animal sinew. The number *seven* is that of a divine act, answering to the divine power which Samson possessed.—Vers. 8, 9. When Delilah told this to the princes of the Philistines, they brought the seven strings required, and Delilah bound Samson with them. “*And the spy sat in the room* (וָלָהּ, *dat. com., lit. ‘to her,’ i.e.*) *to help her,*” namely, without Samson knowing it, as Delilah had certainly not told him that she should betray the secret of his strength to the Philistines. He was there, no doubt, that he might be at hand and overpower the fettered giant as soon as it became apparent that his strength was gone. She then cried out to him, “*Philistines upon thee, Samson!*” And he snapped the strings as one would snap a cord of tow “when it smells fire,” *i.e.* is held to the fire.—Vers. 10–12. The second deception: Samson had himself bound with new cords, which had not yet been used for any purpose, and these also he burst from his arms like a thread.—Vers. 13 and 14. The third deception: “*If thou weavest together the seven locks of my hair with the warp. And she drove it in with the plug.*” These words are difficult to explain, partly because several technical terms are used which have more than one meaning, and partly because the account itself is contracted, both Samson’s advice and her fulfilment of it being only given in a partial form, so that the one has to be completed from the other. In ver. 19, the only other passage in which מַחֲלָפוֹת occurs, it no doubt means the plaits into which Samson’s long flowing hair was plaited. הַמַּפְּכֶת only occurs here (vers. 13 and 14), and probably means the woven cloth, or rather what was still upon the loom, the warp of the cloth, δίασμα (LXX.). Accordingly the meaning of the verse would be this: If thou weavest the seven plaits of my hair along with the warp upon the loom. The commentators are all agreed that, according to these words, there must be something wanting in the account, though they are not of one opinion as to whether the binding of Samson is fully given here, and all that has to be supplied is the clause “*Then shall I be weak,*” etc. (as in vers. 7 and 11), or whether the words וַתִּתְקַע בִּיהֶר add another fact which was necessary to the completeness of the binding, and if so, how these words are to be understood. In *Bertheau’s* opinion, the words “*and she thrust with the plug*” probably mean nothing more than that she made a noise to wake the sleeping Samson, because it is neither stated here

that she forced the plug into the wall or into the earth to fasten the plaits with (LXX., *Jerome*), nor that her thrusting with the plug contributed in any way to the further fastening of the hair. These arguments are sound no doubt, but they do not prove what is intended. When it is stated in ver. 14b, that "he tore out the weaver's plug and the cloth," it is certainly evident that the plug served to fasten the hair to the cloth or to the loom. Moreover, not only would any knocking with the plug to waken Samson with the noise have been altogether superfluous, as the loud cry, "Philistines upon thee, Samson," would be amply sufficient for this; but it is extremely improbable that a fact with so little bearing upon the main facts would be introduced here at all. We come therefore to the same conclusion as the majority of commentators, viz. that the words in question are to be understood as referring to something that was done to fasten Samson still more securely. הִיָּתֵר הָאָרֶג (ver. 14) does not mean the roller or weaver's beam, to which the threads of the warp were fastened, and round which the cloth was rolled when finished, as *Bertheau* supposes, for this is called מְנוֹר אֲרָגִים in 1 Sam. xvii. 7; nor the σπάθη of the Greeks, a flat piece of wood like a knife, which was used in the upright loom for the same purpose as our comb or press, viz. to press the weft together, and so increase the substance of the cloth (*Braun, de vestitu Sacerd.* p. 253); but the comb or press itself which was fastened to the loom, so that it could only be torn out by force. To complete the account, therefore, we must supply between vers. 13 and 14, "And if thou fastenest it (the woven cloth) with the plug (the weaver's comb), I shall be weak like one of the other men; and she wove the seven plaits of his hair into the warp of the loom." Then follows in ver. 14, "and fastened the cloth with the weaver's comb." There is no need, however, to assume that what has to be supplied fell out in copying. We have simply an ellipsis, such as we often meet with. When Samson was wakened out of his sleep by the cry of "Philistines upon thee," he tore out the weaver's comb and the warp (*sc.*) from the loom, with his plaits of hair that had been woven in. The reference to his sleeping warrants the assumption that Delilah had also performed the other acts of binding while he was asleep. We must not understand the account, however, as implying that the three acts of binding followed close upon one another on the very same day. Several days may very probably have elapsed between them. In this third deception Samson had

already gone so far in his presumptuous trifling with the divine gift entrusted to him, as to suffer the hair of his head to be meddled with, though it was sanctified to the Lord. "It would seem as though this act of sin ought to have brought him to reflection. But as that was not the case, there remained but one short step more to bring him to thorough treachery towards the Lord" (*O. v. Gerlach*).

This last step was very speedily to follow.—Ver. 15. After this triple deception, Delilah said to him, "*How canst thou say, I love thee, as thine heart is not with me*" (*i.e.* not devoted to me)?—Ver. 16. With such words as these she plagued him every day, so that his soul became impatient even to death (see chap. x. 16). The *אפ. לעך. פלס* signifies in Aramæan, to press or plague. The form is *Piel*, though without the reduplication of the *ל* and *Chateph-patach* under (see *Ewald*, § 90, *b.*).—Ver. 17. "*And he showed her all his heart,*" *i.e.* he opened his mind thoroughly to her, and told her that no razor had come upon his head, because he was a Nazarite from his mother's womb (*cf.* chap. xiii. 5, 7). "*If I should be shaven, my strength would depart from me, and I should be weak like all other men.*"—Ver. 18. When Delilah saw (*i.e.* perceived, namely from his words and his whole behaviour while making this communication) that he had betrayed the secret of his strength, she had the princes of the Philistines called: "*Come up this time, . . . for he had revealed to her all his heart.*" This last clause is not to be understood as having been spoken by Delilah to the princes themselves, as it is by the Masorites and most of the commentators, in which case *וַיָּבֹאוּ* would have to be altered into *וַיָּבֹא*; but it contains a remark of the writer, introduced as an explanation of the circumstance that Delilah sent for the princes of the Philistines now that she was sure of her purpose. This view is confirmed by the word *וַיָּבֹאוּ* (came up) which follows, since the use of the perfect instead of the imperfect with *vav consec.* can only be explained on the supposition that the previous clause is a parenthetical one, which interrupts the course of the narrative, and to which the account of the further progress of the affair could not be attached by the historical tense (*וַיַּעַל*).¹ The princes of the Philistines came up to Delilah on the receipt of this

¹ The *Keri* reading *וַיָּבֹא* arose simply from a misunderstanding, although it is found in many mss. and early editions, and is without any critical worth. The Masorites overlooked the fact that the main point is all that is related of the message of Delilah to the princes of the Philistines, namely that they were to

communication, bringing the money, the promised reward of her treachery (ver. 5), in their hands.—Ver. 19. “*Then she made him sleep upon her knees, and called to the man,*” possibly the man lying in wait (vers. 9 and 12), that she might not be alone with Samson when cutting off his hair; and she cut off the seven plaits of his hair, and began to afflict him, as his strength departed from him now.—Ver. 20. She then cried out, “*Philistines upon thee, Samson!*” And he awaked out of his sleep, and thought (“*said,*” *i.e.* to himself), “*I will go away as time upon time* (this as at other times), *and shake myself loose,*” *sc.* from the fetters or from the hands of the Philistines; “*but he knew not that Jehovah had departed from him.*” These last words are very important to observe in order to form a correct idea of the affair. Samson had said to Delilah, “If my hair were cut off, *my strength* would depart from me” (ver. 17). The historian observes, on the other hand, that “*Jehovah had departed from him.*” The superhuman strength of Samson did not reside in his hair as hair, but in the fact that Jehovah was with or near him. But Jehovah was with him so long as he maintained his condition as a Nazarite. As soon as he broke away from this by sacrificing the hair which he wore in honour of the Lord, Jehovah departed from him, and with Jehovah went his strength.¹—Ver. 21. The Philistines then seized him, put out his eyes, and led him to Gaza fettered with double brass chains. The chains are probably called *nechushtain* (double brass) because both hands or both feet were fettered with them. King Zedekiah, when taken prisoner by the Chaldeans, was treated in the same manner (2 Kings xxv. 7). There Samson was obliged to turn the mill in the prison, and grind corn (the participle מִלֵּךְ expresses the continuance of the action). Grinding a handmill was the hardest and lowest

come this time, and that the rest can easily be supplied from the context. Studer admits how little מִלֵּךְ suits that view of the clause which the *Keri* reading מִלֵּךְ requires, and calls it “syntactically impossible.” He proposes, however, to read מִלֵּךְ, without reflecting that this reading is also nothing more than a change which is rendered necessary by the alteration of מִלֵּךְ into מִלֵּךְ, and has no critical value.

¹ “Samson was strong because he was dedicated to God, as long as he preserved the signs of his dedication. But as soon as he lost those signs, he fell into the utmost weakness in consequence. The whole of Samson’s misfortune came upon him, therefore, because he attributed to himself some portion of what God did through him. God permitted him to lose his strength, that he might learn by experience how utterly powerless he was without the help of God. We have no better teachers than our own infirmities.”—*Berleb. Bible.*

kind of slave labour (compare Ex. xi. 5 with xii. 29); and both Greeks and Romans sentenced their slaves to this as a punishment (see *Od.* xx. 105 sqq., vii. 103–4; *Terent.* Phorm. ii. 1, 19, Andr. i. 2, 29), and it is still performed by female slaves in the East (see *Chardin* in *Harmer's* Beob. üb. d. Orient. iii. 64).

Vers. 22–31. *Samson's Misery, and his Triumph in Death.*—Ver. 22. The hair of his head began to grow, as he was shaven. In the word שָׁחַט, *as* (from the time when he was shaven), there is an indication that Samson only remained in his ignominious captivity till his hair began to grow again, *i.e.* visibly to grow. What follows agrees with this.—Vers. 23, 24. The captivity of this dreaded hero was regarded by the Philistines as a great victory, which their princes resolved to celebrate with a great and joyous sacrificial festival in honour of their god *Dagon*, to whom they ascribed this victory. “*A great sacrifice*,” consisting in the offering up of a large number of slain sacrifices. “*And for joy*,” viz. to give expression to their joy, *i.e.* for a joyous festival. *Dagon*, one of the principal deities of the Philistines, was worshipped at Gaza and Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 2 sqq., and 1 Macc. x. 83), and, according to Jerome on Isa. xlvi. 1, in the rest of the Philistine towns as well. It was a fish-deity (דָּגִן, from דָּג, a fish), and in shape resembled the body of a fish with the head and hands of a man (1 Sam. v. 4). It was a male deity, the corresponding female deity being *Atargatis* (2 Macc. xii. 26) or *Derceto*, and was a symbol of water, and of all the vivifying forces of nature which produce their effects through the medium of water, like the Babylonian 'Ωδάκων, one of the four *Oannes*, and the Indian *Vishnu* (see *Movers*, Phöniz. i. pp. 143 sqq., 590 sqq., and *J. G. Müller* in *Herzog's* Cycl.).—Ver. 24. All the people took part in this festival, and sang songs of praise to the god who had given the enemy, who had laid waste their fields and slain many of their countrymen, into their hands.—Vers. 25 sqq. When their hearts were merry (יָטִיב, *inf.* of יָטַב), they had Samson fetched out of the prison, that he might make sport before them, and “put him between the pillars” of the house or temple in which the triumphal feast was held. Then he said to the attendant who held his hand, “*Let me loose, and let me touch the pillars upon which the house is built, that I may lean upon it.*” הִמְיָחֵנִי is the imperative *Hiphil* of the radical verb יָחַס, which only occurs here; and the *Keri* substitutes the ordinary form הָחִיט from חָטַט. “*But the house*,” adds the historian by way of preparation for what follows, “*was filled with men and women: all the princes*

of the Philistines also were there; and upon the roof were about three thousand men and women, who feasted their eyes with Samson's sports" (רָאָה with רָ, used to denote the gratification of looking).—Ver. 28. Then Samson prayed to Jehovah, "*Lord Jehovah, remember me, and only this time make me strong, O God, that I may avenge myself (with) the revenge of one of my two eyes upon the Philistines,*" i.e. may take vengeance upon them for the loss of only one of my two eyes (מִשְׁחָה, without *Dagesh lene* in the ה: see *Ewald*, § 267, b.),—a sentence which shows how painfully he felt the loss of his two eyes, "a loss the severity of which even the terrible vengeance which he was meditating could never outweigh" (*Bertheau*).—Vers. 29, 30. After he had prayed to the Lord for strength for this last great deed, he embraced the two middle pillars upon which the building was erected, leant upon them, one with his right hand, the other with the left (viz. embracing them with his hands, as these words also belong to אִלְפָת), and said, "*Let my soul die with the Philistines.*" He then bent (the two pillars) with force, and the house fell upon the princes and all the people who were within. So far as the fact itself is concerned, there is no ground for questioning the possibility of Samson's bringing down the whole building with so many men inside by pulling down two middle columns, as we have no accurate acquaintance with the style of its architecture. In all probability we have to picture this temple of Dagon as resembling the modern Turkish kiosks, namely as consisting of a "spacious hall, the roof of which rested in front upon four columns, two of them standing at the ends, and two close together in the centre. Under this hall the leading men of the Philistines celebrated a sacrificial meal, whilst the people were assembled above upon the top of the roof, which was surrounded by a balustrade" (*Faber*, *Archäol. der Hebr.* p. 444, cf. pp. 436-7; and *Shaw*, *Reisen*, p. 190). The ancients enter very fully into the discussion of the question whether Samson committed suicide or not, though without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. *O. v. Gerlach*, however, has given the true answer. "Samson's deed," he says, "was not suicide, but the act of a hero, who sees that it is necessary for him to plunge into the midst of his enemies with the inevitable certainty of death, in order to effect the deliverance of his people and decide the victory which he has still to achieve. Samson would be all the more certain that this was the will of the Lord, when he considered that even if he should deliver himself in any other way out of the hands of the Philistines, he would always carry

about with him the mark of his shame in the blindness of his eyes,—a mark of his unfaithfulness as the servant of God quite as much as of the double triumph of his foes, who had gained a spiritual as well as a corporeal victory over him.” Such a triumph as this the God of Israel could not permit His enemies and their idols to gain. The Lord must prove to them, even through Samson’s death, that the shame of his sin was taken from him, and that the Philistines had no cause to triumph over him. Thus Samson gained the greatest victory over his foes in the moment of his own death. The terror of the Philistines when living, he became a destroyer of the temple of their idol when he died. Through this last act of his he vindicated the honour of Jehovah the God of Israel, against Dagon the idol of the Philistines. “*The dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life.*”—Ver. 31. This terrible blow necessarily made a powerful impression upon the Philistines, not only plunging them into deep mourning at the death of their princes and so many of their countrymen, and the destruction of the temple of Dagon, but filling them with fear and terror at the omnipotence of the God of the Israelites. Under these circumstances it is conceivable enough that the brethren and relatives of Samson were able to come to Gaza, and fetch away the body of the fallen hero, to bury it in his father’s grave between Zorea and Eshtaol (see chap. xiii. 25).—In conclusion, it is once more very appropriately observed that Samson had judged Israel twenty years (cf. chap. xv. 20).

III.—IMAGE-WORSHIP OF MICAH AND THE DANITES; INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF THE INHABITANTS OF GIBEAH; VENGEANCE TAKEN UPON THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN.

CHAP. XVII.—XXI.

The death of Samson closes the body of the book of Judges, which sets forth the history of the people of Israel under the judges in a continuous and connected form. The two accounts, which follow in chap. xvii.—xxi., of the facts mentioned in the heading are attached to the book of Judges in the form of *appendices*, as the facts in question not only belonged to the times of the judges, and in fact to the very commencement of those times (see p. 238), but furnished valuable materials for forming a correct idea of the actual

character of this portion of the Israelitish history. The *first* appendix (chap. xvii. xviii.)—viz. the account of the introduction of image-worship, or of the worship of Jehovah under the form of a molten image, by the Ephraimite Micah, and of the seizure of this image by the Danites, who emigrated from their own territory when upon their march northwards, and the removal of it to the city of *Laiish-Dan*, which was conquered by them—shows us how shortly after the death of Joshua the inclination to an idolatrous worship of Jehovah manifested itself in the nation, and how this worship, which continued for a long time in the north of the land, was mixed up from the very beginning with sin and unrighteousness. The *second* (chap. xix.—xxi.)—viz. the account of the infamous act which the inhabitants of Gibeah attempted to commit upon the Levite who stayed there for the night, and which they actually did perform upon his concubine, together with its consequences, viz. the war of vengeance upon the tribe of Benjamin, which protected the criminals—proves, on the one hand, what deep roots the moral corruptions of the Canaanites had struck among the Israelites at a very early period, and, on the other hand, how even at that time the congregation of Israel as a whole had kept itself free and pure, and, mindful of its calling to be the holy nation of God, had endeavoured with all its power to root out the corruption that had already forced its way into the midst of it.

These two occurrences have no actual connection with one another, but they are both of them narrated in a very elaborate and circumstantial manner; and in both of them we not only find Israel still without a king (chap. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, and xix. 1, xxi. 25), and the will of God sought by a priest or by the high priest himself (chap. xviii. 5, 6, xx. 18, 23, 27), but the same style of narrative is adopted as a whole, particularly the custom of throwing light upon the historical course of events by the introduction of circumstantial clauses, from which we may draw the conclusion that they were written by the same author. On the other hand, they do not contain any such characteristic marks as could furnish a certain basis for well-founded conjectures concerning the author, or raise *Bertheau's* conjecture, that he was the same person as the author of chap. i. 1—ii. 5, into a probability. For the frequent use of the perfect with *!* (compare chap. xx. 17, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 48, xxi. 1, 15, with chap. i. 8, 16, 21, 25, etc.) can be fully explained from the contents themselves; and the notion that the perfect is used here more frequently for the historical

imperfect with *vav consec.* rests upon a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the passages in question. The other and not very numerous expressions, which are common to chap. xvii.–xxi. and chap. i., are not sufficiently characteristic to supply the proof required, as they are also met with elsewhere: see, for example, שָׁלַח בָּאֵשׁ (chap. i. 8, xx. 48), which not only occurs again in 2 Kings viii. 12 and Ps. lxxiv. 7, but does not even occur in both the appendices, שָׁרַף בָּאֵשׁ being used instead in chap. xviii. 27. So much, however, may unquestionably be gathered from the exactness and circumstantiality of the history, viz. that the first recorder of these events, whose account was the source employed by the author of our book, cannot have lived at a time very remote from the occurrences themselves. On the other hand, there are not sufficient grounds for the conjecture that these appendices were not attached to the book of the Judges till a later age. For it can neither be maintained that the object of the first appendix was to show how the image-worship which Jeroboam set up in his kingdom at Bethel and Dan had a most pernicious origin, and sprang from the image-worship of the Ephraimite Micah, which the Danites had established at Laish, nor that the object of the second appendix was to prove that the origin of the pre-Davidic kingdom (of Saul) was sinful and untheocratic, *i.e.* opposed to the spirit and nature of the kingdom of God, as *Auberlen* affirms (*Theol. Stud. u. Kr.* 1860). The identity of the golden calf set up by Jeroboam at Dan with the image of Jehovah that was stolen by the Danites from Micah the Ephraimite and set up in Laish-Dan, is precluded by the statement in chap. xviii. 31 respecting the length of time that this image-worship continued in Dan (see the commentary on the passage itself). At the most, therefore, we can only maintain, with *O. v. Gerlach*, that “both (appendices) set forth, according to the intention of the author, the misery which arose during the wild unsettled period of the judges from the want of a governing, regal authority.” This is hinted at in the remark, which occurs in both appendices, that at that time there was no king in Israel, and every one did what was right in his own eyes (chap. xvii. 6, xxi. 25). This remark, on the other hand, altogether excludes the time of the falling away of the ten tribes, and the decline of the later kingdom, and is irreconcilable with the assumption that these appendices were not added to the book of the Judges till after the division of the kingdom, or not till the time of the Assyrian or Babylonian captivity.

IMAGE-WORSHIP OF MICAH THE EPHRAIMITE, AND ITS REMOVAL TO LAISH-DAN.—CHAP. XVII. XVIII.

Chap. xvii. MICAH'S IMAGE-WORSHIP.—The account of the image-worship which Micah established in his house upon the mountains of Ephraim is given in a very brief and condensed form, because it was simply intended as an introduction to the account of the establishment of this image-worship in Laish-Dan in northern Palestine. Consequently only such points are for the most part given, as exhibit in the clearest light the sinful origin and unlawful character of this worship.

Vers. 1-10. A man of the mountains of Ephraim named Micah (מִיכָה, vers. 1, 4, then contracted into מִיכָה, vers. 5, 8, etc.), who set up this worship for himself, and “respecting whom the Scriptures do not think it worth while to add the name of his father, or to mention the family from which he sprang” (*Berleb. Bible*), had stolen 1100 shekels of silver (about £135) from his mother. This is very apparent from the words which he spoke to his mother (ver. 2): “*The thousand and hundred shekels of silver which were taken from thee* (the singular לָקַח refers to the silver), *about which thou cursedst and spakest of also in mine ears* (i.e. didst so utter the curse that among others I also heard it), *behold, this silver is with me; I have taken it.*” אָלֶּה, to swear, used to denote a malediction or curse (cf. קִיל אָלֶּה, Lev. v. 1). He seems to have been impelled to make this confession by the fear of his mother's curse. But his mother praised him for it,—“*Blessed be my son of Jehovah,*”—partly because she saw in it a proof that there still existed a germ of the fear of God, but in all probability chiefly because she was about to dedicate the silver to Jehovah; for, when her son had given it back to her, she said (ver. 3), “*I have sanctified the silver to the Lord from my hand for my son, to make an image and molten work.*” The perfect הִקְדַּשְׁתָּי is not to be taken in the sense of the pluperfect, “I had sanctified it,” but is expressive of an act just performed: I have sanctified it, I declare herewith that I do sanctify it. “*And now I give it back to thee,*” namely, to appropriate to thy house of God.—Ver. 4. Hereupon—namely, when her son had given her back the silver (“he restored the silver unto his mother” is only a repetition of ver. 3a, introduced as a link with which to connect the appropriation of the silver)—the mother took 200 shekels and gave them to the goldsmith, who made an image and molten work of them, which were henceforth in Micah's house. The 200 shekels were

not quite the fifth part of the whole. What she did with the rest is not stated; but from the fact that she dedicated the silver generally, *i.e.* the whole amount, to Jehovah, according to ver. 3, we may infer that she applied the remainder to the maintenance of the image-worship.¹ *Pesel* and *massecah* (image and molten work) are joined together, as in Deut. xxvii. 15. The difference between the two words in this instance is very difficult to determine. *Pesel* signifies an idolatrous image, whether made of wood or metal. *Massecah*, on the other hand, signifies a cast, something poured; and when used in the singular, is almost exclusively restricted to the calf cast by Aaron or Jeroboam. It is generally connected with כסף, but it is used in the same sense without this definition (*e.g.* Deut. ix. 12). This makes the conjecture a very natural one, that the two words together might simply denote a likeness of Jehovah, and, judging from the occurrence at Sinai, a representation of Jehovah in the form of a molten calf. But there is one obstacle in the way of such a conjecture, namely, that in chap. xviii. 17, 18, *massecah* is separated from *pesel*, so as necessarily to suggest the idea of two distinct objects. But as we can hardly suppose that Micah's mother had two images of Jehovah made, and that Micah had both of them set up in his house of God, no other explanation seems possible than that the *massecah* was something belonging to the *pesel*, or image of Jehovah, but yet distinct from it,—in other words, that it was the pedestal upon which it stood. The *pesel* was at any rate the principal thing, as we may clearly infer from the fact that it is placed in the front rank among the four objects of Micah's sanctuary, which the Danites took with them (chap. xviii. 17, 18), and that in chap. xviii. 30, 31, the *pesel* alone is mentioned in connection with the setting up of the image-worship in Dan. Moreover, there can hardly be any doubt that *pesel*, as a representation of Jehovah, was an image of a bull, like the golden calf which Aaron had made at Sinai (Ex. xxxii. 4), and the golden calves which Jeroboam set up in the kingdom of Israel, and one of which was set up in Dan (1 Kings xii. 29).—Ver. 5. His mother did this, because

¹ There is no foundation for *Bertheau's* opinion, that the 200 shekels were no part of the 1100, but the trespass-money paid by the son when he gave his mother back the money that he had purloined, since, according to Lev. v. 24, when a thief restored to the owner any stolen property, he was to add the fifth of its value. There is no ground for applying this law to the case before us, simply because the taking of the money by the son is not even described as a theft, whilst the mother really praises her son for his open confession.

her son Micah had a house of God, and had had an ephod and teraphim made for himself, and one of his sons consecrated to officiate there as a priest. הָאִישׁ מִיכָה (the man Micah) is therefore placed at the head absolutely, and is connected with what follows by לוֹ: "*As for the man Micah, there was to him (he had) a house of God.*" The whole verse is a circumstantial clause explanatory of what precedes, and the following verbs וַיַּעַשׂ, וַיִּמְלֵא, and וַיְהִי, are simply a continuation of the first clause, and therefore to be rendered as pluperfects. Micah's *beth Elohim* (house of God) was a domestic temple belonging to Micah's house, according to chap. xviii. 15-18. מָלֵא אֶת־יָדָיו, to fill the hand, *i.e.* to invest with the priesthood, to institute as priest (see at Lev. vii. 37). The *ephod* was an imitation of the high priest's shoulder-dress (see at chap. viii. 27). The *teraphim* were images of household gods, penates, who were worshipped as the givers of earthly prosperity, and as oracles (see at Gen. xxxi. 19).—In ver. 6 it is observed, in explanation of this unlawful conduct, that at that time there was no king in Israel, and every one did what was right in his own eyes.

Vers. 7-13. *Appointment of a Levite as Priest.*—Vers. 7 sqq. In the absence of a Levitical priest, Micah had first of all appointed one of his sons as priest at his sanctuary. He afterwards found a Levite for this service. A young man from Bethlehem in Judah, of the family of Judah, who, being a Levite, stayed (וָרָ) there (in Bethlehem) as a stranger, left this town to sojourn "*at the place which he should find,*" *sc.* as a place that would afford him shelter and support, and came up to the mountains of Ephraim to Micah's house, "*making his journey,*" *i.e.* upon his journey. (On the use of the *inf. constr.* with לָ in the sense of the Latin gerund in *do*, see *Ewald*, § 280, *d.*) Bethlehem was not a Levitical town. The young Levite from Bethlehem was neither born there nor made a citizen of the place, but simply "*sojourned there,*" *i.e.* dwelt there temporarily as a stranger. The further statement as to his descent (*mishpachath Judah*) is not to be understood as signifying that he was a descendant of some family in the tribe of Judah, but simply that he belonged to the Levites who dwelt in the tribe of Judah, and were reckoned in all civil matters as belonging to that tribe. On the division of the land, it is true that it was only to the priests that dwelling-places were allotted in the inheritance of this tribe (Josh. xxi. 9-19), whilst the rest of the Levites, even the non-priestly members of the family of Kohath, received their dwelling-places among the other tribes (Josh. xxi. 20 sqq.). At the same

time, as many of the towns which were allotted to the different tribes remained for a long time in the possession of the Canaanites, and the Israelites did not enter at once into the full and undisputed possession of their inheritance, it might easily so happen that different towns which were allotted to the Levites remained in possession of the Canaanites, and consequently that the Levites were compelled to seek a settlement in other places. It might also happen that individuals among the Levites themselves, who were disinclined to perform the service assigned them by the law, would remove from the Levitical towns and seek some other occupation elsewhere (see also at chap. xviii. 30).¹—Ver. 10. Micah made this proposal to the Levite: “*Dwell with me, and become my father and priest; I will give thee ten shekels of silver yearly, and fitting out with clothes and maintenance.*” אב, *father*, is an honourable title given to a priest as a paternal friend and spiritual adviser, and is also used with reference to prophets in 2 Kings vi. 21 and xiii. 14, and applied to Joseph in Gen. xlv. 8. לַיָּמִים, *for the days*, *sc.* for which a person was engaged, *i.e.* for the year (cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 7, and Lev. xxv. 29). “*And the Levite went,*” *i.e.* went to Micah’s house. This meaning is evident from the context. The repetition of the subject, “the Levite,” precludes our connecting it with the following verb וַיֵּשֶׁב.—In vers. 11–13 the result is summed up. The Levite resolved (see at Deut. i. 5) to dwell with Micah, who treated him as one of his sons, and entrusted him with the priesthood at his house of God. And Micah rejoiced that he had got a Levite as priest, and said, “*Now I know that Jehovah will prosper me.*” This belief, or, to speak more correctly, superstition, for which Micah was very speedily to atone, proves that at that time the tribe of Levi held the position assigned it in the law of Moses; that is to say, that it was regarded as the tribe elected by God for the performance of divine worship.

Chap. xviii. THE IMAGE-WORSHIP REMOVED TO LAISH-DAN.

¹ There is no reason, therefore, for pronouncing the words כִּמְשִׁפַּחַת יְהוּדָה (of the family of Judah) a gloss, and erasing them from the text, as Houbigant proposes. The omission of them from the *Cod. Vat.* of the LXX., and from the Syriac, is not enough to warrant this, as they occur in the *Cod. Al.* of the LXX., and their absence from the authorities mentioned may easily be accounted for from the difficulty which was felt in explaining their meaning. On the other hand, it is impossible to imagine any reason for the interpolation of such a gloss into the text.

—Vers. 1-10. *Spies sent out by the tribe of Dan*, to seek for a place suitable for a settlement, and their success.—Ver. 1. This took place at a time when Israel had no king, and the tribe of the Danites sought an inheritance for themselves to dwell in, because until that day no such portion had fallen to them among the tribes as an inheritance. To the expression לֹא נָפַלָה (had not fallen) we must supply נַחֲלָה as the subject from the previous clause; and בְּנַחֲלָה signifies in the character of a *nachalah*, i.e. of a possession that could be transmitted as hereditary property from father to son. נָפַל, to fall, is used with reference to the falling of the lot (*vid.* Num. xxxiv. 2, Josh. xiii. 6, etc.). The general statement, that as yet no inheritance had fallen to the tribe of Dan by lot, has its limitation in the context. As the Danites, according to ver. 2, sent out five men from Zorea and Eshtaol, and, according to ver. 11, six hundred men equipped for fight went out to Laish, which the spies had discovered to be a place well fitted for a settlement, and had settled there, it is very evident from this that the Danites were not absolutely without an inheritance, but that hitherto they had not received one sufficient for their wants. The emigrants themselves were already settled in Zorea and Eshtaol, two of the towns that had fallen to the tribe of Dan by lot (Josh. xix. 41). Moreover, the six hundred equipped Danites, who went out of these towns, were only a very small part of the tribe of Danites, which numbered 64,400 males of twenty years old and upwards at the last census (Num. xxvi. 43). For a tribe of this size the land assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Dan, with all the towns that it contained, was amply sufficient. But from chap. i. 34 we learn that the Amorites forced the Danites into the mountains, and would not allow them to come down into the plain. Consequently they were confined to a few towns situated upon the sides or tops of the mountains, which did not supply all the room they required. Feeling themselves too weak to force back the Canaanites and exterminate them, one portion of the Danites preferred to seek an inheritance for themselves somewhere else in the land. This enterprise and emigration are described in vers. 2 sqq. The time cannot be determined with perfect certainty, as all that can be clearly inferred from ver. 12, as compared with chap. xiii. 25, is, that it took place some time before the days of Samson. Many expositors have therefore assigned it to the period immediately following the defeat of Jabin by Barak (chap. iv. 24), because it was not till after the overthrow of this powerful king of the Canaanites that conquests were possible

in the north of Canaan, and the tribe of Dan at that time still remained in ships (chap. v. 17), so that it had not yet left the territory assigned it by the sea-shore (Josh. xix.). But these arguments have neither of them any force; for there is nothing surprising in the fact that Danites should still be found by the sea-shore in the time of Deborah, even if Danite families from Zorea and Eshtaol had settled in Laish long before, seeing that these emigrants formed but a small fraction of the whole tribe, and the rest remained in the possessions assigned them by Joshua. Moreover, the strengthening of the force of the Canaanites, and the extension of their dominion in the north, did not take place till 150 years after Joshua, in the days of Jabin; so that long before Jabin the town of Laish may have been conquered by the Danites, and taken possession of by them. In all probability this took place shortly after the death of Joshua, as we may infer from ver. 30 (see the exposition of this verse).—Ver. 2. To spy out and explore the land for the object mentioned, the Danites sent out five brave men “*out of their* (the Danites’) *ends,*” *i.e.* from their whole body (*vid.* 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33, and the commentary on Gen. xix. 4). They came up to the mountains of Ephraim, and as far as Micah’s house, where they passed the night.—Vers. 3–6. When they were at Micah’s house and recognised the voice of the young Levite, *i.e.* heard his voice, and perceived from his dialect that he was not a native of these mountains, they turned aside there, *sc.* from the road into the house, near to which they rested, and asked him, “*Who brought thee hither, and what doest thou at this place? what hast thou to do here?*” When he told them his history (“thus and thus,” *lit.* according to this and that; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 25, 1 Kings xiv. 5), they said to him, “*Ask God, we pray thee, that we may learn whether our way will be prosperous.*” שָׁאַל בְּאֱלֹהִים, used for asking the will of God, as in chap. i. 1, except that here the inquiry was made through the medium of the imitation of the ephod and the worship of an image. And he said to them, *sc.* after making inquiry of the divine oracle, “*Go in peace; straight before Jehovah is your way,*” *i.e.* it is known and well-pleasing to Him (*vid.* Prov. v. 21, Jer. xvii. 16).—Ver. 7. Thus the five men proceeded to *Laish*, which is called *Leshem* in Josh. xix. 47, and was named *Dan* after the conquest by the Danites,—a place on the central source of the Jordan, the present *Tell el Kadi* (see at Josh. xix. 47),—and saw the people of the town dwelling securely after the manner of the Sidonians, who lived by trade and commerce, and did not go out to war. יֹשְׁבֵת is

the predicate to אֶת־הָעָם, and the feminine is to be explained from the fact that the writer had the population before his mind (see *Ewald*, § 174, *b.*); and the use of the masculine in the following words, שָׁקֵט וּבֵטָח, which are in apposition, is not at variance with this. The connection of יוֹשְׁבֵת with בְּקִרְבָּה, which *Bertheau* revives from the earlier commentators, is opposed to the genius of the Hebrew language. שָׁקֵט וּבֵטָח, “*living quietly and safely there.*” וַיֹּאזִין מַלְכִּים וְגוֹ, “*and no one who seized the government to himself did any harm to them in the land.*” הַכְּלִים, to shame, then to do an injury (1 Sam. xxv. 7). מַלְכִּים דָּבָר, shaming with regard to a thing, *i.e.* doing any kind of injury. עֲצָר, dominion, namely tyrannical rule, from עָצַר, *imperio coercere*. The rendering “riches” (*θησαυρός*, LXX.), which some give to this word, is founded simply upon a confounding of עֲצָר with אוֹצָר. יָרַשׁ does not mean “to possess,” but “to take possession of,” and that by force (as in 1 Kings xxi. 18). “*And they were far from the Sidonians,*” so that in the event of a hostile invasion they could not obtain any assistance from this powerful city. *Grotius* draws the very probable conclusion from these words, that Laish may have been a colony of the Sidonians. “*And they had nothing to do with (other) men,*” *i.e.* they did not live in any close association with the inhabitants of other towns, so as to be able to obtain assistance from any other quarter.—Vers. 8, 9. On their return, the spies said to their fellow-citizens, in reply to the question מָה אַתֶּם עוֹשִׂים, “*What have you accomplished?*” “*Up, let us go up against them (the inhabitants of Laish), for the land is very good, and ye are silent,*” *i.e.* standing inactive (1 Kings xxii. 3; 2 Kings vii. 9). “*Be not slothful to go (to proceed thither), to come and take possession of the land!*”—Ver. 10. “*When ye arrive, ye will come to a secure people (i.e. a people living in careless security, and therefore very easy to overcome); and the land is broad on both sides (i.e. furnishes space to dwell in, and also to extend: vid. Gen. xxxiv. 21, 1 Chron. iv. 40); for God has given it into your hand.*” They infer this from the oracular reply they had received from the Levite (ver. 6). “*A place where there is no want of anything that is in the land (of Canaan).*”

Vers. 11–29. *Removal of Six Hundred Danites to Laish—Robbery of Mical's Images—Conquest of Laish, and Settlement there.*—Vers. 11, 12. In consequence of the favourable account of the spies who returned, certain Danites departed from Zorea and Eshtaol, to the number of 600 men, accoutred with weapons of war, with their families and their possessions in cattle and goods (see

ver. 21), and encamped by the way at Kirjath-jearim (*i.e.* Kuriyet Enab; see Josh. ix. 17), in the tribe territory of Judah, at a place which received the permanent name of *Mahaneh Dan* (camp of Dan) from that circumstance, and was situated behind, *i.e.* to the west of, Kirjath-jearim (see at chap. xiii. 25). The fact that this locality received a standing name from the circumstance described, compels us to assume that the Danites had encamped there for a considerable time, for reasons which we cannot determine from our want of other information. The emigrants may possibly have first of all assembled here, and prepared and equipped themselves for their further march.—Ver. 13. From this point they went across to the mountains of Ephraim, and came to Micah's house, *i.e.* to a place near it.—Ver. 14. Then the five men who had explored the land, viz. Laish (*Laish* is in apposition to *הָאֶרֶץ*, the land), said to their brethren (tribe-mates), “*Know ye that in these houses (the village or place where Micah dwelt) there are an ephod and teraphim, and image and molten work (see at chap. xvii. 4, 5)? and now know what ye will do.*” The meaning of these last words is very easily explained: do not lose this opportunity of obtaining a worship of our own for our new settlement.—Ver. 15. Then they turned from the road thither, and went to the house of the young Levite, the house of Micah, and asked him (the Levite) concerning his health, *i.e.* saluted him in a friendly manner (see Gen. xliii. 27, Ex. xviii. 7, etc.).—Ver. 16. The 600 men, however, placed themselves before the door.—Ver. 17. Then the five spies went up, *sc.* into Micah's house of God, which must therefore have been in an upper room of the building (see 2 Kings xxiii. 12, Jer. xix. 13), and took the image, ephod, etc., whilst the priest stood before the door with the 600 armed men. With the words *וַיֵּלֶךְ* the narrative passes from the aorist or historical tense *וַיֵּלֶךְ* into the perfect. “The perfects do not denote the coming and taking on the part of the five men as a continuation of the previous account, but place the coming and taking in the same sphere of time as that to which the following clause, ‘and the priest stood,’ etc., belongs” (*Bertheau*). But in order to explain what appears very surprising, viz. that the priest should have stood before the gate whilst his house of God was being robbed, the course which the affair took is explained more clearly afterwards in vers. 18, 19, in the form of a circumstantial clause. Consequently the verbs in these verses ought to be rendered as pluperfects, and the different clauses comprised in one period, ver. 18 forming the protasis, and ver. 19 the apodosis.

“*Namely, when those (five) men had come into Micah’s house, and had taken the image of the ephod, etc., and the priest had said to them, What are ye doing? they had said to him, Be silent, lay thy hand upon thy mouth and go with us, and become a father and priest to us (see chap. xvii. 10). Is it better to be a priest to the house of a single man, or to a tribe and family in Israel?*” The combination **פֶּסֶל הָאֶפֹד** (the ephod-pesel), *i.e.* the image belonging to the ephod, may be explained on the ground, that the use of the ephod as a means of ascertaining the will of God presupposes the existence of an image of Jehovah, and does not prove that the ephod served as a covering for the *pesel*. The priest put on the ephod when he was about to inquire of God. The **וְאִם** in the second question is different from **אִם**, and signifies “or rather” (see Gen. xxiv. 55), indicating an improvement upon the first question (see *Ewald*, § 352, *a.*). Consequently it is not a sign of a later usage of speech, as *Bertheau* supposes. The word **וְלִמְשִׁפְחָהּ** (unto a family) serves as a more minute definition or limitation of **לְטִיבָהּ** (to a tribe).—Ver. 20. Then was the priest’s heart glad (merry; cf. chap. xix. 6, 9, Ruth iii. 7), and he took the ephod, etc., and came amongst the people (the Danites). The first clause of this verse is attached to the supplementary statement in vers. 18, 19, for the purpose of linking on the further progress of the affair, which is given in the second clause; for, according to ver. 17, the priest could only receive the ephod, etc., into his charge from the hands of the Danites, since they had taken them out of Micah’s God’s house.—Ver. 21. The 600 Danites then set out upon their road again and went away; and they put the children, the cattle, and the valuable possessions in front, because they were afraid of being attacked by Micah and his people from behind. **הַטֹּף**, “the little ones,” includes both women and children, as the members of the family who were in need of protection (see at Ex. xii. 37). **כְּבוֹדָהּ** is literally an adjective, signifying splendid; but here it is a neuter substantive: the valuables, not the heavy baggage. The 600 men had emigrated with their families and possessions.—Vers. 22, 23. The two clauses of ver. 22 are circumstantial clauses: “*When they (the 600) had got to some distance from Micah’s house, and the men who were in the houses by Micah’s house were called together, and had overtaken the Danites, they (i.e. Micah and his people, whom he had called together from the neighbourhood to pursue the emigrants) called to the Danites; and they turned their faces, and said to Micah, What is to thee (what is the matter), that thou hast gathered together?*”—

Vers. 24, 25. And when he replied, "*Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and have departed; what is there still to me (what have I left)? and how can ye say to me, What is to thee?*" they ordered him to be silent, lest he should forfeit his life: "*Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest men of savage disposition* (כִּמְרֵי נִפְטִי as in 2 Sam. xvii. 8) *should fall upon thee* (vid. chap. xv. 12, viii. 21, etc.), *and thou shouldst not save thy life and that of thy household,*" i.e. shouldst bring death upon thyself and thy family. וְאִסְפָּתָה is also dependent upon פָּן.—Ver. 26. Then the Danites went their way; but Micah, seeing that they were stronger than he, turned back and returned home.—Vers. 27, 28. And they (the Danites) had taken what Micah had made, i.e. his idols and his priest, and they fell upon Laish (בֹּאוּ עָלָיו, to come over a person, to fall upon him, as in Gen. xxxiv. 25), a people living quietly and free from care (vid. ver. 7), smote them with the edge of the sword (see at Gen. xxxiv. 26), and burned down the city (cf. Josh. vi. 24), as it had no deliverer in its isolated condition (ver. 28a; cf. ver. 7). It was situated "*in the valley which stretches to Beth-rehob.*" This valley is the upper part of the *Huleh* lowland, through which the central source of the Jordan (*Leddan*) flows, and by which *Laish-Dan*, the present *Tell el Kadi*, stood (see at Josh. xix. 47). *Beth-rehob* is most probably the same place as the *Rehob* mentioned in Num. xiii. 21, and the *Beth-rehob* of 2 Sam. x. 6, which is there used to designate a part of Syria, and for which *Rehob* only is also used in ver. 8. *Robinson* (Bibl. Res. pp. 371 sqq.) supposes it to be the castle of *Hunin* or *Honin*, on the south-west of *Tell el Kadi*; but this is hardly correct (see the remarks on Num. xiii. 21, Pent. vol. iii. p. 88). The city, which lay in ashes, was afterwards rebuilt by the Danites, and called *Dan*, from the name of the founder of their tribe; and the ruins are still to be seen, as already affirmed, on the southern slope of the *Tell el Kadi* (see *Rob. Bibl. Res.* pp. 391–2, and the comm. on Josh. xix. 47).

Vers. 30, 31. *Establishment of the Image-worship in Dan.*—After the rebuilding of Laish under the name of Dan, the Danites set up the *pesel* or image of Jehovah, which they had taken with them out of Micah's house of God. "*And Jehonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites till the day of the captivity of the land.*" As the Danites had taken the Levite whom Micah had engaged for his private worship with them to Dan, and had promised him the priesthood (vers. 19 and 27), *Jehonathan* can hardly be any other

than this Levite. He was a son of Gershom, the son of Moses (Ex. ii. 22, xviii. 3; 1 Chron. xxiii. 14, 15). Instead of בֶּן־מֹשֶׁה, our Masoretic text has בֶּן־מְנַשֶּׁה with a hanging נ. With regard to this reading, the *Talmud* (Baba bathr. f. 109b) observes: "Was he a son of Gershom, or was he not rather a son of Moses? as it is written, the sons of Moses were Gershom and Eliezer (1 Chron. xxiii. 14), but because he did the deeds of Manasseh (the idolatrous son of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xxi.) the Scripture assigns him to the family of Manasseh." On this *Rabbabar bar Channa* observes, that "the prophet (*i.e.* the author of our book) studiously avoided calling Gershom *the son of Moses*, because it would have been ignominious to Moses to have had an ungodly son; but he calls him *the son of Manasseh*, raising the נ, however, above the line, to show that it might either be inserted or omitted, and that he was the son of either מְנַשֶּׁה (Manasseh) or מֹשֶׁה (Moses),—of Manasseh through imitating his impiety, of Moses by descent" (cf. *Buxtorfi Tiber.* p. 171). Later Rabbins say just the same. *R. Tanchum* calls the writing *Menasseh*, with a hanging nun, a תִּקּוּן סוֹפְרִים, and speaks of *ben Mosheh* as *Kethibh*, and *ben Menasseh* as *Keri*. *Ben Mosheh* is therefore unquestionably the original reading, although the other reading *ben Menasseh* is also very old, as it is to be found in the *Targums* and the *Syriac* and *Sept.* versions, although some *Codd.* of the LXX. have the reading *υἱὸς Μωϋσῆ* (*vid. Kennic. dissert. gener. in V. T.* § 21).¹ *Jerome* also has *filii Moysi*. At the same time, it does not follow with certainty from the reading *ben Gershom* that Jehonathan was actually a son of Gershom, as *ben* frequently denotes a grandson in such genealogical accounts, unknown fathers being passed over in the genealogies. There is very little probability of his having been a son, for the simple reason, that if Jehonathan was the same person as Micah's high priest—and there is no ground for doubting this—he is described as נַעַר in chap. xvii. 7, xviii. 3, 15, and therefore was at any rate a young man, whereas the son of Gershom and grandson of Moses would certainly have passed the age of youth by a few years after the death of Joshua. This Jehonathan and his sons performed the duties of the priesthood at Dan עֲרֵיוֹם גִּלּוֹת הָאֶרֶץ. This statement is obscure. גִּלּוֹת הָאֶרֶץ can hardly mean anything else than the carrying away of the people of the land into exile, that is to say, of

¹ These two readings of the LXX. seem to be fused together in the text given by *Theodoret* (*quæst.* xxvi.): Ἰωνάθαν υἱὸς Μωϋσῆ, υἱὸς Γερσομ υἱὸς Μωσῆ.

the inhabitants of Dan and the neighbourhood at least, since נָלָאָה is the standing expression for this. Most of the commentators suppose the allusion to be to the Assyrian captivity, or primarily to the carrying away by Tiglath-Pileser of the northern tribes of Israel, viz. the population of Gilead, Galilee, and the tribe of Naphtali, in the midst of which Laish-Dan was situated (2 Kings xv. 29). But the statement in ver. 31, "*And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh,*" is by no means reconcilable with such a conclusion. We find the house of God, *i.e.* the Mosaic tabernacle, which the congregation had erected at Shiloh in the days of Joshua (Josh. xviii. 1), still standing there in the time of Eli and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 3 sqq., iii. 21, iv. 3); but in the time of Saul it was at Nob (1 Sam. xxi.), and during the reign of David at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29). Consequently "the house of God" only stood in Shiloh till the reign of Saul, and was never taken there again. If therefore Micah's image, which the Danites set up in Dan, remained there as long as the house of God was at Shiloh, Jonathan's sons can only have been there till Saul's time at the longest, and certainly cannot have been priests at this sanctuary in Dan till the time of the Assyrian captivity.¹ There are also other historical facts to be considered, which render the continuance of this Danite image-worship until the Assyrian captivity extremely improbable, or rather preclude it altogether. Even if we should not lay any stress upon the fact that the Israelites under Samuel put away the Baalim and Astartes in consequence of his appeal to them to turn to the Lord (1 Sam. vii. 4), it is hardly credible that in the time of David the image-worship should have continued at Dan by the side of the lawful worship of Jehovah which he restored and organized, and should not have been observed and suppressed by this king, who carried on repeated wars in the northern part of his kingdom. Still more incredible would the continuance of this image-worship appear after the erection of Solomon's temple, when all the men of Israel, and all the elders and heads of tribes, came to Jerusalem, at the summons of Solomon, to celebrate the consecration of this splendid national sanctuary (1 Kings v.-vii.). Lastly, the supposition that the image-worship established by the Danites

¹ The impossibility of reconciling the statement as to time in ver. 31 with the idea that "the captivity of the land" refers to the Assyrian captivity, is admitted even by *Bleek* (Einl. p. 349), who adopts *Houbigant's* conjecture, viz. נָלָאָה הָאָרֶץ, "the carrying away of the ark."

at Dan still continued to exist, is thoroughly irreconcilable with the fact, that when Jeroboam established the kingdom of the ten tribes he had two golden calves made as images of Jehovah for the subjects of his kingdom, and set up one of them at Dan, and appointed priests out of the whole nation who were not of the sons of Levi. If an image-worship of Jehovah had been still in existence in Dan, and conducted by Levitical priests, Jeroboam would certainly not have established a second worship of the same kind under priests who were not Levitical. All these difficulties preclude our explaining the expression, "the day of the captivity of the land," as referring to either the Assyrian or Babylonian captivity. It can only refer to some event which took place in the last years of Samuel, or the first part of the reign of Saul. *David Kimchi* and many others have interpreted the expression as relating to the carrying away of the ark by the Philistines, for which the words *גָּלָה כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל* are used in 1 Sam. iv. 21, 22 (e.g. *Hengstenberg*, Beitr. vol. ii. pp. 153 sqq.; *Hävernick*, Einl. ii. 1, p. 109; *O. v. Gerlach*, and others). With the carrying away of the ark of the covenant, the tabernacle lost its significance as a sanctuary of Jehovah. We learn from Ps. lxxviii. 59-64 how the godly in Israel regarded that event. They not only looked upon it as a casting away of the dwelling-place of God at Shiloh; but in the fact that Jehovah gave up His might and glory (i.e. the ark) into captivity, they discerned a surrender of the nation into the full power of its foes which resembled a carrying away into captivity. For, apart altogether from the description in Ps. lxxviii. 62-64, we may infer with certainty from the account of the tyranny which these foes still exercised over the Israelites in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 19-23), that, after this victory, the Philistines may have completely subjugated the Israelites, and treated them as their prisoners. We may therefore affirm with *Hengstenberg*, that "the author looked upon the whole land as carried away into captivity in its sanctuary, which formed as it were its kernel and essence." If, however, this figurative explanation of *גָּלָה הָאָרֶץ* should not be accepted, there is no valid objection to our concluding that the words refer to some event with which we have no further acquaintance, in which the city of Dan was conquered by the neighbouring Syrians, and the inhabitants carried away into captivity. For it is evident enough from the fact of the kings of *Zoba* being mentioned, in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, among the different enemies of Israel against whom Saul carried on war, that the Syrians also invaded Israel in

the time of the Philistine supremacy, and carried Israelites away out of the conquered towns and districts. The Danite image-worship, however, was probably suppressed and abolished when Samuel purified the land and people from idolatry, after the ark had been brought back by the Philistines (1 Sam. ii. sqq.).

WAR OF THE CONGREGATION WITH THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN ON
ACCOUNT OF THE CRIME AT GIBEAH.—CHAP. XIX. XX.

This account belongs to the times immediately following the death of Joshua, as we may see from the fact that Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the contemporary of Joshua, was high priest at that time (chap. xx. 28). In chap. xix. we have an account of the infamous crime committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah, which occasioned the war; in chap. xx. the war itself; and in chap. xxi. an account of what was afterwards done by the congregation to preserve the tribe of Benjamin, which was almost annihilated by the war.

Chap. xix. INFAMOUS CRIME OF THE INHABITANTS OF GIBEAH.—Vers. 1–14. At the time when there was no king in Israel, a Levite, who sojourned (*i.e.* lived outside a Levitical town) in the more remote parts of the mountains of Ephraim, took to himself a concubine out of Bethlehem in Judah, who proved unfaithful to him, and then returned to her father's house. יִרְכָתִי הַרְאֲפָרִים, the hinder or outermost parts of the mountains of Ephraim, are the northern extremity of these mountains; according to ver. 18, probably the neighbourhood of Shiloh. תָּנֻחַ עָלָיו, “*she played the harlot out beyond him,*” *i.e.* was unfaithful to her husband, “*and then went away from him,*” back to her father's house.—Vers. 3, 4. Some time afterwards, namely at the end of four months (אַרְבַּעָה חֳדָשִׁים is in apposition to יָמִים, and defines more precisely the יָמִים, or days), her husband went after her, “*to speak to her to the heart,*” *i.e.* to talk to her in a friendly manner (see Gen. xxxiv. 3), and to reconcile her to himself again, so that she might return; taking with him his attendant and a couple of asses, for himself and his wife to ride upon. The suffix attached to לְהָשִׁיבוּ refers to לִבָּהּ, “*to bring back her heart,*” to turn her to himself again. The *Keri* הֵשִׁיבָהּ is a needless conjecture. “*And she brought him into her father's house, and her father received his son-in-law with joy, and constrained him (יִחְזָקֵבּוּ, lit. held him fast) to remain there three*

days." It is evident from this that the Levite had succeeded in reconciling his wife.—Vers. 5 sqq. Also on the fourth day, when he was about to depart in the morning, the Levite yielded to the persuasion of his father-in-law, that he would first of all strengthen his heart again with a bit of bread (כֶּעָד לֶב as in Gen. xviii. 5; the imperative form with δ is unusual); and then afterwards, whilst they were eating and drinking, he consented to stay another night.—Ver. 7. When he rose up to go, his father-in-law pressed him; then he turned back (וַיָּשָׁב is quite in place, and is not to be altered into וַיֵּשֶׁב, according to the LXX. and one Heb. Cod.), and remained there for the night.—Ver. 8. And even in the morning of the fifth day he suffered himself to be induced to remain till the afternoon. הִתְמַהֲמַהּ is an imperative, "Tarry till the day turns," i.e. till mid-day is past.—Vers. 9, 10. When at length he rose up, with his concubine and his attendant, to go away, the father entreated his daughter once more: "*Behold the day has slackened to become evening, spend the night here! Behold the declining of the day, spend the night here,*" etc. הִנּוּת inf. of הִנָּה, to bend, incline. The interchange of the plural and singular may be explained from the simple fact that the Levite was about to depart with his wife and attendant, but that their remaining or departing depended upon the decision of the man alone. But the Levite did not consent to remain any longer, but set out upon the road, and came with his companions to before Jebus, i.e. Jerusalem, which is only two hours from Bethlehem (compare *Rob. Pal.* ii. 375 with 379). עֶרְנֹכָה, to before Jebus, for the road from Bethlehem to Shiloh went past Jerusalem.—Vers. 11 sqq. But as the day had gone far down when they were by Jebus (יָר, third *pers. perf.*, either of יָרַר with י dropped like תָּתַה in 2 Sam. xxii. 41 for תָּתַתָּה, or from יָרַר in the sense of יָרַד), the attendant said to his master, "*Come, let us turn aside into this Jebusite city, and pass the night in it.*" But his master was unwilling to enter a city of the foreigners (נִכְרִי is a genitive), where there were none of the sons of Israel, and would pass over to Gibeah. "*Come (לָךְ = לָכָה, Num. xxiii. 13), we will draw near to one of the places (which he immediately names), and pass the night in Gibeah or Ramah.*" These two towns, the present *Jeba* and *er Râm*, were not a full hour's journey apart, and stood opposite to one another, only about two and a half or three hours from Jerusalem (see at Josh. xviii. 25, 28).—Ver. 14. Then they went forward, and the sun went down upon them as they were near (at) Gibeah of Benjamin.

Vers. 15–30. And they turned aside thither to pass the night in Gibeah; and he (the Levite) remained in the market-place of the town, as no one received them into his house to pass the night.—Vers. 16 sqq. Behold, there came an old man from the field, who was of the mountains of Ephraim, and dwelt as a stranger in Gibeah, the inhabitants of which were Benjaminites (as is observed here, as a preliminary introduction to the account which follows). When he saw the traveller in the market-place of the town, he asked him whither he was going and whence he came; and when he had heard the particulars concerning his descent and his journey, he received him into his house. וַאֲנִי הֵלֵךְ וְאֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה (ver. 18), “*and I walk at the house of Jehovah, and no one receives me into his house*” (*Seb. Schm.*, etc.); not “I am going to the house of Jehovah” (*Ros., Berth.*, etc.), for הֵלֵךְ אֶת does not signify to go to a place, for which the simple accusative is used either with or without ה local. It either means “to go through a place” (*Deut. i. 19*, etc.), or “to go with a person,” or, when applied to things, “to go about with anything” (see *Job xxxi. 5*, and *Ges. Thes. p. 378*). Moreover, in this instance the Levite was not going to the house of Jehovah (*i.e.* the tabernacle), but, as he expressly told the old man, from Bethlehem to the outermost sides of the mountains of Ephraim. The words in question explain the reason why he was staying in the market-place. Because he served at the house of Jehovah, no one in Gibeah would receive him into his house,¹ although, as he adds in ver. 19, he had everything with him that was requisite for his wants. “*We have both straw and fodder for our asses, and bread and wine for me and thy maid, and for the young man with thy servants. No want of anything at all,*” so as to cause him to be burdensome to his host. By the words “thy maid” and “thy servants” he means himself and his concubine, describing himself and his wife, according to the obsequious style of the East in olden times, as servants of the man from whom he was expecting a welcome.—Ver. 20. The old man replied, “Peace to thee,” assuring him of a welcome by this style of greeting; “*only all thy wants upon me,*” *i.e.* let me provide for them. Thus the friendly host declined the offer made by his guest to provide for himself. “*Only do not pass the night in the market-place.*”—Ver. 21. He then took him into

¹ As *Seb. Schmidt* correctly observes, “the argument is taken from the indignity shown him: the Lord thinks me worthy to minister to Him, as a Levite, in His house, and there is not one of the people of the Lord who thinks me worthy to receive his hospitality.”

his house, mixed fodder for his asses (יָבֹל from בָּלַל, a *denom.* verb from בָּלַל, to make a mixture, to give fodder to the beasts), and waited upon his guest with washing of feet, food, and drink (see Gen. xviii. 4 sqq., xix. 2).—Ver. 22. Whilst they were enjoying themselves, some worthless men of the city surrounded the house, knocking continuously at the door (הִתְדַפֵּק, a form indicative of gradual increase), and demanding of the master of the house that he would bring out the man who had entered his house, that they might know him,—the very same demand that the Sodomites had made of Lot (Gen. xix. 6 sqq.). The construct state אֲנָשֵׁי בְנֵי-בִלְעֵל is used instead of אֲנָשִׁים בְּנֵי-בִלְעֵל (Deut. xiii. 14, etc.), because בְּנֵי בִלְעֵל is regarded as *one* idea: people of worthless fellows. Other cases of the same kind are given by *Ewald*, *Lehrb.* § 289, *c.*—Vers. 23 sqq. The old man sought, as Lot had done, to defend his guests from such a shameful crime by appealing to the sacred rights of hospitality, and by giving up his own virgin daughter and the concubine of his guest (see the remarks on Gen. xix. 7, 8). נִבְבָּלָה, *folly*, used to denote shameful licentiousness and whoredom, as in Gen. xxxiv. 7 and Deut. xxii. 21. עָנִי אוֹתָם, “humble them.” The masculine is used in אוֹתָם and לָהֶם as the more general gender, instead of the more definite feminine, as in Gen. xxxix. 9, Ex. i. 21, etc.—Vers. 25 sqq. But as the people would not listen to this proposal, the man (no doubt the master of the house, according to ver. 24) took his (the guest’s) concubine (of course with the consent of his guest) and led her out to them, and they abused her the whole night. It is not stated how it was that they were satisfied with this; probably because they felt too weak to enforce their demand. הִתְעַלֵּל בָּ, to exercise his power or wantonness upon a person (see Ex. x. 2).—Ver. 26. When the morning drew on (*i.e.* at the first dawn of day), the woman fell down before the door of the house in which אֲדֹנֶיהָ, “her lord,” *i.e.* her husband, was, and lay there till it was light, *i.e.* till sunrise.—Ver. 27. There her husband found her, when he opened the house-door to go his way (having given up all thought of receiving her back again from the barbarous crowd), “*lying before the house-door, and her hands upon the threshold*” (*i.e.* with outstretched arms), and giving no answer to his word, having died, that is to say, in consequence of the ill-treatment of the night. He then took the corpse upon his ass to carry it to his place, *i.e.* to his home.—Ver. 29. As soon as he arrived there, he cut up the body, according to its bones (as they cut slaughtered animals in pieces: see at Lev. i. 6), into twelve pieces, and sent

them (the corpse in its pieces) into the whole of the territory of Israel, *i.e.* to all the twelve tribes, in the hope that every one who saw it would say : No such thing has happened or been seen since the coming up of Israel out of Egypt until this day. Give ye heed to it (שִׁמּוּ לָב שִׁמּוּ) ; make up your minds and say on, *i.e.* decide how this unparalleled wickedness is to be punished. Sending the dissected pieces of the corpse to the tribes was a symbolical act, by which the crime committed upon the murdered woman was placed before the eyes of the whole nation, to summon it to punish the crime, and was naturally associated with a verbal explanation of the matter by the bearer of the pieces. See the analogous proceeding on the part of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 7), and the Scythian custom related by *Lucian* in *Toxaris*, c. 48, that whoever was unable to procure satisfaction for an injury that he had received, cut an ox in pieces and sent it round, whereupon all who were willing to help him to obtain redress took a piece, and swore that they would stand by him to the utmost of their strength. The perfects וְהָיָה — וַאֲמַר (ver. 30) are not used for the imperfects *c. vav consec.* וַיְהִי — וַיֹּאמֶר, as *Hitzig* supposes, but as simple perfects (*perfecta consec.*), expressing the result which the Levite expected from his conduct ; and we have simply to supply וַאֲמַר before וְהָיָה, which is often omitted in lively narrative or animated conversation (compare, for example, Ex. viii. 5 with Judg. vii. 2). The perfects are used by the historian instead of imperfects with a simple *vav*, which are commonly employed in clauses indicating intention, “because what he foresaw would certainly take place, floated before his mind as a thing already done” (*Rosenmüller*). The moral indignation, which the Levite expected on the part of all the tribes at such a crime as this, and their resolution to avenge it, are thereby exhibited not merely as an uncertain conjecture, but a fact that was sure to occur, and concerning which, as chap. xx. clearly shows, he had not deceived himself.

Chap. xx. WAR WITH BENJAMIN ON THE PART OF ALL THE OTHER TRIBES.—The expectation of the Levite was fulfilled. The congregation of Israel assembled at Mizpeh to pass sentence upon Gibeah, and formed the resolution that they would not rest till the crime was punished as it deserved (vers. 1–10). But when the Benjaminites refused to deliver up the offenders in Gibeah, and prepared to offer resistance, the other tribes began to make war upon Gibeah and Benjamin (vers. 11–19), but were twice defeated

by the Benjaminites with very great loss (vers. 20-28). At length, however, they succeeded by an act of stratagem in taking Gibeah and burning it to the ground, and completely routing the Benjaminites, and also in putting to death all the men and cattle that they found in the other towns of this tribe, and laying the towns in ashes, whereby the whole of the tribe of Benjamin was annihilated, with the exception of a very small remnant (vers. 29-48).

Vers. 1-11. *Decree of the Congregation concerning Gibeah.*—Vers. 1, 2. All the Israelites went out (rose up from their dwelling-places) to assemble together as a congregation like one man; all the tribes from Dan, the northern boundary of the land (*i.e.* Dan-laish, chap. xviii. 29), to Beersheba, the most southerly town of Canaan (see at Gen. xxi. 31), and the land of Gilead, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the land to the east of the Jordan, “*to Jehovah at Mizpeh*” in Benjamin, *i.e.* the present *Nebi-samwil*, in the neighbourhood of Kirjath-jearim, on the western border of the tribe of Benjamin (see at Josh. xviii. 26). It by no means follows with certainty from the expression “*to Jehovah*,” that there was a sanctuary at Mizpeh, or that the ark of the covenant was taken thither, but simply that the meeting took place in the sight of Jehovah, or that the congregation assembled together to hold a judicial court, which they held in the name of Jehovah, analogous to the expression *el-Elohim* in Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7. It was not essential to a judicial proceeding that the ark should be present. At this assembly the *pinnoth* (the corner-pillars) of the whole nation presented themselves, *i.e.* the heads and fathers as the supports of the congregation or of the state organism (*vid.* 1 Sam. xiv. 38, Isa. xix. 13), even of all the tribes of Israel, four hundred thousand men on foot, drawing the sword, *i.e.* armed foot soldiers ready for battle.—Ver. 3. “*The Benjaminites heard that the children of Israel* (the rest of the Israelites, the eleven tribes) *had come up to Mizpeh*,” but they themselves were not found there. This follows from the fact that nothing is said about the Benjaminites coming, and still more clearly from ver. 13, where it is stated that the assembled tribes sent men to the Benjaminites, after holding their deliberations and forming their resolutions, to call them to account for the crime that had been committed in the midst of them. Consequently the question with which the whole affair was opened, “*Say, how did this wicked deed take place?*” is not to be regarded as addressed to the two parties, the inhabitants of Gibeah or the Benjaminites and the Levite (*Bertheau*), but as a summons to all who were assembled to relate

what any one knew respecting the occurrence.—Vers. 4–7. Then the Levite, the husband of the murdered woman, described the whole affair. **בְּעֵלֵי הַגִּבְעָה**, the owners or citizens of Gibeah (see at chap. ix. 2). “*Me they intended to kill:*” the Levite draws this conclusion from what had happened to his wife; the men of Gibeah had not expressed any such intention in chap. xix. 22. “*All the country (lit. field) of the inheritance of Israel,*” i.e. all the land of the Israelites. **זִמָּה** is applied to the vice of lewdness, as in Lev. xviii. 17, which was to be punished with death. **הָבוּ לָכֶם וְנֹדַע**, “*give yourselves (לָכֶם is dat. comm.) word and counsel here,*” i.e. make up your minds and pass sentence (vid. 2 Sam. xvi. 20). **הֵלֶם**, here, where you are all assembled together.—Ver. 8. Then all the people rose up as one man, saying, “*We will not any of us go into his tent, neither will we any of us return to his house,*” sc. till this crime is punished. The sentence follows in ver. 9: “*This is the thing that we will do,*” i.e. this is the way in which we will treat Gibeah: “*against it by lot*” (sc. we will act). The Syriac gives the sense correctly—We will cast lots upon it; but the LXX. quite erroneously supply *ἀναβησόμεθα* (we will go up); and in accordance with this, many expositors connect the words with ver. 10 in the following sense: “We will choose one man out of every ten by lot, to supply the army with the necessary provision during the expedition.” This is quite a mistake, because in this way a subordinate point, which only comes into consideration in connection with the execution of the sentence, would be made the chief point, and the sentence itself would not be given at all. The words “*against it by lot*” contain the resolution that was formed concerning the sinful town, and have all the enigmatical brevity of judicial sentences, and are to be explained from the course laid down in the Mosaic law with regard to the Canaanites, who were to be exterminated, and their land divided by lot among the Israelites. Consequently the meaning is simply this: “Let us proceed with the lot against Gibeah,” i.e. let us deal with it as with the towns of the Canaanites, conquer it, lay it in ashes, and distribute its territory by lot. In ver. 10 a subordinate circumstance is mentioned, which was necessary to enable them to carry out the resolution that had been made. As the assembled congregation had determined to keep together for the purpose of carrying on war (ver. 8), it was absolutely necessary that resources should be provided for those who were actively engaged in the war. For this purpose they chose one man in every ten “*to fetch provision for the people,*” **לְעֹשֹׂת לְבוֹאִים**, “*that*

they might do on their coming to Gibeah of Benjamin according to all the folly which had been done in Israel," i.e. might punish the wickedness in Gibeah as it deserved.—Ver. 11. Thus the men of Israel assembled together against Gibeah, united as one man. **הַחֲבֵרִים**, *lit.* as comrades, simply serves to strengthen the expression "as one man." With this remark, which indicates briefly the carrying out of the resolution that was adopted, the account of the meeting of the congregation is brought to a close; but the actual progress of the affair is really anticipated, inasmuch as what is related in vers. 12-21 preceded the expedition in order of time.

Vers. 12-19. Before the tribes of Israel entered upon the war, they sent men to all the tribes of Benjamin, who were to demand that the culprits in Gibeah should be given up to be punished, that the evil might thus be exterminated from Israel, according to the law in Deut. xxii. 22 as compared with chap. xiii. 6 and xvii. 12. "*The tribes of Benjamin*" are the same as "the families of Benjamin:" the historian pictured to himself the different divisions of the tribe of Benjamin as warlike powers about to carry on a war with the other tribes of Israel. The word *shebet* (tribe) is used in a different way in Num. iv. 18. But the Benjaminites would not hearken to the voice of their brethren, the other tribes of Israel. The *Keri* (sons of Benjamin) is a needless alteration, since *Benjamin* may be construed with the plural as a collective term. By refusing this just demand on the part of the other tribes, the Benjaminites took the side of the culprits in Gibeah, and compelled the congregation to make war upon the whole tribe.—Vers. 14 sqq. Both sides now made their preparations. The Benjaminites assembled together at Gibeah out of their different towns, and "*were mustered 26,000 men drawing the sword, beside the inhabitants of Gibeah they were mustered, 700 picked men*" (**הַתִּפְקָרִי**), with the reduplication dropped, like the *Hothpaël* in Num. i. 47). "*Out of all this people there were 700 picked men, lamed in the right hand, all these (were) slinging with a stone (hitting) at a hair's breadth without fail.*" These statements are not quite clear. Since, according to the distinct words of ver. 16, the 700 slingers with their left hands were "out of the whole people," i.e. out of the whole number of fighting men mentioned in ver. 16, they cannot be the same as the 700 chosen men referred to in ver. 15, notwithstanding the similarity in the numbers and the expression "chosen men." The obscurity arises chiefly from the word **הַתִּפְקָרִי** in ver. 15, which is separated by the Masoretic accents from **שֶׁבַע מ'**, and connected

with the previous words: "*Beside the inhabitants of Gibeah they (the men of the towns of Benjamin) were mustered.*" On the other hand, the earlier translators took the clause as a relative one: "Beside the inhabitants of Gibeah, who were mustered 700 men." And this seems absolutely necessary, because otherwise the following words, "700 picked men," would stand without any connection; whilst we should certainly expect at least to find the *cop. vav*, if these 700 men were not inhabitants of Gibeah. But even if הַתְּפָקָרִי should be taken as a simple repetition of וַתְּפָקֶרֶי, according to the analogy of Deut. iii. 5 and 1 Kings v. 30, the statement which follows could not be understood in any other way than as referring to the number of the fighting men of Gibeah. There is something striking too in the fact that only Benjaminites "out of the cities" are mentioned, and that emphasis is laid upon this by the repetition of the expression "out of the cities" (vers. 14, 15). Some have inferred from this, that the Benjaminites as the rulers had settled in the towns, whilst the Canaanites who had been subdued settled as dependants in the villages (*Bertheau*); or that the Benjaminites had formed military brotherhoods, the members of which lived unmarried in the towns, and that this may possibly account for the abominable crime to which the inhabitants of Gibeah were addicted, and in relation to which the whole tribe took their part (*O. v. Gerlach*). But such inferences as these are extremely uncertain, as the cities may be mentioned *a potiori* for all the places inhabited by this tribe. There is another difficulty in the numbers. According to vers. 14, 15, the total number of the fighting men of Benjamin amounted to 26,000 and 700, without reckoning Gibeah. But, according to the account of the battle, 25,100 were slain (ver. 35), viz. 18,000 in the principal engagement, 5000 as a gleanings, and 2000 in the pursuit, *i.e.* 25,000 men in all (vers. 44-46), and only 600 were left, who fled into the desert to the rock Rimmon (ver. 47). According to these accounts, the whole tribe would have contained only $25,100 + 600 = 25,700$ fighting men, or $25,000 + 600 = 25,600$. Accordingly, in ver. 15, the LXX. (*Cod. Al.* etc.) and *Vulgate* give only 25,000 men; whilst the rest of the ancient versions have 26,000, in agreement with the Masoretic text. *Josephus* (*Ant.* v. 2, 10) also gives the number of fighting men in Benjamin as 25,600, of whom 600 were splendid slingers; but he has merely taken the numbers from vers. 44-47. Now, although mistakes do frequently occur in the numbers given, it is a most improbable supposition that we have a mistake of this kind (26,000

for 25,000) in the instance before us, since even the latter number would not agree with vers. 44 sqq.; and the assumption, that in vers. 35 and 44 sqq. we have an account of *all* the Benjaminites who fell, finds no support whatever in the history itself. In the verses referred to we have simply a statement of the number of Benjaminites who fell in the defeat which they sustained on the third day, whereas the victories which they gained on the first and second days could hardly have been obtained without some loss on their part; on the contrary, we may confidently assume that they would not lose less than a thousand men, though these are not mentioned in the brief account before us. The other difference between ver. 35 and vers. 44-46, viz. that 25,100 are given in the one and 25,000 in the other, may be explained on the simple assumption that we have only the full thousands mentioned in the latter, whilst the exact number is given in the former. "*Left-handed:*" see at chap. iii. 15.—Vers. 17, 18. The forces of the other tribes amounted when numbered to 400,000 men. These numbers (26,000 Benjaminites and 400,000 Israelites) will not appear too great if we consider that the whole of the congregation of Israel took part in the war, with the simple exception of Jabesh in Gilead (chap. xxi. 8), and that in the time of Moses the twelve tribes numbered more than 600,000 men of twenty years old and upwards (Num. xxvi.), so that not much more than two-thirds of the whole of the fighting men went out to the war.—Ver. 18. Before opening the campaign the Israelites went to Bethel, to inquire of God which tribe should commence the war, *i.e.* should fight at the head of the other tribes (on the fact itself, see chap. i. 1); and God appointed the tribe of Judah, as in chap. i. 2. They went to Bethel,¹ not to Shiloh, where the tabernacle was standing, because that place was too far from the seat of war. The ark of the covenant was therefore brought to Bethel, and Phinehas the high priest inquired of the Lord before it through the Urim and Thummim (vers. 27, 28). Bethel was on the northern boundary of the tribe of Benjamin, and was consecrated to this purpose before any other place by the revelations of God which had been made to the patriarch Jacob there (Gen. xxviii. and xxxv.).—Ver. 19. Thus equipped, the Israelites proceeded against Gibeah.

Vers. 20-28. As soon as the Israelites had posted themselves at Gibeah in battle array (עָרָךְ מִלְחָמָה, to put in a row, or arrange the war or conflict, *i.e.* to put themselves in battle array, 1 Sam. iv. 2,

¹ Rendered "the house of God" in the English version.—Tr.

xvii. 2, etc.), the Benjaminites came out and destroyed 22,000 men of Israel upon that day. *הִשְׁחִית אֶרֶץ*, to destroy to the earth, *i.e.* to lay dead upon the ground.—Ver. 22. Notwithstanding this terrible overthrow, the people strengthened themselves, and prepared again for battle, “at the same place” where they had made ready on the first day, “seeking out of pure vainglory to wipe out the stains and the disgrace which their previous defeat had brought upon them” (Berleb. Bible).—Ver. 23. But before renewing the conflict they went up to Bethel, wept there before Jehovah, *i.e.* before the sanctuary of the ark, where Jehovah was present in the midst of His people, enthroned between the cherubim, until the evening, and then inquired of the Lord (again through the high priest), “*Shall I again draw near to war with the children of Benjamin my brother*” (*i.e.* renew the war with him)? The answer ran thus: “*Advance against him.*”—Vers. 24, 25. But on the second day also the Benjaminites brought 18,000 of them to the ground. “The second day” is not the day following the first engagement, as if the battles had been fought upon two successive days, but the second day of actual fighting, which took place some days after the first; for the inquiry was made at Bethel as to the will of God between the two engagements.—Vers. 26 sqq. After this second terrible overthrow, “*the children of Israel*” (*i.e.* those who were engaged in the war), and “*all the people*,” *i.e.* the rest of the people, those members of the congregation who were not capable of bearing arms, old men and women, came to Bethel, to complain to the Lord of their misfortune, and secure His favour by fasting and sacrifices. The congregation now discovered, from this repeated defeat, that the Lord had withdrawn His grace, and was punishing them. Their sin, however, did not consist in the fact that they had begun the war itself,—for the law in Deut. xxii. 22, to which they themselves had referred in ver. 13, really required this,—but rather in the state of mind with which they had entered upon the war, their strong self-consciousness, and great confidence in their own might and power. They had indeed inquired of God (*Elohim*) who should open the conflict; but they had neglected to humble themselves before Jehovah the covenant God, in the consciousness not only of their own weakness and sinfulness, but also of grief at the moral corruption of their brother-tribe. It is certainly not without significance, that in ver. 18 it is stated that “*they asked God*” (*שָׁאַל אֱלֹהִים*), *i.e.* they simply desired a supreme or divine decision as to the question who should lead the van in the war; whereas, after

the first defeat, they wept before *Jehovah*, and inquired of *Jehovah* (ver. 23), the covenant God, for whose law and right they were about to contend. But even then there were still wanting the humility and penitence, without which the congregation of the Lord could not successfully carry on the conflict against the ungodly. The remark in ver. 22, "*The people felt (showed) themselves strong, and added (continued) to set in array the war,*" is thoroughly expressive of the feeling of the congregation. They resolved upon the continuance of the war, in the full consciousness of their superior power and numerical strength; and it was not till afterwards that they complained to the Lord of their misfortune, and inquired whether they should renew the conflict. The question was followed by a corresponding answer on the part of God, "*Go up against him,*" which certainly sanctioned the continuance of the war, but gave no promise as to the result, because the people, thinking that they might be certain of success, had not inquired about that at all. It was not till after the second severe defeat, when 22,000 and 18,000, the tenth part of the whole army, had fallen, that they humbled themselves before the Lord. They not only wept because of the calamity which had befallen them, but fasted the same day before the Lord,—the fasting being the manifest expression of the bending of the heart before God,—and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. The *shelamim* here are not thank-offerings, but supplicatory offerings, presented to implore the gracious assistance of God, and to commemorate the enjoyment of fellowship with the Lord, through the sacrificial meal associated with this sacrifice (as in chap. xxi. 4, 1 Sam. xiii. 9, 2 Sam. xxiv. 25).—Vers. 27, 28. Having made these preparations, they inquired of the Lord whether they should continue the war, and received this reply: "*Go up (against Benjamin); for to-morrow I will give it into thy hand*" (77, the hand of the congregation carrying on the war). To this the supplementary remark is appended, that the ark of the covenant was at Bethel in those days, and the high priest served before it. The expression "in those days" implies that the ark of the covenant was only temporarily at Bethel, and therefore had been brought thither from the tabernacle at Shiloh during this war.

Vers. 29-48. *The Victory on the Third Day's Engagement.*—Ver. 29. The account of this commences with the most important point, so far as their success was concerned: Israel set liers in wait (troops in ambush) round about Gibeah.—Ver. 30. They then advanced

as on the former occasions.—Vers. 31, 32. The Benjaminites came out again to meet the people (of Israel), and were drawn away from the town (the perfect הִתְנַחֲמוּ without ו is subordinate to the preceding verb, and defines more precisely the advance itself, whilst the mode in which they were drawn away from the town is not described more fully till vers. 32, 33), and began to smite the beaten of the people (who pretended to fly) as formerly upon the roads (where two roads part), of which one led up to Bethel and the other to Gibeah, into the field (Gibeah is the town at which the battle took place, that is to say, somewhere in the neighbourhood, so that a road might easily run from the field of battle towards the town into the field), “*about (sc. putting to death) thirty men of Israel.*” This statement introduces the more precise definition of the הַלְלִים .—Ver. 32. Then the Benjaminites supposed that Israel was beaten by them as before; but the Israelites said: We will flee, and draw it (the tribe of Benjamin) away from the town to the roads (the high-roads mentioned in ver. 31). On the *Dagesh dirimens* in בְּתַחְנוּנָהּ , see *Ewald*, § 92, c.—Ver. 33. Carrying out this plan, “all the men of Israel rose up from their place,” *i.e.* left the place they had occupied, drew back, “and set themselves in battle array” in *Baal-thamar*, *i.e.* palm-place, which still existed, according to the *Onom.*, in the time of *Eusebius*, as a small place in the neighbourhood of Gibeah, bearing the name of *Bethamar*. While this was going on, the ambush of Israel broke forth from its position “from the plains of Geba.” The $\alpha\pi. \lambda\epsilon\gamma.$ מַעְרָה , from עָרָה to strip, denotes a naked region destitute of wood. גִּבְעָה is the masculine form for גִּבְעָה , and מַעְרַת־גִּבְעָה a more precise definition of מִמְקוֹמָהּ . This rendering, which is the one given in the Targum, certainly appears the simplest explanation of a word that has been rendered in very different ways, and which the LXX. left untranslated as a proper name, *Μαραυαβέ*. The objection raised to this, *viz.* that a naked level country was not a place for an ambush, has no force, as there is no necessity to understand the words as signifying that the treeless country formed the actual hiding-place of the ambush; but the simple meaning is, that when the men broke from their hiding-place, they came from the treeless land towards the town. The rendering given by *Rushi*, *Trem.*, and others, “on account of the stripping of Gibeah,” is much less suitable, since, apart from the difficulty of taking בְּ in different senses so close together, we should at least expect to find הָעִיר (the city) instead of גִּבְעָה .—Ver. 34. Through the advance of the ambush there came 10,000 picked men of all

Israel "from opposite to Gibeah" (who now attacked in the rear the Benjaminites who were pursuing the flying army of Israel); "*and the contest became severe, since they (the Benjaminites) did not know that the calamity was coming upon them.*"—Ver. 35. And Jehovah smote Benjamin before Israel (according to His promise in ver. 28), so that the Israelites destroyed of Benjamin on that day twenty and five thousand and an hundred men (*i.e.* twenty-five thousand and upwards).

This was the result of the battle, which the historian gives at once, before entering more minutely into the actual account of the battle itself. He does this in vers. 36-46 in a series of explanations, of which one is attached to the other, for the most part in the form of circumstantial clauses, so that it is not till ver. 46 that he again comes to the result already announced in ver. 35.¹—Ver. 36. The Benjaminites, for instance, saw (this is the proper rendering of *וַיִּרְאוּ* with *vav consec.*, which merely indicates the order of thought, not that of time) that they were beaten, and the men of Israel vacated the field before Benjamin (*נָתַן מָקוֹם*, to give place by falling back and flying), because they relied upon the ambush which they had placed against Gibeah. The Benjaminites did not perceive this till the ambush fell upon their rear. But the ambush itself, as is added in ver. 37 by way of further explanation, hastened and fell (fell as quickly as possible) into Gibeah, and went thither and smote the whole town with the edge of the sword. To this there is added the further explanation in ver. 38: "*And the arrangement of the Israelites with the ambush was this: multiply, to cause smoke-rising to ascend (i.e. cause a great cloud of smoke to ascend) out of the city.*" The only objection that can be raised to this view of *הָרַב*, as the imperative *Hiphil* of *רָבָה*, is the suffix *ם* attached to *לְהַעֲלֹתָם*, since this is unsuitable to a direct address. This suffix can only be explained by supposing that there is an admixture of two constructions, the direct appeal, and the indirect explanation, that they were to cause to ascend. If this be not admitted, however, we can only follow *Studer*, and erase the suffix as an error of the pen occasioned by the following word *מִצֵּאת*; for the other course sug-

¹ The opinions expressed by *De Wette*, etc., that ver. 35 is spurious, and by *Bertheau*, that vers. 36-46 contain a different account of the battle, simply prove that they have overlooked this peculiarity in the Hebrew mode of writing history, viz. that the general result of any occurrence is given as early as possible, and then the details follow afterwards; whilst these critics have not succeeded in adducing even apparent differences in support of their opinions.

gested by *Bertheau*, namely that הָרֵב should be struck out as a gloss, is precluded by the circumstance that there is no possible way of explaining the interpolation of so apparently unsuitable a word into the text. It certainly stood in the text used by the LXX., though they have most foolishly confounded הָרֵב with הָרֵב, and rendered it μάχαipa.—Ver. 39. “*And the men of Israel turned in the battle:*” that is to say, as is afterwards more fully explained in vers. 39, 40, in the form of a long new circumstantial clause, whilst Benjamin had begun to smite, etc. (repeated from vers. 31, 32), and the cloud (מִשְׁאַת הָעֶשֶׂן = הַמִּשְׁאַת, ver. 38) had begun to ascend out of the city as a pillar of smoke, and Benjamin turned back, and behold the whole city ascended towards heaven (in smoke), Israel turned (fighting) and Benjamin was terrified, for it saw that misfortune had come upon it (see ver. 34). In ver. 41a, the thread of the narrative, which was interrupted by the long circumstantial clause, is again resumed by the repetition of “*and the men of Israel turned.*”—Ver. 42. The Benjaminites “*now turned (flying) before the Israelites to the way of the desert,*” i.e. no doubt the desert which rises from Jericho to the mountains of Bethel (Josh. xvi. 1). They fled therefore towards the north-east; but the battle had overtaken (reached or seized) them, and those out of the towns (had perished). The difficult expression וַיֵּאָשֶׁר מִהָעָרִים, of which very different, and for the most part arbitrary, explanations have been given, can only be in apposition to the suffix attached to the verb: “Benjamin, and in fact those who had come to the help of Gibeah out of the towns of Benjamin” (see vers. 14, 15), i.e. all the Benjaminites. The following words, מִשְׁחִיתֵיהֶם וְגו', are a circumstantial clause explanatory of the previous clause, וְהַמְלִיחָה הָרֵב: “*since they (the men of Israel) destroyed him (Benjamin) in the midst of it.*” The singular suffix בְּתוֹכֹו does not refer to Benjamin, as this would yield no sense at all, but to the preceding words, “the way of the desert” (see ver. 45).—In ver. 43 the account is continued by three perfects attached to one another without a copula: “*they enclosed (hedged round) Benjamin, pursued him; at the place of rest they trod him down to before Gibeah eastwards.*” מְנוּחָה is not used adverbially in the sense of “quietly,” which would not give any fitting meaning, but is an *accus. loci*, and signifies place of rest, as in Num. x. 33. The notice “to before Gibeah” refers to all three verbs.—Ver. 44. In this battle there fell of Benjamin 18,000 men, all brave men. The אֶת before בְּלֹאֵה is not a preposition, “with” (as the LXX., *Cod. Al.*, and *Bertheau* render it), but a sign of the accusative. It serves to show that the

thought which follows is governed by the principal clause, "*so far as all these were concerned, they were brave men.*"—Ver. 45. The remainder fled to the desert, to the rock (of the place) *Rimmon*, which is described in the *Onom.* (s. v. *Remmon*) as a *vicus* fifteen Roman miles to the north of Jerusalem. It has been preserved in the village of *Rummôn*, which stands upon and around the summit of a conical limestone mountain, and is visible in all directions (*Rob. Pal.* ii. p. 113). "*And they (the Israelites) smote as a gleaning upon the roads 5000 men.*" עָלָה, to have a gleaning of the battle, *i.e.* to smite or slay, as it were, as a gleaning of the principal battle (*vid. Jer.* vi. 9). *Mesilloth* are the high-roads mentioned in ver. 31. "*And pursued them to Gideom, and smote of them 2000 more.*" The situation of Gideom, which is only met with here, is not precisely known; but it must have been somewhere between Gibeah and Rimmon, as the rock Rimmon, according to ver. 47, afforded a safe place of refuge to the fugitives.—Ver. 46. On the total number of the slain, see the remarks on ver. 15.—In ver. 47 the statement already made in ver. 45 with regard to the flight is resumed; and it is still further related, that 500 men reached the rock Rimmon, and dwelt there four months, *i.e.* till the occurrence described in chap. xxi. 13 sqq.—Ver. 48. The Israelites turned (from any further pursuit of the fugitive warriors of Benjamin) to the children of Benjamin, *i.e.* to such of the people of the tribe of Benjamin as were unarmed and defenceless, and smote them with the edge of the sword, "*from the town (or towns) onwards, men to cattle (i.e. men, women, children, and cattle), to every one who was found;*" *i.e.* they cut down men and cattle without quarter, from the towns onwards even to those who were found elsewhere. עַר כָּל-הַנִּמְצָא (to all that was found) corresponds to מֵעִיר (from the city), and מָתָם (men to beast) serves as a more precise definition of the עִיר (city): everything that was in the city, man and beast. מָתָם is pointed wrongly for מָתָם, *men*, the reading in several mss. and most of the early editions (see *Deut.* ii. 34, iii. 6). They also set fire to all the towns that were met with, *i.e.* all without exception. Thus they did the same to the Benjaminites as to the Canaanites who were put under the ban, carrying out the ban with the strictest severity.

PRESERVATION OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN—THE REMNANT
PROVIDED WITH WIVES.—CHAP. XXI.

Through the extraordinary severity with which the tribes of Israel had carried on the war against Benjamin, this tribe had been reduced to 600 men, and thus brought very near to extermination. Such a conclusion to the sanguinary conflict went to the heart of the congregation. For although, when forming the resolution to punish the unparalleled wickedness of the inhabitants of Gibeah with all the severity of the law, they had been urged on by nothing else than the sacred duty that was binding upon them to root out the evil from their midst, and although the war against the whole tribe of Benjamin was justified by the fact that they had taken the side of the culprits, and had even received the approval of the Lord; there is no doubt that in the performance of this resolution, and the war that was actually carried on, feelings of personal revenge had disturbed the righteous cause in consequence of the defeat which they had twice sustained at the hands of the Benjaminites, and had carried away the warriors into a war of extermination which was neither commanded by the law nor justified by the circumstances, and had brought about the destruction of a whole tribe from the twelve tribes of the covenant nation with the exception of a small vanishing remnant. When the rash deed was done, the congregation began most bitterly to repent. And with repentance there was awakened the feeling of brotherly love, and also a sense of duty to provide for the continuance of the tribe, which had been brought so near to destruction, by finding wives for those who remained, in order that the small remnant might grow into a vigorous tribe again.

Vers. 1-14. The proposal to find wives for the six hundred Benjaminites who remained was exposed to this difficulty, that the congregation had sworn at Mizpeh (as is supplemented in ver. 1 to the account in chap. xx. 1-9) that no one should give his daughter to a Benjaminite as a wife.—Vers. 2, 3. After the termination of the war, the people, *i.e.* the people who had assembled together for the war (see ver. 9), went again to Bethel (see at chap. xx. 18, 26), to weep there for a day before God at the serious loss which the war had brought upon the congregation. Then they uttered this lamentation: "*Why, O Lord God of Israel, is this come to pass in Israel, that a tribe is missing to-day from Israel?*" This lamentation involved the wish that God might show them the way to avert the

threatened destruction of the missing tribe, and build up the six hundred who remained. To give a practical expression to this wish, they built an altar the next morning, and offered burnt-offerings and supplicatory offerings upon it (see at chap. xx. 26), knowing as they did that their proposal would not succeed without reconciliation to the Lord, and a return to the fellowship of His grace. There is something apparently strange in the erection of an altar at Bethel, since sacrifices had already been offered there during the war itself (chap. xx. 26), and this could not have taken place without an altar. Why it was erected again, or another one built, is a question which cannot be answered with any certainty. It is possible, however, that the first was not large enough for the number of sacrifices that had to be offered now.—Ver. 5. The congregation then resolved upon a plan, through the execution of which a number of virgins were secured for the Benjaminites. They determined that they would carry out the great oath, which had been uttered when the national assembly was called against such as did not appear, upon that one of the tribes of Israel which had not come to the meeting of the congregation at Mizpeh. The deliberations upon this point were opened (ver. 5) with the question, *“Who is he who did not come up to the meeting of all the tribes of Israel, to Jehovah?”* In explanation of this question, it is observed at ver. 5, *“For the great oath was uttered upon him that came not up to Jehovah to Mizpeh: he shall be put to death.”* We learn from this supplementary remark, that when important meetings of the congregation were called, all the members were bound by an oath to appear. The meeting at Mizpeh is the one mentioned in chap. xx. 1 sqq. The “great oath” consisted in the threat of death in the case of any that were disobedient. To this explanation of the question in ver. 5a, the further explanation is added in vers. 6, 7, that the Israelites felt compassion for Benjamin, and wished to avert its entire destruction by procuring wives for such as remained. The word יִרְחֲמֻ in ver. 6 is attached to the explanatory clause in ver. 5b, and is to be rendered as a pluperfect: *“And the children of Israel had shown themselves compassionate towards their brother Benjamin, and said, A tribe is cut off from Israel to-day; what shall we do to them, to those that remain with regard to wives, as we have sworn?”* etc. (compare ver. 1). The two thoughts—(1) the oath that those who had not come to Mizpeh should be punished with death (ver. 5b), and (2) anxiety for the preservation of this tribe which sprang from compassion towards Benjamin, and was shown in their endeavour to

provide such as remained with wives, without violating the oath that none of them would give them their own daughters as wives—formed the two factors which determined the course to be adopted by the congregation. After the statement of these two circumstances, the question of ver. 5a, “*Who is the one (only one) of the tribes of Israel which,*” etc., is resumed and answered: “*Behold, there came no one into the camp from Jabesh in Gilead, into the assembly.*” שְׁבִטִי is used in vers. 8, 5, in a more general sense, as denoting not merely the tribes as such, but the several subdivisions of the tribes.—Ver. 9. In order, however, to confirm the correctness of this answer, which might possibly have been founded upon a superficial and erroneous observation, the whole of the (assembled) people were mustered, and not one of the inhabitants of Jabesh was found there (in the national assembly at Bethel). The situation of *Jabesh* in Gilead has not yet been ascertained. This town was closely besieged by the Ammonite *Nahash*, and was relieved by Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1 sqq.), on which account the inhabitants afterwards showed themselves grateful to Saul (1 Sam. xxxi. 8 sqq.). *Josephus* calls *Jabesh* the metropolis of Gilead (Ant. vi. 5, 1). According to the *Onom.* (s. v. *Jabis*), it was six Roman miles from Pella, upon the top of a mountain towards Gerasa. *Robinson* (Bibl. Res. p. 320) supposes it to be the ruins of *ed Deir* in the Wady *Jabes*.—Vers. 10 sqq. To punish this unlawful conduct, the congregation sent 12,000 brave fighting men against Jabesh, with orders to smite the inhabitants of the town with the edge of the sword, together with their wives and children, but also with the more precise instructions (ver. 11), “to ban all the men, and women who had known the lying with man” (i.e. to slay them as exposed to death, which implied, on the other hand, that virgins who had not lain with any man should be spared). The fighting men found 400 such virgins in Jabesh, and brought them to the camp at Shiloh in the land of Canaan. אִוְרֹת (ver. 12) refers to the virgins, the masculine being used as the more common genus in the place of the feminine. *Shiloh*, with the additional clause “in the land of Canaan,” which was occasioned by the antithesis *Jabesh in Gilead*, as in Josh. xxi. 2, xxii. 9, was the usual meeting-place of the congregation, on account of its being the seat of the tabernacle. The representatives of the congregation had moved thither, after the deliberations concerning Jabesh, which were still connected with the war against Benjamin, were concluded.—Ver. 13. The congregation then sent to call the Benjaminites, who had taken refuge

upon the rock Rimmon, and gave them as wives, when they returned (*sc.* into their own possessions), the 400 virgins of Jabesh who had been preserved alive. "*But so they sufficed them not*" (יָד, so, *i.e.*, in their existing number, 400: *Bertheau*). In this remark there is an allusion to what follows.

Vers. 15-25. Of the six hundred Benjaminites who had escaped, there still remained two hundred to be provided with wives. To these the congregation gave permission to take wives by force at a festival at Shiloh. The account of this is once more introduced, with a description of the anxiety felt by the congregation for the continuance of the tribe of Benjamin. Vers. 15, 16, and 18 are only a repetition of vers. 6 and 7, with a slight change of expression. The "*breach (perez) in the tribes of Israel*" had arisen from the almost complete extermination of Benjamin. "*For out of Benjamin is (every) woman destroyed,*" viz. by the ruthless slaughter of the whole of the people of that tribe (chap. xx. 48). Consequently the Benjaminites who were still unmarried could not find any wives in their own tribe. The fact that four hundred of the Benjaminites who remained were already provided with wives is not noticed here, because it has been stated just before, and of course none of them could give up their own wives to others.—Ver. 17. Still Benjamin must be preserved as a tribe. The elders therefore said, "*Possession of the saved shall be for Benjamin,*" *i.e.* the tribe-land of Benjamin shall remain an independent possession for the Benjaminites who have escaped the massacre, so that a tribe may not be destroyed out of Israel. It was necessary, therefore, that they should take steps to help the remaining Benjaminites to wives. The other tribes could not give them their daughters, on account of the oath which has already been mentioned in vers. 1 and 7*b* and is repeated here (ver. 18). Consequently there was hardly any other course open, than to let the Benjaminites seize upon wives for themselves. And the elders lent them a helping hand by offering them this advice, that at the next yearly festival at Shiloh, at which the daughters of Shiloh carried on dances in the open air (outside the town), they should seize upon wives for themselves from among these daughters, and promising them that when the thing was accomplished they would adjust it peaceably (vers. 19-22). The "*feast of Jehovah,*" which the Israelites kept from year to year, was one of the three great annual festivals, probably one which lasted seven days, either the passover or the feast of tabernacles,—most likely the former, as the dances of the

daughters of Shiloh were apparently an imitation of the dances of the Israelitish women at the Red Sea under the superintendence of Miriam (Ex. xv. 20). The minute description of the situation of Shiloh (ver. 19), viz. "to the north of Bethel, on the east of the road which rises from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of *Lebonah*" (the present village of *Lubban*, on the north-west of Seilun: see *Rob.* Pal. iii. p. 89), serves to throw light upon the scene which follows, *i.e.* to show how the situation of Shiloh was peculiarly fitted for the carrying out of the advice given to the Benjaminites; since, as soon as they had issued from their hiding-places in the vineyards at Shiloh, and seized upon the dancing virgins, they could easily escape into their own land by the neighbouring high-road which led from Bethel to Shechem, without being arrested by the citizens of Shiloh.—Ver. 20. The *Kethibh* יָנִי in the singular may be explained on the ground that one of the elders spoke and gave the advice in the name of the others. הָטָה in ver. 21 and Ps. x. 9, to seize hold of, or carry off as prey = הָתָה.—Ver. 22. "*And when the fathers or brethren of the virgins carried off, come to us to chide with us, we (the elders) will say to them (in your name), Present them to us* (פָּרְסֵם as in ver. 12); *for we did not receive every one his wife through the war (with Jabesh); for ye have not given them to them; now would ye be guilty.*" The words "Present them to us," etc., are to be understood as spoken in the name of the Benjaminites, who were accused of the raid, to the relatives of the virgins who brought the complaint. This explains the use of the pronoun in the first person in וְנִנְיָ and וְנִקְחָנִי, which must not be altered therefore into the third person.¹ The two clauses commencing with פֶּ? are co-ordinate, and contain two points serving to enforce the request, "Present them," etc. The first is pleaded in the name of the Benjaminites; the second is adduced, as a general ground on the part of the elders of the congregation, to pacify the fathers and brothers making the complaint, on account of the oath which the Israelites had taken, that none of them would give their daughters as wives to the Benjaminites. The meaning

¹ One circumstance which is decisive against this alteration of the text is, that the Seventy had the Masoretic text before them, and founded their translation upon it (ἐλεήσατε ἡμῖν αὐτάς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάβομεν ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ). The different rendering of Jerome given in the *Vulgate*—*miseremini eorum! non enim rapuerunt eas jure bellantium atque victorum*—is nothing but an unfortunate and unsuccessful attempt to get rid of the difficulties connected with the readings in the text.

is the following: Ye may have your daughters with the Benjaminites who have taken them by force, for ye have not given them voluntarily, so as to have broken your oath by so doing. In the last clause *בְּעֵת* has an unusual meaning: "at the time" (or *now*), *i.e.* in that case, ye would have been guilty, viz. if ye had given them voluntarily. — Ver. 23. The Benjaminites adopted this advice. They took to themselves wives according to their number, *i.e.* two hundred (according to ver. 12, compared with chap. xx. 47), whom they caught from the dancing daughters of Shiloh, and returned with them into their inheritance, where they rebuilt the towns that had been reduced to ashes, and dwelt therein.

In vers. 24 and 25, the account of this event is brought to a close with a twofold remark: (1) that the children of Israel, *i.e.* the representatives of the congregation who were assembled at Shiloh, separated and returned every man into his inheritance to his tribe and family; (2) that at that time there was no king in Israel, and every man was accustomed to do what was right in his own eyes. Whether the fathers or brothers of the virgins who had been carried off brought any complaint before the congregation concerning the raid that had been committed, the writer does not state, simply because this was of no moment so far as the history was concerned, inasmuch as, according to ver. 22, the complaint made no difference in the facts themselves.¹ With the closing remark in ver. 25, however, with which the account returns to its commencement in chap. xix. 1, the prophetic historian sums up his judgment upon the history in the words, "At that time every man did what was right in his own eyes, because there was no king in Israel," in which the idea is implied, that under the government of a king, who administered right and justice in the kingdom, such things could not possibly have happened. This not only refers to the conduct of the Israelites towards Benjamin in the war, the severity of which was not to be justified (see p. 458), but also to their conduct towards the inhabitants of Jabesh, as described in chap. xxi. 5 sqq. The congregation had no doubt a perfect right, when all the people were summoned to deliberate upon important matters affecting

¹ "No doubt the fathers and brothers of the virgins demanded them both from the Benjaminites themselves, and also from the elders of Israel, or at any rate petitioned that the Benjaminites might be punished: but the elders replied as they had said that they should; and the persons concerned were satisfied with the answer, and so the affair was brought to a peaceable termination." — *Seb. Schmidt.*

the welfare of the whole nation, to utter the "great oath" against such as failed to appear, *i.e.* to threaten them with death and carry out this threat upon such as were obstinate; but such a punishment as this could only be justly inflicted upon persons who were really guilty, and had rebelled against the congregation as the supreme power, and could not be extended to women and children unless they had also committed a crime deserving of death. But even if there were peculiar circumstances in the case before us, which have been passed over by our author, who restricts himself simply to points bearing upon the main purpose of the history, but which rendered it necessary that the ban should be inflicted upon all the inhabitants of Jabesh, it was at any rate an arbitrary exemption to spare all the marriageable virgins, and one which could not be justified by the object contemplated, however laudable that object might be. This also applies to the oath taken by the people, that they would not give any of their daughters as wives to the Benjaminites, as well as to the advice given by the elders to the remaining two hundred, to carry off virgins from the festival at Shiloh. However just and laudable the moral indignation may have been, which was expressed in that oath by the nation generally at the scandalous crime of the Gibeites, a crime unparalleled in Israel, and at the favour shown to the culprits by the tribe of Benjamin, the oath itself was an act of rashness, in which there was not only an utter denial of brotherly love, but the bounds of justice were broken through. When the elders of the nation came to a better state of mind, they ought to have acknowledged their rashness openly, and freed themselves and the nation from an oath that had been taken in such sinful haste. "Wherefore they would have acted far more uprightly, if they had seriously confessed their fault and asked forgiveness of God, and given permission to the Benjaminites to marry freely. In this way there would have been no necessity to cut off the inhabitants of Jabesh from their midst by cruelty of another kind" (*Buddens*). But if they felt themselves bound in their consciences to keep the oath inviolably, they ought to have commended the matter to the Lord in prayer, and left it to His decision; whereas, by the advice given to the Benjaminites, they had indeed kept the oath in the letter, but had treated it in deed and truth as having no validity whatever.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.¹

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, CHARACTER, AND ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.



THE book of *Ruth* (*Ρούθ*) introduces us to the family life of the ancestors of king David, and informs us, in a simple and attractive form of historical narrative, and one in harmony with the tender and affectionate contents, how *Ruth* the Moabitess, a daughter-in-law of the Bethlehemite Elimelech, of the family of Judah, who had emigrated with his wife and his two sons into the land of Moab on account of a famine, left father and mother, fatherland and kindred, after the death of her husband, and out of childlike affection to her Israelitish mother-in-law Naomi, whose husband had also died in the land of Moab, and went with her to Judah, to take refuge under the wings of the God of Israel (chap. i.); and how, when there, as she was going in her poverty to glean some ears of corn in the field of a wealthy man, she came apparently by accident to the field of Boaz, a near relation of Elimelech, and became acquainted with this honourable and benevolent man (chap. ii.); how she then sought marriage with him by the wish of her mother-in-law (chap. iii.), and was taken by him as a wife, according to the custom of Levirate marriage, in all the ordinary legal forms, and bare a son in this marriage, named Obed. This Obed was the grandfather of David (chap. iv. 1-17), with whose genealogy the book closes (chap. iv. 18-22).

¹ The book of *Ruth* does not indeed belong to the prophetical books of history so far as its historical character is concerned, and even in the Hebrew canon it is placed among the hagiographa; but as its contents directly follow upon those of the book of Judges, it seemed advisable to place the exposition immediately after that of Judges.

In this conclusion the meaning and tendency of the whole narrative is brought clearly to light. The genealogical proof of the descent of David from Perez through Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth (chap. iv. 18-22) forms not only the end, but the starting-point, of the history contained in the book. For even if we should not attach so much importance to this genealogy as to say with *Auberlen* that "the book of Ruth contains, as it were, the inner side, the spiritually moral background of the genealogies which play so significant a part even in the Israelitish antiquity;" so much is unquestionably true, that the book contains a historical picture from the family life of the ancestors of David, intended to show how the ancestors of this great king walked uprightly before God and man in piety and singleness of heart, and in modesty and purity of life. "Ruth, the Moabitish great-great-grandmother of David, longed for the God and people of Israel with all the deepest earnestness of her nature, and joined herself to them with all the power of love; and Boaz was an upright Israelite, without guile, full of holy reverence for every ordinance of God and man, and full of benevolent love and friendliness towards the poor heathen woman. From such ancestors was the man descended in whom all the nature of Israel was to find its royal concentration and fullest expression" (*Auberlen*). But there is also a Messianic trait in the fact that Ruth, a heathen woman, of a nation so hostile to the Israelites as that of Moab was, should have been thought worthy to be made the tribe-mother of the great and pious king David, on account of her faithful love to the people of Israel, and her entire confidence in Jehovah, the God of Israel. As Judah begat Perez from Tamar the Canaanitish woman (Gen. xxxviii.), and as Rahab was adopted into the congregation of Israel (Josh. vi. 25), and according to ancient tradition was married to Salmon (Matt. i. 5), so the Moabitess Ruth was taken by Boaz as his wife, and incorporated in the family of Judah, from which Christ was to spring according to the flesh (see Matt. i. 3, 5, where these three women are distinctly mentioned by name in the genealogy of Jesus).

The incidents described in the book fall within the times of the judges (chap. i. 1), and most probably in the time of Gideon (see at chap. i. 1); and the book itself forms both a supplement to the book of Judges and an introduction to the books of Samuel, which give no account of the ancestors of David. So far as its contents are concerned it has its proper place, in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Lutheran and other versions, between the book of Judges

and those of Samuel. In the Hebrew Codex, on the contrary, it is placed among the *hagiographa*, and in the Talmud (*baba bathr.* f. 14b) it is even placed at the head of them before the Psalms; whilst in the Hebrew MSS. it stands among the five *megilloth*: *Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther*. The latter position is connected with the liturgical use of the book in the synagogue, where it was read at the feast of weeks; whilst its place among the *hagiographa* is to be explained from the principle upon which the general arrangement of the Old Testament canon was founded,—namely, that the different books were divided into three classes according to the relation in which their authors stood to God and to the theocracy, and the books themselves in their contents and spirit to the divine revelation (see *Keil, Lehrbuch der Einleitung*, § 155). The latter is therefore to be regarded as the original classification, and not the one in the Septuagint rendering, where the original arrangement has unquestionably been altered in the case of this and other books, just because this principle has been overlooked.¹

¹ Many critics of the present day, indeed, appeal to the testimony of Josephus and the earlier fathers as favouring the opposite view, viz. that the book of Ruth was originally placed at the close of the book of Judges, to which it formed an appendix. *Josephus* (c. Ap. i. 8) reckons, as is well known, only twenty-two books of the Old Testament; and the only way by which this number can be obtained is by joining together the books of Judges and Ruth, so as to form one book. Again, *Melito of Sardes*, who lived in the second century, and took a journey into Palestine for the purpose of obtaining correct information concerning the sacred writings of the Jews (πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅποια τὴν τάξιν εἶεν), places Ruth after Judges in the list which has been preserved by *Eusebius* (h. e. iv. 26), but does not give the number of the books, as *Bertheau* erroneously maintains, nor observes that “Judges and Ruth form one book under the name of *Shofetim*.” This is first done by *Origen* in his list as given by *Eusebius* (h. e. vi. 25), where he states that the Hebrews had twenty-two ἐκδιαθήκους βίβλους, and then adds in the case of Ruth, παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ Σωφειμ. Ruth occupies the same place in the lists of the later Greek fathers, as in *Rufinus* (Expos. in Symb. Apost.) and *Jerome* (in Prolog. Gal.), the latter of whom makes this remark on the book of Judges, *Et in eundem compingunt Ruth, quia in diebus Judicium facta ejus narratur historia*; and after enumerating the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, adds, *Quoniam nonnulli Ruth et Kinoth inter Hagiographa scriptitent et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos*, etc. But all these testimonies prove nothing more than that the Hellenistic Jews, who made use of the Old Testament in the Greek rendering of the LXX., regarded the book of Ruth as an appendix of the book of Judges, and not that the book of Ruth ever followed the book of Judges in the Hebrew canon, so as to form one book. The reduction of the sacred writings of the Old Testament to twenty-two is nothing more than the product of the cabbalistic and mystical numbers wrought out by the Hellenistic or Alexandrian Jews. If this numbering had been the original

The book of Ruth is not a mere (say a third) appendix to the book of Judges, but a small independent work, which does indeed resemble the two appendices of the book of Judges, so far as the incidents recorded in it fall within the period of the Judges, and are not depicted in the spirit of the prophetic view of history; but, on the other hand, it has a thoroughly distinctive character both in form and contents, and has nothing in common with the book of Judges either in style or language: on the contrary, it differs essentially both in substance and design from the substance and design of this book and of its two appendices, for the simple reason that at the close of the history (chap. iv. 17), where Obed, the son

one, the Hebrew Jews would never have increased the number to twenty-four, since the Hebrew alphabet never contained twenty-four letters. *Josephus*, however, is not a witness with regard to the orthodox opinions of the Hebrew Jews, but was an eclectic and a Hellenist, who used the Old Testament in the Septuagint version and not in the original text, and who arranged the books of the Old Testament in the most singular manner. The fathers, too, with the exception of *Jerome*, whenever they give any account of their inquiries among the Jews with regard to the number and order of the books accepted by them as canonical, never give them in either the order or number found in the Hebrew canon, but simply according to the Septuagint version, which was the only one that the Christians understood. This is obvious in the case of *Melito*, from the fact that he reckons *Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα* and *Παραλειπομένων δύο*, and places *Daniel* between the twelve minor prophets and *Ezekiel*. We find the same in *Origen*, although he gives the Hebrew names to the different books, and states in connection with the four books of Kings and the two books of *Paralipomena*, that the Hebrews named and numbered them differently. Lastly, it is true that *Jerome* arranges the writings of the Old Testament in his *Prol. Gal.* according to the three classes of the Hebrew canon; but he endeavours to bring the Hebrew mode of division and enumeration as much as possible into harmony with the Septuagint numbering and order as generally adopted in the Christian Church, and to conceal all existing differences. You may see this very clearly from his remarks as to the number of these books, and especially from the words, *Porro quinque litteræ duplices apud Hebræos sunt, Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade . . . Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices existimantur, Samuel, Melachim, Dibre Hajamin, Esdras, Jeremias cum Kinoth, i.e. Lamentationibus suis.* For the *plerique* who adopt two books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, are not Hebrew but Hellenistic Jews, as the Hebrew Jews did not divide these writings in their canon into two books each, but this mode of dividing them was first introduced into the Hebrew Bibles by *Dan. Bomberg* from the Septuagint or Vulgate. The further remark of this father, *quonquam nonnulli Ruth et Kinoth inter hagiographa scriptitent*, etc., is also to be estimated in the same way, and the word *nonnulli* to be attributed to the conciliatory efforts of *Jerome*. And lastly, his remark concerning the connection between the book of Ruth and that of Judges is not to be regarded as any evidence of the position which this book occupied in the Hebrew canon, but simply as a proof of the place assigned it by the Hellenistic Jews.

of Boaz and Ruth, is described as the grandfather of David, and still more clearly in the genealogy of Perez, which is brought down to David (chap. iv. 18-22), the book passes beyond the times of the Judges. In this simple fact the author very plainly shows that his intention was not to give a picture of the family life of pious Israelites in the time of the judges from a civil and a religious point of view, but rather to give a biographical sketch of the pious ancestors of David the king.

The *origin* of the book of Ruth is involved in obscurity. From its contents, and more especially from the object so apparent in the close of the book, it may be inferred with certainty that it was not written earlier than the time of David's rule over Israel, and indeed not before the culminating point of the reign of this great king. There would therefore be an interval of 150 to 180 years between the events themselves and the writing of the book, during which time the custom mentioned in chap. iv. 7, of taking off the shoe in acts of trade and barter, which formerly existed in Israel, may have fallen entirely into disuse, so that the author might think it necessary to explain the custom for the information of his contemporaries. We have not sufficient ground for fixing a later date, say the time of the captivity; and there is no force in the arguments that have been adduced in support of this (see my *Lehrb. der Einl.* § 137). The discovery that words and phrases such as מְרִגְלוֹת (chap. iii. 7, 8, 14), פָּרֵשׁ בְּנִפְּיִים (chap. iii. 9), מִקְרָה, chance (chap. ii. 3), either do not occur at all or only very rarely in the earlier writings, simply because the thing itself to which they refer is not mentioned, does not in the least degree prove that these words were not formed till a later age. The supposed Chaldaisms, however,—namely the forms תַּעֲבֹדִי and תִּרְבֶּקֶן (chap. ii. 8, 21), יִקְצֹרֶן (chap. ii. 9), שְׂמִתִּי, יִרְדֵּתִי, שְׂכַבְתִּי (chap. iii. 3, 4), מָרָא for מָרָה (chap. i. 20), or the use of לָלוֹן, and of the ἀπ. λεγ. עָנָן (chap. i. 13), etc.,—we only meet with in the speeches of the persons acting, and never where the author himself is narrating; and consequently they furnish no proofs of the later origin of the book, but may be simply and fully explained from the fact, that the author received these forms and words from the language used in common conversation in the time of the judges, and has faithfully recorded them. We are rather warranted in drawing the conclusion from this, that he did not derive the contents of his work from oral tradition, but made use of written documents, with regard to the origin and nature of which, however, nothing certain can be determined.

EXPOSITION.

RUTH GOES WITH NAOMI TO BETHLEHEM.—CHAP. I.

IN the time of the judges Elimelech emigrated from Bethlehem in Judah into the land of Moab, along with his wife Naomi, and his two sons Mahlon and Chilion, because of a famine in the land (vers. 1, 2). There Elimelech died; and his two sons married Moabitish women, named Orpah and Ruth. But in the course of ten years they also died, so that Naomi and her two daughters-in-law were left by themselves (vers. 3-5). When Naomi heard that the Lord had once more blessed the land of Israel with bread, she set out with Orpah and Ruth to return home. But on the way she entreated them to turn back and remain with their relations in their own land; and Orpah did so (vers. 6-14). But Ruth declared that she would not leave her mother-in-law, and went with her to Bethlehem (vers. 15-22).

Vers. 1-5. *Elimelech's Emigration* (vers. 1, 2).—By the word וַיֵּמָּח the following account is attached to other well-known events (see at Josh. i. 1); and by the definite statement, “*in the days when judges judged*,” it is assigned to the period of the judges generally. “*A famine in the land*,” i.e. in the land of Israel, and not merely in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The time of this famine cannot be determined with certainty, although it seems very natural to connect it, as *Seb. Schmidt* and others do, with the devastation of the land by the Midianites (Judg. vi.); and there are several things which favour this. For example, the famine must have been a very serious one, and not only have extended over the whole of the land of Israel, but have lasted several years, since it compelled Elimelech to emigrate into the land of the Moabites; and it was not till ten years had elapsed, that his wife Naomi, who survived him, heard that Jehovah had given His people bread again, and returned to her native land (vers. 4, 5). Now the Midianites oppressed Israel for seven years, and their invasions were generally attended by a destruction of the produce of the soil (Judg. vi. 3, 4), from which famine must necessarily have ensued. Moreover, they extended their devastations as far as Gaza (Judg. vi. 4). And although it by no means follows with certainty from this, that they also came into the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, it is still less possible to draw the opposite conclusion, as *Bertheau* does, from the fact they en-

camped in the valley of Jezreel (Judg. vi. 33), and were defeated there by Gideon, namely, that they did not devastate the mountains of Judah, because the road from the plain of Jezreel to Gaza did not lie across those mountains. There is just as little force in the other objection raised by *Bertheau*, namely, that the genealogical list in chap. iv. 18 sqq. would not place Boaz in the time of Gideon, but about the time of the Philistian supremacy over Israel, since this objection is founded partly upon an assumption that cannot be established, and partly upon an erroneous chronological calculation. For example, the assumption that every member is included in this chronological series cannot be established, inasmuch as unimportant members are often omitted from the genealogies, so that Obed the son of Boaz might very well have been the grandfather of Jesse. And according to the true chronological reckoning, the birth of David, who died in the year 1015 B.C. at the age of seventy, fell in the year 1085, *i.e.* nine or ten years after the victory gained by Samuel over the Philistines, or after the termination of their forty years' rule over Israel, and only ninety-seven years after the death of Gideon (see the chronological table, p. 289). Now David was the youngest of the eight sons of Jesse. If therefore we place his birth in the fiftieth year of his father's life, Jesse would have been born in the first year of the Philistian oppression, or forty-eight years after the death of Gideon. Now it is quite possible that Jesse may also have been a younger son of Obed, and born in the fiftieth year of his father's life; and if so, the birth of Obed would fall in the last years of Gideon. From this at any rate so much may be concluded with certainty, that Boaz was a contemporary of Gideon, and the emigration of Elimelech into the land of Moab may have taken place in the time of the Midianitish oppression. "*To sojourn in the fields of Moab,*" *i.e.* to live as a stranger there. The form שָׂרִי (vers. 1, 2, 22, and chap. ii. 6) is not the construct state singular, or only another form for שָׂרָה, as *Bertheau* maintains, but the construct state plural of the absolute שָׂרִים, which does not occur anywhere, it is true, but would be a perfectly regular formation (comp. Isa. xxxii. 12, 2 Sam. i. 21, etc.), as the construct state singular is written שָׂרָה even in this book (ver. 6 and chap. iv. 3). The use of the singular in these passages for the land of the Moabites by no means proves that שָׂרִי must also be a singular, but may be explained from the fact that the expression "the field (= the territory) of Moab" alternates with the plural, "the fields of Moab."—Vers. 2, 3. אֶפְרָתִים, the plural of אֶפְרָתִי, an adjective

formation, not from אֶפְרַיִם, as in Judg. xii. 5, but from אֶפְרַת (Gen. xlviii. 7) or אֶפְרַתָּה (chap. iv. 11, Gen. xxxv. 19), the old name for Bethlehem, *Ephrathite*, i.e. sprung from Bethlehem, as in 1 Sam. xvii. 12. The names—*Elimelech*, i.e. to whom God is King; *Naomi* (נַעֲמִי, a contraction of נַעֲמִית, LXX. *Noομμείν*, *Vulg. Noëmi*), i.e. the gracious; *Machlon*, i.e. the weakly; and *Chilion*, pining—are genuine Hebrew names; whereas the names of the Moabitish women, *Orpah* and *Ruth*, who were married to Elimelech's sons, cannot be satisfactorily explained from the Hebrew, as the meaning given to *Orpah*, "turning the back," is very arbitrary, and the derivation of *Ruth* from רֵעִית, a friend, is quite uncertain. According to chap. iv. 10, Ruth was the wife of the elder son Mahlon. Marriage with daughters of the Moabites was not forbidden in the law, like marriages with Canaanitish women (Deut. vii. 3); it was only the reception of Moabites into the congregation of the Lord that was forbidden (Deut. xxiii. 4).—Ver. 5. "*Thus the woman (Naomi) remained left (alone) of her two sons and her husband.*"

Vers. 6–14. After the loss of her husband and her two sons, Naomi rose up out of the fields of Moab to return into the land of Judah, as she had heard that Jehovah had visited His people, i.e. had turned His favour towards them again to give them bread. From the place where she had lived Naomi went forth, along with her two daughters-in-law. These three went on the way to return to the land of Judah. The expression "to return," if taken strictly, only applies to Naomi, who really *returned* to Judah, whilst her daughters-in-law simply wished to accompany her thither.—Vers. 8 sqq. "*On the way,*" i.e. when they had gone a part of the way, Naomi said to her two daughters-in-law, "*Go, return each one to her mother's house,*"—not her father's, though, according to chap. ii. 11, Ruth's father at any rate was still living, but her mother's, because maternal love knows best how to comfort a daughter in her affliction. "*Jehovah grant you that ye may find a resting-place, each one in the house of her husband,*" i.e. that ye may both be happily married again. She then kissed them, to take leave of them (*vid.* Gen. xxxi. 28). The daughters-in-law, however, began to weep aloud, and said, "*We will return with thee to thy people.*" כִּי before a direct statement serves to strengthen it, and is almost equivalent to a positive assurance.—Ver. 11. Naomi endeavoured to dissuade them from this resolution, by setting before them the fact, that if they went with her, there would be no hope of their being married again, and enjoying the pleasures of life once more. "*Have I yet sons in my womb, that they may be your hus-*

bands?" Her meaning is: I am not pregnant with sons, upon whom, as the younger brothers of Mahlon and Chilion, there would rest the obligation of marrying you, according to the Levirate law (Deut. xxv. 5; Gen. xxxviii. 8). And not only have I no such hope as this, but, continues Naomi, in vers. 12, 13, I have no prospect of having a husband and being blessed with children: "*for I am too old to have a husband;*" yea, even if I could think of this altogether improbable thing as taking place, and assume the impossible as possible; "*if I should say, I have hope* (of having a husband), *yea, if I should have a husband to-night, and should even bear sons, would ye then wait till they were grown, would ye then abstain from having husbands?*" The כִּי (*if*) before אֲמַרְתִּי refers to both the perfects which follow. לָהֶן is the third pers. plur. neuter suffix הֶן with the prefix לָ, as in Job xxx. 24, where הֶן is pointed with seghol, on account of the toned syllable which follows, as here in pause in ver. 9: *lit.* in these things, in that case, and hence in the sense of *therefore* = לָכֵן, as in Chaldee (*e.g.* Dan. ii. 6, 9, 24, etc.). תַּעֲנִיגָה (*vid.* Isa. lx. 4, and *Ewald*, § 195, *a.*), from עָנָה אָפ. λει. in Hebrew, which signifies in Aramæan to hold back, shut in; hence in the Talmud תַּעֲנִיגָה, a woman who lived retired in her own house without a husband. Naomi supposes three cases in ver. 12, of which each is more improbable, or rather more impossible, than the one before; and even if the impossible circumstance should be possible, that she should bear sons that very night, she could not in that case expect or advise her daughters-in-law to wait till these sons were grown up and could marry them, according to the Levirate law. In this there was involved the strongest persuasion to her daughters-in-law to give up their intention of going with her into the land of Judah, and a most urgent appeal to return to their mothers' houses, where, as young widows without children, they would not be altogether without the prospect of marrying again. One possible case Naomi left without notice, namely, that her daughters-in-law might be able to obtain other husbands in Judah itself. She did not hint at this, in the first place, and perhaps chiefly, from delicacy on account of the Moabitish descent of her daughters-in-law, in which she saw that there would be an obstacle to their being married in the land of Judah; and secondly, because Naomi could not do anything herself to bring about such a connection, and wished to confine herself therefore to the one point, of making it clear to her daughters that in her present state it was altogether out of her power to provide connubial and domestic happiness for them in the land of Judah.

She therefore merely fixed her mind upon the different possibilities of a Levirate marriage.¹ **אֵל בָּנוֹתַי**, “not my daughters,” i.e. do not go with me; “for it has gone much more bitterly with me than with you.” **מֵרַר** relates to her mournful lot. **מִבְּפָנַי** is comparative, “before you;” not “it grieveth me much on your account,” for which **עַל־פְּנֵיכֶם** would be used, as in 2 Sam. i. 26. Moreover, this thought would not be in harmony with the following clause: “for the hand of the Lord has gone out against me,” i.e. the Lord has sorely smitten me, namely by taking away not only my husband, but also my two sons.—Ver. 14. At these dissuasive words the daughters-in-law broke out into loud weeping again (**וַתִּשְׁכַּח** with the **א** dropped for **וַתִּשְׁאָחָה**, ver. 9), and Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, and took leave of her to return to her mother’s house; but Ruth clung to her (**וַתִּבְקַע** as in Gen. ii. 24), forsaking her father and mother to go with Naomi into the land of Judah (*vid.* chap. ii. 11).

Vers. 15–22. To the repeated entreaty of Naomi that she would follow her sister-in-law and return to her people and her God, Ruth replied: “*Entreat me not to leave thee, and to return away behind thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou stayest, I will stay; thy people is my people, and thy God my God! where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried. Jehovah do so to me, and*

¹ The objections raised by *J. B. Carpzov* against explaining vers. 12 and 13 as referring to a Levirate marriage,—namely, that this is not to be thought of, because a Levirate marriage was simply binding upon brothers of the deceased by the same father and mother, and upon brothers who were living when he died, and not upon those born afterwards,—have been overthrown by *Bertheau* as being partly without foundation, and partly beside the mark. In the first place, the law relating to the Levirate marriage speaks only of brothers of the deceased, by which, according to the design of this institution, we must certainly think of sons by one father, but not necessarily of sons by the same mother. Secondly, the law does indeed expressly require marriage with the sister-in-law only of a brother who should be in existence when her husband died, but it does not distinctly exclude a brother born afterwards; and this is the more evident from the fact that, according to the account in Gen. xxxviii. 11, this duty was binding upon brothers who were not grown up at the time, as soon as they should be old enough to marry. Lastly, Naomi merely says, in ver. 12*a*, that she was not with child by her deceased husband; and when she does take into consideration, in vers. 12*b* and 13, the possibility of a future pregnancy, she might even then be simply thinking of an alliance with some brother of her deceased husband, and therefore of sons who would legally be regarded as sons of Elimelech. When *Carpzov* therefore defines the meaning of her words in this manner, “I have indeed no more children to hope for, to whom I could marry you in time, and I have no command over others,” the first thought does not exhaust the meaning of the words, and the last is altogether foreign to the text.

more also (*lit.* and so may He add to do)! *Death alone shall divide between me and thee.*" The words כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה י' . . . יִסְיֶיף are a frequently recurring formula in connection with an oath (cf. 1 Sam. iii. 17, xiv. 44, xx. 13, etc.), by which the person swearing called down upon himself a severe punishment in case he should not keep his word or carry out his resolution. The following כִּי is not a particle used in swearing instead of אִם in the sense of "if," equivalent to "surely not," as in 1 Sam. xx. 12, in the oath which precedes the formula, but answers to ὅτι in the sense of *quod* introducing the declaration, as in Gen. xxii. 16, 1 Sam. xx. 13, 1 Kings ii. 23, 2 Kings iii. 14, etc., signifying, I swear that death, and nothing else than death, shall separate us. Naomi was certainly serious in her intentions, and sincere in the advice which she gave to Ruth, and did not speak in this way merely to try her and put the state of her heart to the proof, "that it might be made manifest whether she would adhere stedfastly to the God of Israel and to herself, despising temporal things and the hope of temporal possessions" (*Seb. Schmidt*). She had simply the earthly prosperity of her daughter-in-law in her mind, as she herself had been shaken in her faith in the wonderful ways and gracious guidance of the faithful covenant God by the bitter experience of her own life.¹ With Ruth, however, it was evidently not merely strong affection and attachment by which she felt herself so drawn to her mother-in-law that she wished to live and die with her, but a leaning of her heart towards the God of Israel and His laws, of which she herself was probably not yet fully conscious, but which she had acquired so strongly in her conjugal relation and her intercourse with her Israelitish connections, that it was her earnest wish never to be separated from this people and its God (cf. chap. ii. 11).—Ver. 18. As she insisted strongly upon going with her (הִתְאַמֵּץ, to stiffen one's self firmly upon a thing), Naomi gave up persuading her any more to return.—Ver. 19. So they two went until they came to Bethlehem. When they arrived, the whole town was in commotion on their account (תָּהוּם, imperf. *Niph.* of הוּם, as in 1 Sam. iv. 5, 1 Kings i. 45). They said, "*Is this Naomi?*" The subject to תִּאֲמַרְנָה is the inhabitants of the town, but chiefly the female portion

¹ "She thought of earthly things alone; and as at that time the Jews almost universally were growing lax in the worship of God, so she, having spent ten years among the Moabites, thought it of little consequence whether they adhered to the religion of their fathers, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, or went over to the Jewish religion."—*Carpzov.*

of the inhabitants, who were the most excited at Naomi's return. This is the simplest way of explaining the use of the feminine in the verbs *הִקְרָאָהָּ* and *הֵאמְרָנָהּ*. In these words there was an expression of amazement, not so much at the fact that Naomi was still alive, and had come back again, as at her returning in so mournful a condition, as a solitary widow, without either husband or sons; for she replied (ver. 20), "*Call me not Naomi (i.e. gracious), but Marah*" (the bitter one), *i.e.* one who has experienced bitterness, "*for the Almighty has made it very bitter to me. I, I went away full, and Jehovah has made me come back again empty. Why do ye call me Naomi, since Jehovah testifies against me, and the Almighty has afflicted me?*" "*Full,*" *i.e.* rich, not in money and property, but in the possession of a husband and two sons; a rich mother, but now deprived of all that makes a mother's heart rich, bereft of both husband and sons. "*Testified against me,*" by word and deed (as in Ex. xx. 16, 2 Sam. i. 16). The rendering "*He hath humbled me*" (LXX., *Vulg.*, *Bertheau*, etc.) is incorrect, as *עָנָה* with *בְּ* and the construct state simply means to trouble one's self with anything (Eccl. i. 13), which is altogether unsuitable here.—With ver. 22 the account of the return of Naomi and her daughter-in-law is brought to a close, and the statement that "*they came to Bethlehem in the time of the barley harvest*" opens at the same time the way for the further course of the history. *הַשָּׂבָה* is pointed as a third pers. perf. with the article in a relative sense, as in chap. ii. 6 and iv. 3. Here and at chap. ii. 6 it applies to Ruth; but in chap. iv. 3 to Naomi. *הַפֶּה*, the masculine, is used here, as it frequently is, for the feminine *הֶנָּה*, as being the more common gender. The harvest, as a whole, commenced with the barley harvest (see at Lev. xxiii. 10, 11).

RUTH GLEANS IN THE FIELD OF BOAZ.—CHAP. II.

Ruth went to the field to glean ears of corn, for the purpose of procuring support for herself and her mother-in-law, and came by chance to the field of Boaz, a relative of Naomi, who, when he heard that she had come with Naomi from Moabitis, spoke kindly to her, and gave her permission not only to glean ears in his field and even among the sheaves, but to appease her hunger and thirst with the food and drink of his reapers (vers. 1–16), so that in the evening she returned to her mother-in-law with a plentiful gleaning, and told her of the gracious reception she had met with from

this man, and then learned from her that Boaz was a relation of her own (vers. 17-23).

Vers. 1-7. The account of this occurrence commences with a statement which was necessary in order to make it perfectly intelligible, namely that Boaz, to whose field Ruth went to glean, was a relative of Naomi through her deceased husband Elimelech. The *Kethibh* מִידַע is to be read מֵידַע, an acquaintance (cf. Ps. xxxi. 12, lv. 14). The *Keri* מוֹדַע is the construct state of מוֹדַע, *lit.* acquaintanceship, then an acquaintance or friend (Prov. vii. 4), for which מוֹדַעַת occurs afterwards in chap. iii. 2 with the same meaning. That the acquaintance or friend of Naomi through her husband was also a relation, is evident from the fact that he was "of the family of Elimelech." According to the rabbinical tradition, which is not well established however, Boaz was a nephew of Elimelech. The ל before אִישָׁה is used instead of the simple construct state, because the reference is not to *the* relation, but to *a* relation of her husband; at the same time, the word מוֹדַע has taken the form of the construct state notwithstanding this ל (compare *Ewald*, § 292, *a.*, with § 289, *b.*). גִּבּוֹר חַיִּל generally means the brave man of war (Judg. vi. 12, xi. 1, etc.); but here it signifies a man of property. The name *Boaz* is not formed from בּוֹ עֹז, in whom is strength, but from a root, בָּעַז, which does not occur in Hebrew, and signifies *alacrity*.—Vers. 2, 3. Ruth wished to go to the field and glean at (among) the ears, *i.e.* whatever ears were left lying upon the harvest field (cf. ver. 7), אַחֲרֵי אִשֶּׁר, behind him in whose eyes she should find favour. The Mosaic law (Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22, compared with Deut. xxiv. 19) did indeed expressly secure to the poor the right to glean in the harvest fields, and prohibited the owners from gleaning themselves; but hard-hearted farmers and reapers threw obstacles in the way of the poor, and even forbade their gleaning altogether. Hence Ruth proposed to glean after him who should generously allow it. She carried out this intention with the consent of Naomi, and chance led her to the portion of the field belonging to Boaz, a relation of Elimelech, without her knowing the owner of the field, or being at all aware of his connection with Elimelech. וַיִּקֶּר מִקְרָהּ, *lit.* "her chance chanced to hit upon the field."—Vers. 4 sqq. When Boaz came from the town to the field, and had greeted his reapers with the blessing of a genuine Israelite, "*Jehovah be with you*," and had received from them a corresponding greeting in return, he said to the overseer of the reapers, "*Whose damsel is this?*" to which he replied, "*It is the Moabitish damsel who*

came back with Naomi from the fields of Moab, and she has said (asked), *Pray, I will glean* (i.e. pray allow me to glean) and gather among the sheaves after the reapers, and has come and stays (here) from morning till now; her sitting in the house that is little." מִן, lit. a conjunction, here used as a preposition, is stronger than מִן, "from then," from the time of the morning onwards (see Ewald, § 222, c.). It is evident from this answer of the servant who was placed over the reapers, (1) that Boaz did not prohibit any poor person from gleaning in his field; (2) that Ruth asked permission of the overseer of the reapers, and availed herself of this permission with untiring zeal from the first thing in the morning, that she might get the necessary support for her mother-in-law and herself; and (3) that her history was well known to the overseer, and also to Boaz, although Boaz saw her now for the first time.

Vers. 8-16. The good report which the overlooker gave of the modesty and diligence of Ruth could only strengthen Boaz in his purpose, which he had probably already formed from his affection as a relation towards Naomi, to make the acquaintance of her daughter-in-law, and speak kindly to her. With fatherly kindness, therefore, he said to her (vers. 8, 9), "*Dost thou hear, my daughter?*" (i.e. 'thou hearest, dost thou not?' *interrogatio blande affirmat*;) *go not to reap in another field, and go not away from here, and keep so to my maidens* (i.e. remaining near them in the field). *Thine eyes* (directed) *upon the field which they reap, go behind them* (i.e. behind the maidens, who probably tied up the sheaves, whilst the men-servants cut the corn). *I have commanded the young men not to touch thee* (to do thee no harm); *and if thou art thirsty* (צָמָא, from צָמָה = צָמָה: see Ewald, § 195, b.), *go to the vessels, and drink of what the servants draw*."—Ver. 10. Deeply affected by this generosity, Ruth fell upon her face, bowing down to the ground (as in 1 Sam. xxv. 23, 2 Sam. i. 2; cf. Gen. xxiii. 7), to thank him reverentially, and said to Boaz, "*Why have I found favour in thine eyes, that thou regardest me, who am only a stranger?*" הִבִּיט, to look at with sympathy or care, to receive a person kindly (cf. ver. 19).—Vers. 11, 12. Boaz replied, "*Everything has been told me that thou hast done to* (אֵלַי, prep. as in Zech. vii. 9, 2 Sam. xvi. 17) *thy mother-in-law since the death of thy husband, that thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and thy kindred, and hast come to a people that thou knewest not heretofore*" (hast therefore done what God commanded Abraham to do, Gen. xii. 1). "*The Lord recompense thy work, and let thy reward be perfect* (recalling Gen. xv. 1) *from*

the Lord the God of Israel, to whom thou hast come to seek refuge under His wings!" For this figurative expression, which is derived from Deut. xxxii. 11, compare Ps. xci. 4, xxxvi. 8, lvii. 2. In these words of Boaz we see the genuine piety of a true Israelite.—Ver. 13. Ruth replied with true humility, "*May I find favour in thine eyes; for thou hast comforted me, and spoken to the heart of thy maiden* (see Judg. xix. 3), *though I am not like one of thy maidens,*" i.e. though I stand in no such near relation to thee, as to have been able to earn thy favour. In this last clause she restricts the expression "thy maiden." Carpzov has rightly pointed this out: "But what am I saying when I call myself thy maiden? since I am not worthy to be compared to the least of thy maidens." The word מַיְיִמֶּיךָ is to be taken in an optative sense, as expressive of the wish that Boaz might continue towards her the kindness he had already expressed. To take it as a present, "I find favour" (*Clericus* and *Bertheau*), does not tally with the modesty and humility shown by Ruth in the following words.—Ver. 14. This unassuming humility on the part of Ruth made Boaz all the more favourably disposed towards her, so that at meal-time he called her to eat along with his people (חֵץ without *Mappik*, as in Num. xxxii. 42, Zech. v. 11; cf. *Ewald*, § 94, b. 3). "*Dip thy morsel in the vinegar.*" *Chomez*, a sour beverage composed of vinegar (wine vinegar or sour wine) mixed with oil; a very refreshing drink, which is still a favourite beverage in the East (see *Rosenmüller*, A. and N. *Morgenland*, iv. p. 68, and my *Bibl. Archäologie*, ii. p. 16). "*And he reached her parched corn.*" The subject is Boaz, who, judging from the expression "come hither," either joined in the meal, or at any rate was present at it. חֵץ are roasted grains of wheat (see at Lev. ii. 14, and my *Bibl. Arch.* ii. p. 14), which are still eaten by the reapers upon the harvest field, and also handed to strangers.¹ Boaz gave her an abundant supply of it, so that she was not only satisfied, but left some, and was able to take it home to her mother (ver. 18).—Vers. 15, 16. When she rose up to glean again after eating, Boaz commanded his people, saying, "*She may*

¹ Thus *Robinson* (Pal. ii. p. 394) gives the following description of a harvest scene in the neighbourhood of Kubeibeh: "In one field nearly two hundred reapers and gleaners were at work, the latter being nearly as numerous as the former. A few were taking their refreshment, and offered us some of their 'parched corn.' In the season of harvest, the grains of wheat not yet fully dry and hard, are roasted in a pan or on an iron plate, and constitute a very palatable article of food; this is eaten along with bread, or instead of it."

also glean between the sheaves (which was not generally allowed), and ye shall not shame her (do her any injury, Judg. xviii. 7); and ye shall also draw out of the bundles for her, and let them lie (the ears drawn out), that she may glean them, and shall not scold her," sc. for picking up the ears that have been drawn out. These directions of Boaz went far beyond the bounds of generosity and compassion for the poor; and show that he felt a peculiar interest in Ruth, with whose circumstances he was well acquainted, and who had won his heart by her humility, her faithful attachment to her mother-in-law, and her love to the God of Israel,—a fact important to notice in connection with the further course of the history.

Vers. 17–23. Thus Ruth gleaned till the evening in the field; and when she knocked out the ears, she had about an ephah (about 20–25 lbs.) of barley.—Ver. 18. This she brought to her mother-in-law in the city, and “drew out (sc. from her pocket, as the Chaldee has correctly supplied) *what she had left from her sufficiency*,” i.e. of the parched corn which Boaz had reached her (ver. 14).—Ver. 19. The mother inquired, “Where hast thou gleaned to-day, and where wroughtest thou?” and praised the benefactor, who, as she conjectured from the quantity of barley collected and the food brought home, had taken notice of Ruth: “*blessed be he that did take knowledge of thee!*” When she heard the name of the man, Boaz, she saw that this relative of her husband had been chosen by God to be a benefactor of herself and Ruth, and exclaimed, “*Blessed be he of the Lord, that he has not left off* (withdrawn) *his favour towards the living and the dead!*” On עֲנִיב הַסִּדִּי see Gen. xxiv. 27. This verb is construed with a double accusative here; for אֶת cannot be a preposition, as in that case מֵאֵת would be used like מֵעַם in Gen. i.e. “The living,” etc., forms a second object: as regards (with regard to) the living and the dead, in which Naomi thought of herself and Ruth, and of her husband and sons, to whom God still showed himself gracious, even after their death, through His care for their widows. In order to enlighten Ruth still further upon the matter, she added, “The man (Boaz) is our relative, and one of our redeemers.” He “stands near to us,” sc. by relationship. נִאֲלָנִי, a defective form for נִאֲלָנִי, which is found in several mss. and editions. On the significance of the *goël*, or redeemer, see at Lev. xxv. 26, 48, 49, and the introduction to chap. iii.—Ver. 21. Ruth proceeded to inform her of his kindness: נָם בִּי, “also (know) that he said to me, Keep with my people, till the harvest is all ended.” The masculine הַמִּצְוֶה, for which we should rather expect the

feminine נָעֲרֹת in accordance with vers. 8, 22, 23, is quite in place as the more comprehensive gender, as a designation of the reapers generally, both male and female; and the expression לִי אִשָּׁר in this connection in the sense of *my* is more exact than the possessive pronoun: the people who belong to my house, as distinguished from the people of other masters.—Ver. 22. Naomi declared herself fully satisfied with this, because Ruth would be thereby secured from insults, which she might receive when gleaned in strange fields. “*That they meet thee not,*” *lit.* “that they do not fall upon thee.” פָּנַע בָּ signifies to fall upon a person, to smite and ill-treat him.—Ver. 23. After this Ruth kept with the maidens of Boaz during the whole of the barley and wheat harvests gleaned ears of corn, and lived with her mother-in-law, *sc.* when she returned in the evening from the field. In this last remark there is a tacit allusion to the fact that a change took place for Ruth when the harvest was over.

RUTH SEEKS FOR MARRIAGE WITH BOAZ.—CHAP. III.

After the harvest Naomi advised Ruth to visit Boaz on a certain night, and ask him to marry her as redeemer (vers. 1–5). Ruth followed this advice, and Boaz promised to fulfil her request, provided the nearer redeemer who was still living would not perform this duty (vers. 6–13), and sent her away in the morning with a present of wheat, that she might not return empty to her mother-in-law (vers. 14–18). To understand the advice which Naomi gave to Ruth, and which Ruth carried out, and in fact to form a correct idea of the further course of the history generally, we must bear in mind the legal relations which came into consideration here. According to the theocratical rights, Jehovah was the actual owner of the land which He had given to His people for an inheritance; and the Israelites themselves had merely the usufruct of the land which they received by lot for their inheritance, so that the existing possessor could not part with the family portion or sell it at his will, but it was to remain for ever in his family. When any one therefore was obliged to sell his inheritance on account of poverty, and actually did sell it, it was the duty of the nearest relation to redeem it as *goël*. But if it should not be redeemed, it came back, in the next year of jubilee, to its original owner or his heirs without compensation. Consequently no actual sale took place in our sense of the word, but simply a sale of the yearly produce till the year of

jubilee (see Lev. xxv. 10, 13-16, 24-28). There was also an old customary right, which had received the sanction of God, with certain limitations, through the Mosaic law,—namely, the custom of Levirate marriage, or the marriage of a brother-in-law, which we meet with as early as Gen. xxxviii., viz. that if an Israelite who had been married died without children, it was the duty of his brother to marry the widow, that is to say, his sister-in-law, that he might establish his brother's name in Israel, by begetting a son through his sister-in-law, who should take the name of the deceased brother, that his name might not become extinct in Israel. This son was then the legal heir of the landed property of the deceased uncle (cf. Deut. xxv. 5 sqq.). These two institutions are not connected together in the Mosaic law; nevertheless it was a very natural thing to place the Levirate duty in connection with the right of redemption. And this had become the traditional custom. Whereas the law merely imposed the obligation of marrying the childless widow upon the brother, and even allowed him to renounce the obligation if he would take upon himself the disgrace connected with such a refusal (see Deut. xxv. 7-10); according to chap. iv. 5 of this book it had become a traditional custom to require the Levirate marriage of the redeemer of the portion of the deceased relative, not only that the landed possession might be permanently retained in the family, but also that the family itself might not be suffered to die out.

In the case before us Elimelech had possessed a portion at Bethlehem, which Naomi had sold from poverty (chap. iv. 3); and Boaz, a relation of Elimelech, was the redeemer of whom Naomi hoped that he would fulfil the duty of a redeemer,—namely, that he would not only ransom the purchased field, but marry her daughter-in-law Ruth, the widow of the rightful heir of the landed possession of Elimelech, and thus through this marriage establish the name of her deceased husband or son (Elimelech or Mahlon) upon his inheritance. Led on by this hope, she advised Ruth to visit Boaz, who had shown himself so kind and well-disposed towards her, during the night, and by a species of bold artifice, which she assumed that he would not resist, to induce him as redeemer to grant to Ruth this Levirate marriage. The reason why she adopted this plan for the accomplishment of her wishes, and did not appeal to Boaz directly, or ask him to perform this duty of affection to her deceased husband, was probably that she was afraid lest she should fail to attain her end in this way, partly because the duty of

a Levirate marriage was not legally binding upon the redeemer, and partly because Boaz was not so closely related to her husband that she could justly require this of him, whilst there was actually a nearer redeemer than he (chap. iii. 12). According to our customs, indeed, this act of Naomi and Ruth appears a very objectionable one from a moral point of view, but it was not so when judged by the customs of the people of Israel at that time. Boaz, who was an honourable man, and, according to chap. iii. 10, no doubt somewhat advanced in years, praised Ruth for having taken refuge with him, and promised to fulfil her wishes when he had satisfied himself that the nearer redeemer would renounce his right and duty (chap. iii. 10, 11). As he acknowledged by this very declaration, that under certain circumstances it would be his duty as redeemer to marry Ruth, he took no offence at the manner in which she had approached him and proposed to become his wife. On the contrary, he regarded it as a proof of feminine virtue and modesty, that she had not gone after young men, but offered herself as a wife to an old man like him. This conduct on the part of Boaz is a sufficient proof that women might have confidence in him that he would do nothing unseemly. And he justified such confidence. "The modest man," as *Bertheau* observes, "even in the middle of the night did not hesitate for a moment what it was his duty to do with regard to the young maiden (or rather woman) towards whom he felt already so strongly attached; he made his own personal inclinations subordinate to the traditional custom, and only when this permitted him to marry Ruth was he ready to do so. And not knowing whether she might not have to become the wife of the nearer *goël*, he was careful for her and her reputation, in order that he might hand her over unblemished to the man who had the undoubted right to claim her as his wife."

Vers. 1-5. As Naomi conjectured, from the favour which Boaz had shown to Ruth, that he might not be disinclined to marry her as *goël*, she said to her daughter-in-law, "*My daughter, I must seek rest for thee, that it may be well with thee.*" In the question *הֲלֹא אֶבְקֶשׁ*, the word *הֲלֹא* is here, as usual, an expression of general admission or of undoubted certainty, in the sense of "Is it not true, I seek for thee? it is my duty to seek for thee." *מְנוּחָה* = *מָנוּחַ* (chap. i. 9) signifies the condition of a peaceful life, a peaceful and well-secured condition, "a secure life under the guardian care of a husband" (*Rosenmüller*). "*And now is not Boaz our relation, with whose maidens thou wast? Behold, he is winnowing the barley*

floor (barley on the threshing-floor) *to-night*," *i.e.* till late in the night, to avail himself of the cool wind, which rises towards evening (Gen. iii. 8), for the purpose of cleansing the corn. The threshing-floors of the Israelites were, and are still in Palestine, made under the open heaven, and were nothing more than level places in the field stamped quite hard.¹—Vers. 3, 4. "*Wash and anoint thyself* (בִּסְבָּא, from בָּסַךְ = בִּסְבָּא), *and put on thy clothes* (thy best clothes), *and go down* (from Bethlehem, which stood upon the ridge of a hill) *to the threshing-floor*; *let not thyself be noticed by the man* (Boaz) *till he has finished eating and drinking. And when he lies down, mark the place where he will sleep, and go* (when he has fallen asleep) *and uncover the place of his feet, and lay thyself down*; *and he will tell thee what thou shalt do.*"—Ver. 5. Ruth promised to do this. The וְכִרִי, which the Masorites have added to the text as *Keri non scriptum*, is quite unnecessary. From the account which follows of the carrying out of the advice given to her, we learn that Naomi had instructed Ruth to ask Boaz to marry her as her redeemer (cf. ver. 9).

Vers. 6–13. Ruth went accordingly to the threshing-floor and did as her mother-in-law had commanded; *i.e.* she noticed where Boaz went to lie down to sleep, and then, when he had eaten and drunken, and lay down cheerfully, at the end of the heap of sheaves or corn, and, as we may supply from the context, had fallen asleep, came to him quietly, uncovered the place of his feet, *i.e.* lifted up the covering over his feet, and lay down.—Ver. 8. About midnight the man was startled, namely, because on awaking he observed that there was some one lying at his feet; and he "bent himself" forward, or on one side, to feel who was lying there, "*and behold a woman was lying at his feet.*" מִרְגַּלָּתִי is *accus. loci*.—Ver. 9. In answer to his inquiry, "*Who art thou?*" she said, "*I am Ruth, thine handmaid*; *spread thy wing over thine handmaid, for thou art a redeemer.*" פָּנָךְ is a dual according to the Masoretic pointing, as we cannot look upon it as a pausal form on account of the position of the word, but it is most probably to be regarded as a singular; and the figurative expression is not taken from birds, which spread their wings over their young, *i.e.* to protect them, but refers, according to Deut. xxiii. 1, xxvii. 20, and Ezek. xvi. 8, to the wing, *i.e.* the corner of the counterpane, referring to the fact that a man

¹ "A level spot is selected for the threshing-floors, which are then constructed near each other, of a circular form, perhaps fifty feet in diameter, merely by beating down the earth hard."—*Robinson*, Pal. ii. p. 277.

spreads this over his wife as well as himself. Thus Ruth entreated Boaz to marry her because he was a redeemer. On this reason for the request, see the remarks in the introduction to the chapter.—Ver. 10. Boaz praised her conduct: “*Blessed be thou of the Lord, my daughter* (see chap. ii. 20); *thou hast made thy later love better than the earlier, that thou hast not gone after young men, whether poor or rich.*” Ruth’s earlier or first love was the love she had shown to her deceased husband and her mother-in-law (comp. chap. ii. 11, where Boaz praises this love); the later love she had shown in the fact, that as a young widow she had not sought to win the affections of young men, as young women generally do, that she might have a youthful husband, but had turned trustfully to the older man, that he might find a successor to her deceased husband, through a marriage with him, in accordance with family custom (*vid.* chap. iv. 10). “*And now,*” added Boaz (ver. 11), “*my daughter, fear not; for all that thou sayest I will do to thee: for the whole gate of my people (i.e. all my city, the whole population of Bethlehem, who go in and out at the gate: see Gen. xxxiv. 24, Deut. xvii. 2) knoweth that thou art a virtuous woman.*” Consequently Boaz saw nothing wrong in the fact that Ruth had come to him, but regarded her request that he would marry her as redeemer as perfectly natural and right, and was ready to carry out her wish as soon as the circumstances would legally allow it. He promised her this (vers. 12, 13), saying, “*And now truly I am a redeemer; but there is a nearer redeemer than I. Stay here this night* (or as it reads at the end of ver. 13, ‘lie till the morning’), *and in the morning, if he will redeem thee, well, let him redeem; but if it does not please him to redeem thee, I will redeem thee, as truly as Jehovah liveth.*” מִן כִּי (*Kethibh*, ver. 12), after a strong assurance, as after the formula used in an oath, “*God do so to me,*” etc., 2 Sam. iii. 35, xv. 21 (*Kethibh*), and 2 Kings v. 20, is to be explained from the use of this particle in the sense of *nisi*, except that, = only: “only I am redeemer,” equivalent to, assuredly I am redeemer (cf. *Ewald*, § 356, *b.*). Consequently there is no reason whatever for removing the מִן from the text, as the Masorites have done (in the *Keri*).¹ Ruth was to lie till morning, because she could not easily return to

¹ What the לִי *majusc.* in לִי signifies, is uncertain. According to the smaller Masora, it was only found among the eastern (*i.e.* Palestinian) Jews. Consequently *Hiller* (in his *Arcanum Keri et Cithh*, p. 163) conjectures that they used it to point out a various reading, viz. that לִי should be the reading here. But this is hardly correct.

the city in the dark at midnight; but, as is shown in ver. 14, she did not stay till actual daybreak, but “*before one could know another, she rose up, and he said (i.e. as Boaz had said), It must not be known that the woman came to the threshing-floor.*” For this would have injured the reputation not only of Ruth, but also of Boaz himself.—Ver. 15. He then said, “Bring the cloak that thou hast on, and lay hold of it” (to hold it open), and measured for her six measures of barley into it as a present, that she might not go back empty to her mother-in-law (ver. 17). מִטְפָּחַת, here and Isa. iii. 22, is a broad upper garment, *pallium*, possibly only a large shawl. “As the cloaks worn by the ancients were so full, that one part was thrown upon the shoulder, and another gathered up under the arm, Ruth, by holding a certain part, could receive into her bosom the corn which Boaz gave her” (*Schröder, De vestit. mul.* p. 264). Six (measures of) barley: the measure is not given. According to the Targum and the Rabbins, it was six seahs = two ephahs. This is certainly incorrect; for Ruth would not have been able to carry that quantity of barley home. When Boaz had given her the barley he measured out, and had sent her away, he also went into the city. This is the correct rendering, as given by the *Chaldee*, to the words וַיָּבֹא הָעִיר; though Jerome referred the words to Ruth, but certainly without any reason, as יָבֹא cannot stand for הָבֹא. This reading is no doubt found in some of the MSS., but it merely owes its origin to a mistaken interpretation of the words.—Vers. 16–18. When Ruth returned home, her mother-in-law asked her, “*Who art thou?*” i.e. as what person, in what circumstances dost thou come? The real meaning is, What hast thou accomplished? Whereupon she related all that the man had done (cf. vers. 10–14), and that he had given her six measures of barley for her mother. The Masorites have supplied אַל after אָמַר, as at ver. 5, but without any necessity. The mother-in-law drew from this the hope that Boaz would now certainly carry out the matter to the desired end. “*Sit still,*” i.e. remain quietly at home (see Gen. xxxviii. 11), “*till thou hearest how the affair turn out,*” namely, whether the nearer redeemer mentioned by Boaz, or Boaz himself, would grant her the Levirate marriage. The expression “fall,” in this sense, is founded upon the idea of the falling of the lot to the ground; it is different in Ezra vii. 20. “*For the man will not rest unless he has carried the affair to an end this day.*” בִּי-אֵם, except that, as in Lev. xxii. 6, etc. (see *Ewald*, § 356, b.).

BOAZ MARRIES RUTH.—CHAP. IV.

To redeem the promise he had given to Ruth, Boaz went the next morning to the gate of the city, and calling to the nearer redeemer as he passed by, asked him, before the elders of the city, to redeem the piece of land which belonged to Elimelech and had been sold by Naomi; and if he did this, at the same time to marry Ruth, to establish the name of the deceased upon his inheritance (vers. 1-5). But as he renounced the right of redemption on account of the condition attached to the redemption of the field, Boaz undertook the redemption before the assembled people, together with the obligation to marry Ruth (vers. 6-12). The marriage was blessed with a son, who became the father of Jesse, the father of David (vers. 13-17). The book closes with a genealogical proof of the descent of David from Perez (vers. 18-22).

Vers. 1-5. "*Boaz had gone up to the gate, and had sat down there.*" This circumstantial clause introduces the account of the further development of the affair. The gate, *i.e.* the open space before the city gate, was the forum of the city, the place where the public affairs of the city were discussed. The expression "went up" is not to be understood as signifying that Boaz went up from the threshing-floor where he had slept to the city, which was situated upon higher ground, for, according to chap. iii. 15, he had already gone to the city before he went up to the gate; but it is to be explained as referring to the place of justice as an ideal eminence to which a man went up (*vid.* Deut. xvii. 8). The redeemer, of whom Boaz had spoken—that is to say, the nearer relation of Elimelech—then went past, and Boaz requested him to come near and sit down. סוּר as in Gen. xix. 2, etc.: "*Sit down here, such a one.*" פֶּלְאֵי אֶלְמָנִי, any one, a certain person, whose name is either unknown or not thought worth mentioning (cf. 1 Sam. xxi. 3, 2 Kings vi. 8). Boaz would certainly call him by his name; but the historian had either not heard the name, or did not think it necessary to give it.—Ver. 2. Boaz then called ten of the elders of the city as witnesses of the business to be taken in hand, and said to the redeemer in their presence, "*The piece of field which belonged to our brother (i.e. our relative) Elimelech (as an hereditary family possession), Naomi has sold, and I have thought (lit. 'I said,' sc. to myself; cf. Gen. xvii. 17, xxvii. 41), I will open thine ear (i.e. make it known, disclose it): get it before those who sit here, and (indeed) before the elders of my people.*" As the field had been sold

to another, getting it (קָנָה) could only be accomplished by virtue of the right of redemption. Boaz therefore proceeded to say, "*If thou wilt redeem, redeem; but if thou wilt not redeem, tell me, that I may know it: for there is not beside thee (any one more nearly entitled) to redeem, and I am (the next) after thee.*" הַיֹּשְׁבִים is rendered by many, those dwelling, and supposed to refer to the inhabitants of Bethlehem. But we could hardly think of the inhabitants generally as present, as the word "before" would require, even if, according to ver. 9, there were a number of persons present besides the elders. Moreover they would not have been mentioned first, but, like "*all the people*" in ver. 9, would have been placed after the elders as the principal witnesses. On these grounds, the word must be taken in the sense of sitting, and, like the verb in ver. 2, be understood as referring to the elders present; and the words "before the elders of my people" must be regarded as explanatory. The expression לְיָדִי (third pers.) is striking, as we should expect the second person, which is not only found in the Septuagint, but also in several codices, and is apparently required by the context. It is true that the third person may be defended, as it has been by *Seb. Schmidt* and others, on the assumption that Boaz turned towards the elders and uttered the words as addressed to them, and therefore spoke of the redeemer as a third person: "*But if he, the redeemer there, will not redeem.*" But as the direct appeal to the redeemer himself is resumed immediately afterwards, the supposition, to our mind at least, is a very harsh one. The person addressed said, "*I will redeem.*" Boaz then gave him this further explanation (ver. 5): "*On the day that thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou buyest it of the hand of Ruth the Moabitess, of the wife of the deceased (Mahlon, the rightful heir of the field), to set up (that thou mayest set up) the name of the deceased upon his inheritance.*" From the meaning and context, the form קָנִיתִי must be the second pers. masc.; the *yod* at the end no doubt crept in through an error of the pen, or else from a י, so that the word is either to be read קָנִיתָ (according to the *Keri*) or קָנִיתִי, "*thou buyest it.*" So far as the fact itself was concerned, the field, which Naomi had sold from want, was the hereditary property of her deceased husband, and ought therefore to descend to her sons according to the standing rule of right; and in this respect, therefore, it was Ruth's property quite as much as Naomi's. From the negotiation between Boaz and the nearer redeemer, it is very evident that Naomi had sold the field which was the hereditary property of her husband, and was

lawfully entitled to sell it. But as landed property did not descend to wives according to the Israelitish law, but only to children, and when there were no children, to the nearest relatives of the husband (Num. xxvii. 8-11), when Elimelech died his field properly descended to his sons; and when they died without children, it ought to have passed to his nearest relations. Hence the question arises, what right had Naomi to sell her husband's field as her own property? The Rabbins suppose that the field had been presented to Naomi and Ruth by their husbands (*vid. Selden, de success. in bona def. c. 15*). But Elimelech could not lawfully give his hereditary property to his wife, as he left sons behind him when he died, and they were the lawful heirs; and Mahlon also had no more right than his father to make such a gift. There is still less foundation for the opinion that Naomi was an heiress, since even if this were the case, it would be altogether inapplicable to the present affair, where the property in question was not a field which Naomi had inherited from her father, but the field of Elimelech and his sons. The true explanation is no doubt the following: The law relating to the inheritance of the landed property of Israelites who died childless did not determine the time when such a possession should pass to the relatives of the deceased, whether immediately after the death of the owner, or not till after the death of the widow who was left behind (*vid. Num. xxvii. 9 sqq.*). No doubt the latter was the rule established by custom, so that the widow remained in possession of the property as long as she lived; and for that length of time she had the right to sell the property in case of need, since the sale of a field was not an actual sale of the field itself, but simply of the yearly produce until the year of jubilee. Consequently the field of the deceased Elimelech would, strictly speaking, have belonged to his sons, and after their death to Mahlon's widow, since Chilion's widow had remained behind in her own country Moab. But as Elimelech had not only emigrated with his wife and children and died abroad, but his sons had also been with him in the foreign land, and had married and died there, the landed property of their father had not descended to them, but had remained the property of Naomi, Elimelech's widow, in which Ruth, as the widow of the deceased Mahlon, also had a share. Now, in case a widow sold the field of her deceased husband for the time that it was in her possession, on account of poverty, and a relation of her husband redeemed it, it was evidently his duty not only to care for the maintenance of the impoverished widow, but if

she were still young, to marry her, and to let the first son born of such a marriage enter into the family of the deceased husband of his wife, so as to inherit the redeemed property, and perpetuate the name and possession of the deceased in Israel. Upon this right, which was founded upon traditional custom, Boaz based this condition, which he set before the nearer redeemer, that if he redeemed the field of Naomi he must also take Ruth, with the obligation to marry her, and through this marriage to set up the name of the deceased upon his inheritance.

Vers. 6-13. The redeemer admitted the justice of this demand, from which we may see that the thing passed as an existing right in the nation. But as he was not disposed to marry Ruth, he gave up the redemption of the field.—Ver. 6. “*I cannot redeem it for myself, lest I mar mine own inheritance.*” The redemption would cost money, since the yearly produce of the field would have to be paid for up to the year of jubilee. Now, if he acquired the field by redemption as his own permanent property, he would have increased by so much his own possessions in land. But if he should marry Ruth, the field so redeemed would belong to the son whom he would beget through her, and he would therefore have parted with the money that he had paid for the redemption merely for the son of Ruth, so that he would have withdrawn a certain amount of capital from his own possession, and to that extent have detracted from its worth. “*Redeem thou for thyself my redemption,*” i.e. the field which I have the first right to redeem.—Vers. 7, 8. This declaration he confirmed by what was a usual custom at that time in renouncing a right. This early custom is described in ver. 7, and there its application to the case before us is mentioned afterwards. “*Now this was (took place) formerly in Israel in redeeming and exchanging, to confirm every transaction: A man took off his shoe and gave it to another, and this was a testimony in Israel.*” From the expression “*formerly,*” and also from the description given of the custom in question, it follows that it had gone out of use at the time when our book was composed. The custom itself, which existed among the Indians and the ancient Germans, arose from the fact that fixed property was taken possession of by treading upon the soil, and hence taking off the shoe and handing it to another was a symbol of the transfer of a possession or right of ownership (see the remarks on Deut. xxv. 9 and my *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. p. 66). The *Piel* פִּיל is rarely met with in Hebrew; in the present instance it was probably taken from the old legal phraseology.

The only other places in which it occurs are Ezek. xiii. 6, Ps. cxix. 28, 106, and the book of Esther, where it is used more frequently as a Chaldaism.—Vers. 9, 10. After the nearest redeemer had thus renounced the right of redemption with all legal formality, Boaz said to the elders and all the (rest of the) people, “*Ye are witnesses this day, that I have acquired this day all that belonged to Elimelech, and to Mahlon and Chilion (i.e. the field of Elimelech, which was the rightful inheritance of his sons Mahlon and Chilion), at the hand of Naomi; and also Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, I have acquired as my wife, to raise up the name of the deceased upon his inheritance, that the name of the deceased may not be cut off among his brethren and from the gate of his people*” (i.e. from his native town Bethlehem; cf. chap. iii. 11). On the fact itself, see the introduction to chap. iii.; also the remarks on the Levirate marriages at Deut. xxv. 5 sqq.—Ver. 11. The people and the elders said, “*We are witnesses,*” and desired for Boaz the blessing of the Lord upon this marriage. For Boaz had acted as unselfishly as he had acted honourably in upholding a laudable family custom in Israel. The blessing desired is the greatest blessing of marriage: “*The Lord make the woman that shall come into thine house (the participle נִסְּךָ refers to what is immediately about to happen) like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel (“build” as in Gen. xvi. 2, xxx. 3); and do thou get power in Ephratah, and make to thyself a name in Bethlehem.*” עֲשֶׂה חֵיל does not mean “get property or wealth,” as in Deut. viii. 17, but get power, as in Ps. lx. 14 (cf. Prov. xxxi. 29), *sc.* by begetting and training worthy sons and daughters. “*Make thee a name,*” literally “call out a name.” The meaning of this phrase, which is only used here in this peculiar manner, must be the following: “Make to thyself a well-established name through thy marriage with Ruth, by a host of worthy sons who shall make thy name renowned.”—Ver. 12. “*May thy house become like the house of Perez, whom Tamar bore to Judah*” (Gen. xxxviii.). It was from Perez that the ancestors of Boaz, enumerated in vers. 18 sqq. and 1 Chron. ii. 5 sqq., were descended. As from Perez, so also from the seed which Jehovah would give to Boaz through Ruth, there should grow up a numerous posterity.

Vers. 13-17. This blessing began very speedily to be fulfilled. When Boaz had married Ruth, Jehovah gave her conception, and she bare a son.—Ver. 14. At his birth the women said to Naomi, “*Blessed be the Lord, who hath not let a redeemer be wanting to thee*

to-day." This redeemer was not Boaz, but the son just born. They called him a redeemer of Naomi, not because he would one day redeem the whole of Naomi's possessions (*Carpzov, Rosenmüller, etc.*), but because as the son of Ruth he was also the son of Naomi (ver. 17), and as such would take away the reproach of childlessness from her, would comfort her, and tend her in her old age, and thereby become her true *goël*, i.e. her deliverer (*Bertheau*). "*And let his name be named in Israel,*" i.e. let the boy acquire a celebrated name, one often mentioned in Israel.—Ver. 15. "*And may the boy come to thee a refresher of the soul, and a nourisher of thine old age; for thy daughter-in-law, who loveth thee* (who hath left her family, her home, and her gods, out of love to thee), *hath born him; she is better to thee than seven sons.*" *Seven*, as the number of the works of God, is used to denote a large number of sons of a mother whom God has richly blessed with children (*vid.* 1 Sam. ii. 5). A mother of so many sons was to be congratulated, inasmuch as she not only possessed in these sons a powerful support to her old age, but had the prospect of the permanent continuance of her family. Naomi, however, had a still more valuable treasure in her mother-in-law, inasmuch as through her the loss of her own sons had been supplied in her old age, and the prospect was now presented to her of becoming in her childless old age the tribe-mother of a numerous and flourishing family.—Ver. 16. Naomi therefore adopted this grandson as her own child; she took the boy into her bosom, and became his nurse.—Ver. 17. And the neighbours said, "*A son is born to Naomi,*" and gave him the name of *Obed*. This name was given to the boy (the context suggests this) evidently with reference to what he was to become to his grandmother. *Obed*, therefore, does not mean "servant of Jehovah" (*Targum*), but "*the serving one,*" as one who lived entirely for his grandmother, and would take care of her, and rejoice her heart (*O. v. Gerlach*, after *Josephus*, Ant. v. 9, 4). The last words of ver. 17, "*he is the father of Jesse, the father of David,*" show the object which the author kept in view in writing down these events, or composing the book itself. This conjecture is raised into a certainty by the genealogy which follows, and with which the book closes.

Vers. 18–20. "*These are the generations of Perez,*" i.e. the families descended from Perez in their genealogical order (*toledoth*: see at Gen. ii. 4). The genealogy only goes back as far as *Perez*, because he was the founder of the family of Judah which was named after him (Num. xxvi. 20), and to which Elimelech and Boaz belonged.

Perez, a son of Judah by Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 29), begat *Hezrom*, who is mentioned in Gen. xlv. 12 among the sons of Judah who emigrated with Jacob into Egypt, although (as we have shown in our comm. on the passage) he was really born in Egypt. Of this son *Ram* (called *Aram* in the *Sept. Cod. Al.*, and from that in Matt. i. 3) nothing further is known, as he is only mentioned again in 1 Chron. ii. 9. His son *Amminadab* was the father-in-law of Aaron, who had married his daughter (Ex. vi. 23), and the father of *Nahesson* (*Nahshon*), the tribe-prince of the house of Judah in the time of Moses (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12). According to this there are only four or five generations to the 430 years spent by the Israelites in Egypt, if we include both Perez and Nahesson; evidently not enough for so long a time, so that some of the intermediate links must have been left out even here. But the omission of unimportant members becomes still more apparent in the statement which follows, viz. that Nahshon begat *Salmah*, and *Salmah Boaz*, in which only two generations are given for a space of more than 250 years, which intervened between the death of Moses and the time of Gideon. *Salmah* (שַׁלְמָה or שִׁלְמָה, 1 Chron. ii. 11) is called *Salmon* in ver. 21; a double form of the name, which is to be explained from the fact that *Salmah* grew out of *Salmon* through the elision of the *n*, and that the terminations *an* and *on* are used promiscuously, as we may see from the form שַׁרְיָה in Job xli. 18 when compared with שַׁרְיָן in 1 Kings xxii. 34, and שַׁרְיֹן in 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 38 (see *Ewald*, § 163-4). According to the genealogy of Christ in Matt. i. 5, Salmon married Rahab; consequently he was a son, or at any rate a grandson, of Nahshon, and therefore all the members between Salmon and Boaz have been passed over. Again, the generations from Boaz to David (vers. 21, 22) may possibly be complete, although in all probability one generation has been passed over even here between Obed and Jesse (see p. 471). It is also worthy of notice that the whole chain from *Perez* to *David* consists of ten links, five of which (from Perez to Nahshon) belong to the 430 years of the sojourn in Egypt, and five (from Salmon to David) to the 476 years between the exodus from Egypt and the death of David. This symmetrical division is apparently as intentional as the limitation of the whole genealogy to ten members, for the purpose of stamping upon it through the number ten as the seal of completeness the character of a perfect, concluded, and symmetrical whole.

The genealogy closes with David, an evident proof that the

book was intended to give a family picture from the life of the pious ancestors of this great and godly king of Israel. But for us the history which points to David acquires a still higher significance, from the fact that all the members of the genealogy of David whose names occur here are also found in the genealogy of Jesus Christ. "The passage is given by Matthew word for word in the genealogy of Christ, that we may see that this history looks not so much to David as to Jesus Christ, who was proclaimed by all as the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, and that we may learn with what wonderful compassion the Lord raises up the lowly and despised to the greatest glory and majesty" (*Brentius*).

THE END.

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